



Ja. Smith delin et scul

Laurence Clarke AM



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A C O M P L E A T
H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

Life of Our Blessed Lord and Saviour

J E S U S C H R I S T :

W I T H

The Lives, Travels and Sufferings

O F T H E

A P O S T L E S and E V A N G E L I S T S.

Illustrated with Explanatory N O T E S.

To which is prefixed,

The Life of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*,
M O T H E R of Our L O R D.

Collected from the Books of the New Testament, the most judicious
Commentators, and the best Ecclesiastical Historians,

By L A U R E N C E C L A R K E, A M.

L O N D O N :

Printed for the Author, and sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country.

M D C C X X X V I I.

HISTORY

OF THE

Life of Our Blessed Lord and Saviour

JESUS CHRIST:

WITH

The Lives, Travels and Sufferings

OF THE

APOSTLES and EVANGELISTS

Illustrated with Explanatory NOTES

To which is prefixed

The Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary,
MOTHER of Our LORD.

Collected from the Books of the New Testament, the most judicious
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M DCC XXXVII.

Heaven, but to them it is not given.

Now, the Apostles themselves did not always apprehend the Meaning of his Discourses at first hearing; we find them desiring him, when he was retired from the Multitude, to explain to them what he had said in Publick: And they never rightly understood several things in his Discourses concerning himself, till after his Passion and Resurrection.

This was one Reason why he sent down the Holy Ghost upon them, that he might lead them into all Truth, and illuminate them with a clear Understanding of all things, whatsoever Christ had said to them. And for the same Reason he hath ordained a standing and perpetual order of Ministers in his Church, that they might both by preaching and writing expound the Scriptures, and instruct People in the true Sense and Meaning of all Christian Doctrines.

Now if the committing the Gospel to writing in that which was then the known and common Language of the Christian Church, did not supersede the helps of Study and Learning to explain it farther; much more are such helps needful in these remoter Ages, wherein the Original Language, and the Modes and Fashions which prevail'd when it was first writ, are wholly grown out of Use.

This justifies, not only the Practice of constant Preaching, but likewise all sorts of Writings which serve to

render the true meaning of Words, to represent the ancient Jewish Customs, to adjust the right Order and Coherence of the Passages, or to shew the Occasion and Design of any Portion of the Holy Gospel.

I need not tell the Reader, what Guides have led the way, and trodden this Path before me. The chief Advantage I made of Bishop Taylor, was, to follow his Method, but to keep within a much narrower Compass; I mean in Meditations and Reflections, which though excellent in themselves, yet cause too great Interruptions in the Thread of the History. As to several Passages of the Gospel, he is plainly too Compendious, wholly omitting some, and touching others too slightly. Those who come after him, have rather shewn the way how to build upon his Foundation, and perfect this Work, than actually done it in any one Piece: However they separately afford very proper Materials, which I have here endeavoured to bring together.

My running Style is, The Evangelical History, &c. by which the Reader may conclude that I confine my self to the Accounts of the four Evangelists. But here I may take Occasion to tell him, that other Writers of Pagan and Jewish History have mention'd our Lord. Tacitus and Suetonius do but just name him, and that with the usual Prejudice and Disaffection which they had to all Jews. Pliny in an Epistle to Trajan, speaks of him without Reproach, though

The P A R E F A C E

though he was not over-favourable to his Followers.

I would not have mentioned the Letter of Lentulus, but that I have lately seen it published in English in a fair Print, with our Saviour's Picture at the top. The Forgery of it (says Du-Pin) is apparent. It is pretended to have been written by Lentulus, as Governour of Jerusalem, although he never was so; 'tis Inscribed to the Senate and People of Rome, whereas ever since there were Emperors, it was the general Custom for Governors of Provinces to write immediately to them. Besides, the Contents of it are trifling: There is a mean Description of our Lord's Person, as, particularly that his Hair was of a light Colour, long and flowing, as the Nazarites wore it; the Style likewise is very far from the Purity and Elegance of the Augustean Age. In short, this Letter is not mention'd by any ancient Writer.

But the Character which Josephus, the famous Jewish Historian, gives of our Lord, is very worthy, and such as might deserve a place even in the Gospels themselves. It is in the XVIIIth Book of his Antiquities, chap. iv. where having told how Pilate, then Governour of Judæa, had offended the Jews, by bringing into Jerusalem the Roman Standards, having the Emperor's Picture on them, which they took for a violation of their Law against Images; he adds, that at the same time, they had a wise Man, if it were lawful to call him

a Man, named JESUS; who wrought many Miracles, and instructed in the true Worship of God, such as were disposed to embrace it; that he had a great Number of Followers, both Jews and Gentiles, and was held to be the Messiah or CHRIST: that the Chiefs of his Nation accused him to Pilate, who condemned him to be Crucified; that his Disciples did not withdraw their Affections from him on the Account of his infamous Death; being confirmed in their adherence to him, by his returning to Life again, and appearing to them the third Day after his Crucifixion, according as the ancient Prophets, among other things, had foretold of him.

This Testimony of Josephus is quoted by Eusebius, Hist. lib. i. cap. xi. St. Jerom, and several others after them, as a Record of great Importance to the Christian Faith. It hath indeed been challenged of late, by Tanaquil Faber and some others, as an Interpolation of some Christians; for no other Reason that I know of, but that they think it too good for a Jew to say of Christ. But the general Vogue both of Roman and Reform'd Writers, adjudges it to Josephus, in the MSS Copies of whose Antiquities they say 'tis constantly found.

St. John, who wrote the last of all the Evangelists, assures us in the close of his Gospel, that our Lord did many things which were not written in his Book (and yet his was intended as a Supplement to the rest)

rest) nor indeed could be well comprehended in any Volumes; which leaves room for a favourable Opinion of a Letter, affirm'd by Eusebius, and several of the Ancients after him, to have been writ by our Lord to Agbarus, Prince of Edessa in Mesopotamia; concerning which see Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 1. cap. xiii. and what we have said in the Life of St. Thomas. It is much question'd by some, whether this be a genuine Piece; but Eusebius asserting it without Hesitation, and his Diligence, Veracity, and Skill in judging of ancient Records being irreproveable, Dr. Cave and other great Criticks are very inclinable to receive it for such as he delivers it.

There is in Suidas, under the word J E S U S; a large Account how our Lord was elected into the Number of the Jewish Priests. The account is said to be given by one Theodosius a considerable Jew, to Philip a Christian, his intimate Friend, in the Reign of the Emperor Justinian, and to be taken out of an ancient Temple-

Register then extant at Tiberias. But several Circumstances of this Story are apparently false; and others very extravagant and improbable. It is suppos'd to be a Jewish figment, contriv'd on purpose to do Mischief to the Christian Religion. There is a solid Discussion and Confutation of it, at the end of the Latin Edition of Euthymius Zigabenus his Dogmatica Panoplia, printed at Venice, Anno 1555. This is all which at present occurs to me from unevangelical Writers, relating to our Blessed Saviour.

The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Lives of the Holy Apostles and Evangelists, do all very properly accompany this Work, as being almost all of them Attendants on the Person of our Lord: In which if I have, with the learned Cave, wander'd at any time through the Paths of uncertain Tradition for want of clearer Light, I do with him submit every thing, whether peremptory Assertions, or meer Conjectures, to the Judgment of the impartial Reader.



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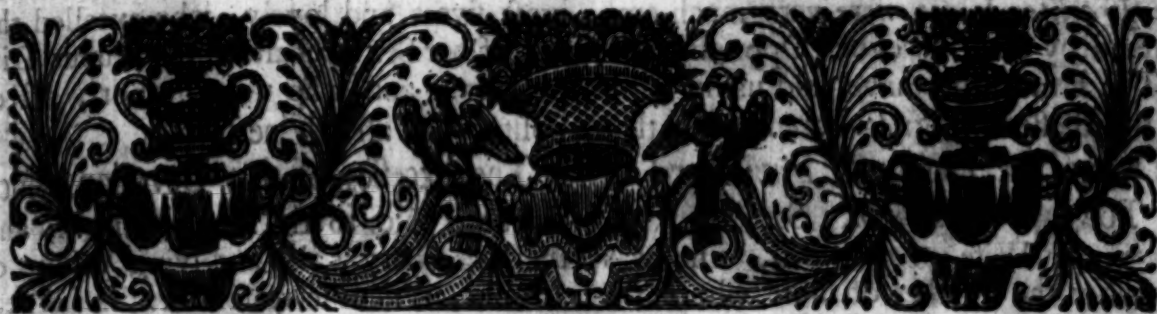


S^T LUKE, CHAP. I.
The Annuntiation of the B. Virgin.



S^T LUKE, I. VERSE XXVIII.
*And the angel came in unto her and said Hail thou
that art highly favoured the LORD is with thee blessed &c.*

Hebrew Name, signifying untwisted, be-
cause Amram's Daughter, who was the
first to name, was born at a time when
darkness of Body and Mind were



God's light of truth, which was
the first of the Pagans, obscured the light of
the sun which they desired. Through
the means of the Men's zeal against idolatry, they
brought them to the Commission of Sacr-

L I F E O F T H E

Blessed Virgin M A R Y.

From the Rev. Mr. R E A D I N G.

AS we are taught by the
Predictions of the Pro-
phets, that a Virgin was
to be the Mother of the
promised *Messiah*; so we
are assured by the unani-
mous Relations of the Evangelists, that
this Virgin's Name was *Mary*. Which
Name some have thought to be expressive
of her Dignity, and to denote Illumina-
tion, Grace, Dominion, and the like.
But it was common to the Female Sex,
both among ancient and modern *Jews*.
For as the Name of *Jesus* is the same
with *Joshua*; so this of *Mary* is the same
with *Miriam*; of whom we read that she

was the Daughter of *Amram*, the Sister
of *Moses* and *Aaron*, a Prophetess; to
whom the bringing of *Israel* out of *Egypt*
is attributed, as well as to her Brethren,
Micah 6. 4. *I brought thee up out of the*
Land of Egypt, saith the Lord, and re-
deemed thee out of the House of Servants;
and I sent before thee Moses, Aaron, and
Miriam. And as *Miriam* had the Honour
to be one of those who brought the Peo-
ple of God out of the *Egyptian* Bon-
dage; so was this *Mary* highly favoured
to bring him into the World, who hath
redeemed us from the Slavery of Sin and
Satan, of which the other was but a Type.
The Derivation of this Name is from the
Hebrew

Hebrew *Marab*, signifying *bitterness*, because *Amram's* Daughter, who was the first so named, was born at a time when the *Israelites* Lives were very much embittered by their grievous Oppressions.

The Evangelists have told us no more of the Blessed Virgin's Parents, but that she was of the Family of *David*, and of the Town of *Bethlehem*. *St. John* says, *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*, who was probably the Mother of those whom the Gospel stiles our Lord's Brethren, was her Sister: Which *St. Jerom* and others of the Ancients understand in the plain and common Sense. She was likewise allied to the Family of *Aaron* by her Cousin *Elizabeth*, the Mother of *John* the Baptist. The Latin Church has (in Conformity to the *Greeks*) for some Centuries past, honoured *St. Joachim* as the Father, and *St. Anne* as the Mother of the Blessed Virgin; but the Evidence for this is no better than Apocryphal.

And though God hath not been pleased to acquaint us with the Particulars of her Birth; yet the Church, in a grateful Sense of the infinite Blessings she has conveyed to us by Jesus Christ, hath long celebrated her Conception on the 8th of *December* in the West, and the 9th in the East; and her Nativity on the 8th of *September*. There is likewise an anniversary Feast of her Presentation in the Temple, kept *November 21*, when 'tis commonly believed she was consecrated to God at the Age of three Years. But not to build upon Uncertainties, thus much we are assured by the Testimony of an Angel; that she was happy above all other Women in the Divine Favour; that she was full of Grace, and that the Lord was with her in a peculiar Manner.

For since the Son of God, in order to become Man, and to dwell amongst us, was obliged to take a Body of some Woman; it was agreeable to that infinite Wisdom which he has constantly demonstrated in all his Works, that he should

choose for this purpose one whose Employment was holy and pious, whose Endowments of Body and Mind were most sweet and lovely, who excelled the rest of her Sex in chaste and virtuous Dispositions, and who was, in short, a Repository of all Divine Graces.

The excesses of that Devotion which has been paid to the Blessed Virgin, and the Legendary Tales and lying Visions of Monks, cannot in reason blemish her real Excellencies; no more than the Idolatries of the Pagans obscured the Light of the Sun which they deified. Though some Mens Zeal against Idolatry hath carried them to the Commission of Sacrilege, yet if they should grow too general in it, and reject every Blessing which hath been idolized, they must soon deprive themselves of all the Necessaries and Comforts of Life. After all the Abuses of Superstition or Prophaneness, the Extreams of Honour and Dishonour, there will ever be a very high Esteem and Veneration due to the Mother of God.

For the security of her Virtue in her tender Years, we need not have recourse to that ancient, but uncertain Tradition, that she was educated in the Temple, in the manner of a Recluse. Though such an Education seems not to have been impossible for an Infant of the other Sex; since young *Joash* was concealed and educated there, during the six Years Usurpation of his Grandmother *Atbalab*: Nor for this, if it be true that young Virgins were consecrated for the Service of the Temple, and lodged in Apartments there; as some have concluded from *Exod. 37. 8*, and *1 Sam. 2. 22*.

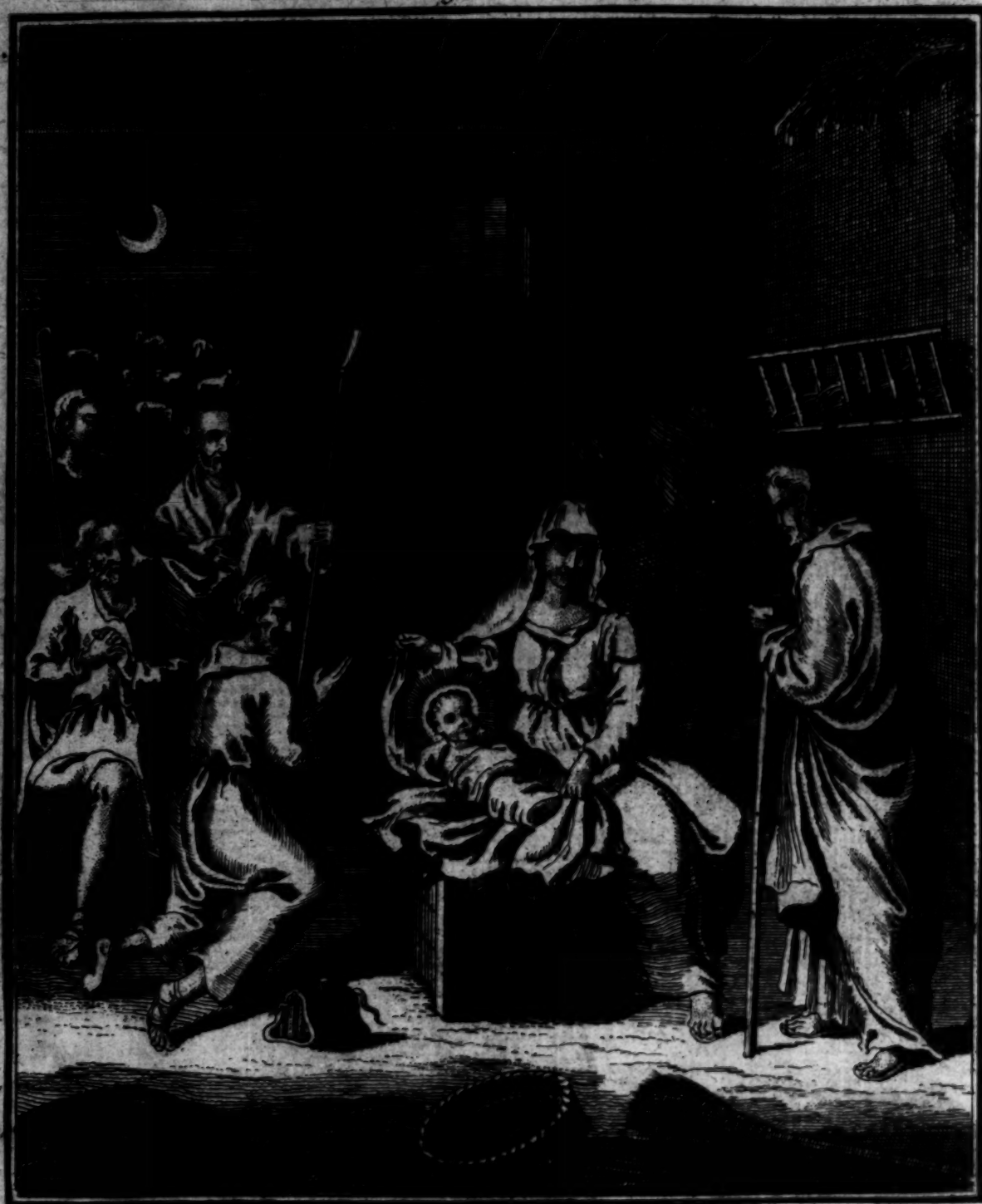
But that Tradition of the Ancients, that she was espoused to *Joseph* at fifteen Years old, may with reason enough be admitted; that being the usual time of marrying young Women among the Jews. That *Joseph* was then a Widower, and had several Children by a former Wife, is the unanimous Opinion of all the

Greek

THE LURE OF THE
MOUNTAINS



S^T LUKE CHAP. II.
The Nativity of Christ.



S^T LUKE II. VERSE VII.

*And she brought forth her first born son, and wrapped him in swaddling
cloaths, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn.*

Greek Fathers for the first Ages; and of many of the *Latins*; they generally supposing that such Children are meant by those call'd in the Gospel *our Lord's Brethren*. But after all, St. *Jerom* says, there is no Authority from this Assertion, and that our Lord's Brethren were only his *Cousin-Germans* by his Mother's Sister, *Mary*, Wife of *Cleophas*.

That the Mother of our Lord, notwithstanding her Marriage, was even in that State to remain a pure Virgin, and to conceive Christ in a miraculous Manner, is the clear Doctrine of the Holy Scripture. Behold, says *Isaias*, prophesying of this mysterious Incarnation, *a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son*. *Isaiah vii. 14.* The Hebrew word *Almah* most properly signifies a Virgin, and so is translated here by all the ancient Interpreters; and is never once used in the Scripture in any other Sense, as several learned Men have proved, against the Pretensions of the modern *Jews*. It primarily signifies *hid* or *concealed*; from whence it is used to signify a Virgin, because of the Custom in the Eastern Countries to keep their Virgins concealed from the View of Men, never suffering them to stir out of the Womens Apartment.

Though we cannot doubt but that God who ordained this Mystery, provided for all Circumstances requisite to the accomplishing of it, yet we may consider which way a *decorum* was preserved in this case of Marriage. St. *Matthew* says, *the Virgin was espoused to Joseph*, and that *before they came together, she was found to be with Child of the Holy Ghost*. Whence we may conclude, that it was not a constant Custom for the Bride to go and live at the Bridegroom's House immediately upon her being affianced to him; though St. *Chrysostom* affirms it was, being induced to think so, because he saw it done in his own

time at *Antioch*. Indeed the *Jews* Practice was not uniform in this respect; and therefore we may well suppose that it was free for the espoused Couple to do as they found most convenient. *Rebecca* was brought home to *Isaac* before Marriage was solemnized; because it was inconvenient for him to take a Journey into *Mesopotamia*. On the other hand, *Sampson's* Spouse remain'd in her Father's House. And that this was most usual, seems probable from *Deut. xx. 7.* And *Modestinus* reckons it among the *Roman* Customs, that the Bride went not to her Husband before the Ceremony of Marriage was over. This is certain, that the Bride remain'd untouch'd, 'till Marriage had been solemnized and sanctified by Prayer in the Congregation; and such is the Practice of the *Jews* at this Day. So that the Bridegroom took upon him the Care of his Bride's Chastity, yet she remain'd 'till the Day of Marriage in the Womens Apartment, as much sequester'd from the Bridegroom, as if she had been in another House. This the words of *Moses* seem to import, *Gen. xxiv. 67.* where *Isaac* is said to have brought *Rebecca* into his Mother's Tent, and afterwards to have married her. And upon this usage is that Law grounded, concerning the captive Woman, *Deut. xxi. 13.* For these Reasons learned Men have determined, that whereas *their coming together* may signify their living in the same House, or lying in the same Bed, the former of these Senses is to be preferr'd in this place; and we must say, that before *Joseph* and *Mary* cohabited together, *she was found with Child of the Holy Ghost*.

This was reveal'd first to her, and afterwards to her Husband in a miraculous way, by the Appearance of an Angel who address'd himself to her in Terms of the highest Respect, importing that she had a share in the Divine Favour

above all her Fellows. After some Consternation at this unusual Appearance and Address, she attended to his Message, which was; *that she should conceive and bring forth the Son of the most High, who should reign over the House of Israel, and of whose Kingdom there should be no end.* The Reply she makes to this, hath something of Difficulty in it: *How shall this be, seeing I know not a Man?* This was somewhat extraordinary, to come from one who was affianced to a Husband, and speedily to cohabit with him. The Roman Church believes, that she had (notwithstanding her Marriage) obliged herself by a Vow, to perpetual Virginity. And Grotius is very inclinable to the same Opinion, which is the best way of accounting for the reason of her Demand, 'If, says he, it be true which Epiphanius has deliver'd from ancient Tradition, that Joseph was superannuated when Mary was espoused to him, it will be the more probable what the Ancients generally thought, that these Words proceeded from a Resolution she had taken of continuing a Virgin; and that she married herself to an aged Man, not with a Prospect of having Children, but that she might enjoy a Protection from those Injuries to which her Sex was exposed. Nor were such Resolutions so unknown to the Jews, as some have imagined,' as he proves from a notable Passage in *Philo*, and of which he gives an instance in *Jephtha's* Daughter. Mary then might be resolute in her Purpose of Virginity, and yet become a Wife for the Reasons aforesaid. But the Design of God in her Marriage, was to secure her Reputation under the Circumstances of supernatural Conception, and to conceal the Mystery of it for the present. And Joseph being certify'd of the Divine Purpose herein, obediently comported with it,

and observ'd such a chaste and holy Conversation as was suitable to so high a Mystery.

Whether the Holy Virgin, immediately after the Annunciation, went up to the Passover at Jerusalem (as some have imagin'd, this being the Season of the Year for it) we have no Account from St. Luke: But this he assures us, that she went to visit her Cousin Elizabeth, to congratulate her Pregnancy, (which she had learn'd from the Angel) at an Age when such a Blessing was not to be expected. No sooner had she enter'd the House, and begun to speak, but Elizabeth felt the Child in her Womb transported with supernatural Emotions of Joy; and by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost she was acquainted with the Mystery of the Incarnation, and re-saluted Mary by the Title of the Mother of her Lord.

After she had tarried here about three Months, till Elizabeth was brought to Bed, (as St. Ambrose thinks) that she might see him on whose Account chiefly she made that Visit, she return'd to her own House at Nazareth.

I will not anticipate the History of our Lord's Nativity and Infancy, to collect what Passages relate to his Mother in it. I shall only mention to her Honour, that common Remark which the Evangelists make, that she was more disposed to think than to speak, and observed the extraordinary Things which were said of her Son with Silence, and pondered them in her Heart. A rare Instance of Modesty and Humility, and a Demonstration that Talkativeness is no inseparable Infirmity of the Female Sex, but rather the Fault of ill Custom and Education.

I pass on therefore to a Circumstance attending the first Miracle of Christ, at the Marriage in Cana of Galilee

lites. At which Entertainment the Provision of Wine being somewhat scanty (probably because the Friends of the married Couple were but mean) Christ's Mother tells her Son, who was one of the Guests, *that they wanted Wine*; not doubting of his power to supply them. He answer'd her in terms which look'd like a Rebuke; *Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come*. The *Manichees* pretended to argue from hence, that *Mary* was not indeed the Mother of Christ. And we confess she was not the Mother of his Divinity, by which he was empower'd to do what she requested. Some think that this Answer was intended for more general use than that Occasion; to teach us to wait God's time of doing his own Works. And certainly our Lord design'd no Affront to his Mother, to whom he always paid a religious and pious Reverence; but only intimated, that the time of his working Miracles did not properly commence now; and that when it did, it must not be for private and civil Respects; but in pursuance of that great End he had in Charge, the Conversion and Salvation of Mankind. And so his Mother understood him, receiving the Answer with Meekness, and charging the Servants to attend him, and do whatever he commanded.

From hence our Lord went to *Caper-naum*, in order (as *St. Chrysostom* thinks) to fix his Mother in a settled Habitation, while he travell'd about the Country in the Exercise of his Ministry. *Epiphanius* on the contrary believ'd, that she accompanied him in his ambulatory course of Life. And since it is certain, that several other Women in *Galilee* waited on him, and minister'd unto him, who could deserve this honourable Service more, or discharge it better than his Holy Mother? However, we find nothing of this upon Record. We learn

indeed that on a certain Day, as he was teaching in a House, and a vast multitude of People about him, so that neither he nor his Disciples could take any Refreshment, a Report was spread abroad, that *he was fallen into a Swoon*. So *Grotius* interprets the word *ἐγένετο*. Our Translators have render'd it, as 'tis in the vulgar Latin, *they said he was besides himself*. And so it may stand, without any Reflexion on our Lord's Kindred, provided that by the word *they*, we understand the Multitude, the uncertain Rumour which was spread about him, as we may very well. In either Sense it was natural for his Relations, when they heard of it, to come and look after him, and endeavour to get him out of that stifling place, that he might have some Relief.

They came, as we are inform'd by *St. Mark*, cap. 3. ver. 31. and when they could not get into the House for the throngs of People, they got a Message to be convey'd from one to another, 'till it was told *Jesus, that his Mother and his Brethren were at the Door, and desired to speak with him*. Our Lord being at this instant in the Work of his Ministry, preaching the Word of God, he turn'd this, as he did all other occasions, to a spiritual Use, declaring, *that whosoever did the Will of his Heavenly Father, the same was his Mother, and Sister, and Brother*. This was the Practice of what he had taught in another place, That we must prefer God before all human Relations, and give the first place to his Service. But this Saying could not bear hard upon his Mother, who was the chief of those who did the Will of his Heavenly Father.

Immediately upon her approach, a Woman of the Company said with a loud Voice, directing her Words to *Jesus*; *Blessed is the Womb that bare thee, and the Paps which thou hast sucked*. To

which he replied, *Yea rather, blessed are they that bear the Word of God and keep it*; not intimating that she who had the honour to bear him, did not deserve to be called happy throughout all Generations; but that even her Happiness consisted more in doing the Will of Christ, than in giving him a Body.

From this place we have no farther account of the Holy Virgin, 'till we find her at the Passion of her Blessed Son, standing close by his Cross. We cannot doubt but her Soul at this time was pierced through (as *Simeon* had prophesied) with the most acute Pains, for the Death of such a Son. Yet her Constancy was remarkable. For when the Apostles were all frightened away from their Master, she continued undaunted amongst the Executioners, being prepared to die with her Son. The Author of the One hundred twenty seven Questions in the *Appendix* to *St. Austin* says, she doubted as well as others, whether Jesus were the Christ, till his Resurrection had confirm'd her. *St. Cyril* of *Alexandria* says, she would scarce believe that he who hung upon the Cross, was of such a divine Original, as the Angel had told her. But *St. Ambrose*, upon *Luke*, supposes her to be affected on this Occasion with Sentiments more fit for one who had so miraculously conceived, and so carefully observed and laid up in her Mind all Occurrences that related to the Son of God.

Jesus Christ, who came to set us a Pattern of all Virtue, was pleas'd in his last Moments to teach us, that in what Circumstances soever we are, we must never cast off that Love and Care, which God's Law obliges us to have for those who gave us Life. Being now ready to leave his Mother, he bequeath'd her (by his last Will and Testament, as I may say) to his beloved Disciple *St. John*, who being himself in the State

of Virginity, was the fitter to be constituted Guardian to a Virgin. From that time *St. John* took her to his own Home, a plain Argument that she had neither Husband nor Child then alive.

St. Luke acquaints us, that the Virgin Mother was with the Apostles and others, when they were assembled after Christ's Ascension, waiting for the Descent of the Holy Ghost. And it is highly probable that from her they learned the whole History of our Lord's private Life, before his Baptism: Though *St. Chrysostom* will have them taught it by Revelation; but I know not upon what Grounds he advances this unnecessary Notion.

Andreas Cretensis, an Author of the seventh and eighth Century, says, it was believ'd the Holy Virgin died in an extreme old Age. And this agrees well with what *Baronius* observes, *Ann.* 44. that she probably accompanied *St. John* and *Mary Magdalene* to *Ephesus*; and farther, it was an Opinion in the fifth Century, that she was bury'd there, as appears by a Letter of the General Council of *Ephesus*. But to say the truth, what *Baronius* and *Cretensis* write of her Death and Burial, is all but Conjecture, grounded upon no authentick Records. As it pleas'd God to continue her (even after the Birth of her Son) in a low and humble State of Life, so he hath conceal'd her Sepulcher from us, as he did that of *Moses* from the *Jews*, lest an idolatrous use should be made of her Reliques. *Epiphanius*, the most learned Father of the fourth Century, declares he could not tell whether she died a natural Death, or by Martyrdom, or whether she remain'd immortal. None, says he, knows any thing of her Decease; but that it was glorious, cannot be doubted. That Body which was perfectly chaste and pure, enjoys a Happiness worthy of her, thro' whom

the

the Sun of Righteousness arose and shone upon the World.'

A learned modern Writer has added to the forecited Passage of the Council of *Ephesus*, another Remark from the Acts of the same Council, 'That the Cathedral Church of *Ephesus* was dedicated under the Name of the Virgin *Mary*, and that we find no other Church of her Name at that time, in any approved Writer'. For though the Holy Virgin was always held in great Veneration, yet it was not the custom of the first Ages to give the name of any Saint to a Church, except they had some of the Reliques, or built it in the place of the Martyrdom of such a Saint; or for some reason of the like nature. The *African* Church hath a particular Canon to this purpose.

St. *Gregory* of *Tours* mentions some Reliques of the Virgin *Mary*, which were kept in his time in a Church of *Auvergne*; he means undoubtedly something of her Cloaths. A great many more places pretend to such things, which it would be endless to recount here.

There is a Letter still extant, said to be writ by the Blessed Virgin to *Ignatius*, together with his Answer; but these Pieces, as well that pretended to be writ by her to the Church of *Messina* in *Sicily*, and another to the *Florentines*, and all other Writings which bear her Name, are agreed on all Hands to be Fictions and Impostures.

Nicephorus has copied from *Epiphanius* a Description of the Blessed Virgin's Person; which we could well admire, if there were good Authority for it. But there is great Reason to think the Author has represented her rather such as he would fancy her to have been, than such as he knew she really was. What he says of her Features, might be taken from a Picture which *Theodoret*, an Historian of the sixth Century,

says was drawn for her by St. *Luke*, and sent from *Jerusalem* to the Empress at *Constantinople*. But we need not be in much Pain about this: The true Images of Saints are the Ideas of their Virtues, which we should form in our Minds and express in our Actions.

The Visions and Revelations which some *Romish* Monks pretend to have had of the Blessed Virgin, do sufficiently destroy themselves, as being inconsistent with her Honour and Sanctity. But we cannot conclude from hence, that she never appear'd to any Holy Persons. St. *Gregory Nyssen* reports of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, that he being made Bishop of *Neo-Cæsarea* in *Pontus*, and very solicitous concerning the Doctrine which he should preach to his People, the Blessed Virgin appear'd to him in a Form more glorious than any Thing upon Earth, with St. *John* the Apostle in her Company, to whom she recommended the instructing of *Gregory* in the Mysteries of the Christian Religion. Whereupon the Apostle dictated to him a short Confession of Faith, which *Gregory* forthwith committed to writing. This was preserv'd afterwards with the greatest Care; and *Greg. Nyssen* assures us that it became the standing Creed of *Neo-Cæsarea*, and kept that Church clear from *Arianism*, while all other Places were infected with it.

Gregory Nazianzen likewise gives us the following Relation: That St. *Justina* the Virgin, who suffer'd Martyrdom under *Dioclesian*, seeing herself attack'd by the Magick Arts which *Cyprian* employ'd against her, had Recourse to the Virgin *Mary*, and conjured her to succour a helpless Maid against the infernal Powers. Her Prayers were heard, the Devils vanquished, *Cyprian* was hereupon converted, and embrac'd the Christian Faith, and was afterwards an illustrious

lustrious Bishop, and obtain'd the Crown of Martyrdom with *St. Justina*. This Story, says *Photius*, was largely set forth by the Empress *Eudocia*, in an Heroick Poem of three Books. There is extant in *Latin* a Penitential Confession of this *Cyprian's*, wherein he very much bewails the Sins of his former Life. Bishop *Fell* has publish'd it, in his Edition of *St. Cyprian's Works*; and thinks this Story is told of him, much interpolated, or rather invented by one of these, who took Pleasure in improving the Lives of the Martyrs with some new Matters. Dr. *Cave* justly suspects this *Cyprian* to be a different Person from the great Bishop of *Carthage*, and by Mistake confounded with him by *Nazianzen*, *Prudentius*, *Metaphrastes*, and others. However, he truly observes, that the History is older than the Times of *Nazianzen*. But to return.

The perpetual Virginity of our Lord's Mother was opposed by some, towards the end of the fourth Century. *Epiphanius* gives them the Name of *Antidicomarianists*, or Enemies to *Mary*. They held, that after the Birth of *Jesus Christ*, *Joseph* had other Children by her, whom the Gospel styles the Brethren of our Lord. This Conceit, which came originally from the *Eunomians* and *Apollinarists*, spread itself more particularly in *Arabia*. A while after, it was carried to *Rome* by *Helvidius*, and entertain'd by a certain Bishop, who is thought to be the Heresiarch *Bonofus*. But it pleased God to suppress it by three the greatest Men of that Age, *St. Epiphanius*, *Jerom*, and *Ambrose*; to say nothing of *St. Austin* and others, who did not write professedly against it, but encounter'd it by the By. It is not necessary to recite here the Arguments which they made use of on this Occasion. It may suffice to conclude with

St. Basil, that though this Opinion affects not the Foundations of Religion, which only requires us to believe that *Mary* continued a Virgin till the Birth of *Jesus Christ*, as the Gospel assures us; yet it grates the ears of pious Christians for any to affirm she ever ceased to be such. The ancient Fathers of the East and Western Churches asserted her perpetual Virginity; and *St. Augustine* tells us, this is one of those Points which we ought to receive as of Apostolick Tradition, since the Holy Scripture gives us no more Account of it, than by only remarking, how fully the Blessed Virgin was resolved to serve God with an entire Purity. The Title which hath been constantly appropriated to her in all Ages, as oft as she is mentioned, is a good argument to confirm this Belief.

Bishop *Pearson* is wholly of this Opinion, in his Exposition of the Apostles Creed. 'We believe (says he) the Mother of our Lord to have been, not only before and after his Nativity, but also for ever, the most immaculate and blessed Virgin. For altho' it may be thought sufficient, as to the Mystery of the Incarnation, that when our Saviour was conceiv'd and born, his Mother was a Virgin; tho' whatsoever should have follow'd after, could have no reflective Operation upon the first Fruit of her Womb; tho' there be no farther mention in the Creed, than that he was born of the Virgin *Mary*: Yet the peculiar Eminency and unparallel'd Privilege of that Mother, the special Honour and Reverence due to that Son, and ever paid by her, the Regard of that Holy Ghost who came upon her, and the Power of the Highest which overshadowed her, the singular Goodness and Piety of *Joseph*, to whom she was espoused, have persuaded the Church of God in all Ages to believe

lieve, that she still continued in the same Virginity, and therefore is to be acknowledg'd *ἀειπαρθένος*, as the Greek Church always call'd her, and from them the Latin, *Semper-Virgo*, the perpetual Virgin. As if the Gate of the Sanctuary in the Prophet Ezekiel were to be understood of her; This Gate shall be shut; it shall not be opened, and no Man shall enter in by it; because the Lord, the God of Israel hath enter'd in by it, therefore it shall be shut.

Many indeed have taken the Boldness to deny this Truth, because not recorded in the Sacred Writ: And not only so, but to assert the contrary as deliver'd in the Scriptures: But with no Success. For tho' as they object, St. Matthew testifieth that Joseph knew not Mary, untill she had brought forth her first-born Son; from whence they would infer, that afterwards he knew her; yet the manner of the Scripture-Language produceth no such Inference. When God said to Jacob, I will not leave thee, until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of, Gen. 28. 15. It follows not that when that was done, the God of Jacob left him. When the Conclusion of Deuteronomy was written, it was said of Moses, No man knoweth of his Sepulcher unto this day; but it were a weak Argument to infer from thence, that the Sepulcher of Moses hath been known ever since. — Again, 'tis true that Christ is term'd the first-born Son of Mary, from whence they infer she must needs have a second; but might as well conclude, that wheresoever there is one, there must be two. For in this particular, the Scripture-notion of Priority excludeth an antecedent, but inferreth not a consequent; it supposeth none to have gone before, but concludeth

not any to follow after. Sanctifie unto me, saith God, all the first-born; which was a firm and fixed Law, immediately obliging upon the Birth. Whereas if the first-born had included a Relation to a Second, there could have been no present Certainty, but a suspension of Obedience; nor had the first-born been sanctified of itself, but the second Birth had sanctified the first. As to the Brethren of our Lord, I hinted before in what sense they are so call'd.

Some instead of lessening have overmagnified the Blessed Virgin, respecting her as a Goddess, and offering up Prayers and Oblations in her Name; and particularly a kind of Bread which the Greeks call *Collyride*, where these Hereticks were named *Collyridians*. They were chiefly a Set of Women in Arabia, who fell into this Idolatry. Epiphanius wrote on purpose to confute this Superstition, shewing how he ought to distinguish the Honour due to the Blessed Virgin, from that Adoration and Worship which is proper to God alone; lest we should glorify the Creature instead of the Creator.

The Nestorians came next in order of time, and attributed too little to the Blessed Virgin, denying her the honourable Appellation with the Church then, and long before, had given her, of *θεοτόκος*, the Mother of God, because they would not allow that her Son was God incarnate. They were condemn'd by a General Council held at Ephesus, in the Year 431.

The Eutychian Hereticks, who quickly follow'd the Nestorians, ran into the contrary extream. For pretending to draw an Argument for their Heresie from the Quality of the Mother of God, they gloried in rendring her more Honour than the Catholicks. And Peter Fullo, one of the worst of them, who
three

three times usurped the See of *Antioch*, was the first that began to name her by way of Invocation in Prayer: wherein he is too grossly imitated by those who otherwise condemn him as an Heretick, I mean those of the *Romish* Communion.

Some Writers (says Dr. *Nichols*) both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, tell a strange Story about the Blessed Virgin's Assumption into Heaven, and that with great variety, in their Relations; some affirming her to be convey'd thither alive, like *Enoch* and *Elias*: Others, that after her Death she rose again, and was carry'd triumphantly into Heaven. *Mel de Transl. Virg. Niceph. Hist. Lib. II. cap. 21.* But all the History of this Translation

is taken out of Apocryphal Books, it deserves not much Credit: And tho' the Church of *Rome* has adopted this Story into her Worship (and celebrates it annually with a particular Service, *August 15*) yet the Authors which support this History are condemn'd by all the learned Men of that Church. I must needs say this Notion is of considerable Antiquity, for 'tis undoubtedly as old as *Epiphanius*, who in his Relation of it, says, *He will do nothing to depreciate the Honour of the Virgin, and therefore will neither give his assent to that opinion, nor yet contradict it; but rather acquiesce in the Scriptures, which say nothing of it.* *Epiphani. Hæres. 78. § 11.*



THE



THE
LIFE
OF OUR
Blessed Lord and Saviour
JESUS CHRIST.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

- I. *Time of our Lord's Incarnation.* II. *Concurrence of Circumstances at that Time.* III. *John the Baptist the Forerunner of Christ.* IV. *Character of Zacharias and Elizabeth.* V. *Courses of the Jewish Priesthood.* VI. *Appearance of the Angel to Zacharias.* VII. *Zacharias struck dumb.* VIII. *The Conception of John the Baptist.* IX. *The Angel salutes Mary.* X. *Tells her his Message.* XI. *Explains it.* XII. *Mary visits Elizabeth.* XIII. *Returns her Salutation.* XIV. *The Birth of John the Baptist.* XV. *Zacharias recovers his Speech and praises God.* XVI. *The Education of John.*

IN the Year from the Creation four Thousand, after Mankind in general had continued above two thousand Years under the Law of Nature, and the *Jews* almost two thou-

sand more under the typical Dispensation deliver'd by God to his Servant *Moses*, when the Fulness of Time was come, and the Expectation of the Messiah founded upon repeated Promises and Prophecies was at the Height, it pleased the Eternal Father

Father to send his only Son into the World, to take upon him our likeness, with the Guilt and Punishment of our Sins, and to make known unto us the Way of everlasting Salvation.

II. 'Tis wonderful how all Circumstances at this Time concurr'd, to verify the Predictions that were on record, (not only among the *Jews*, the distinguish'd People of God, but even the *Gentiles*, who were on that account left without Excuse) and usher into the World this glorious Deliverer, the Saviour of Mankind, the Restorer of human Nature, and the Founder of a Fifth and Spiritual Monarchy upon the Ruins of the four Preceding. *The Scepter was now departed from Judah, and the Law-giver from between his Feet. Gen. xlix. 10. the seventy Weeks of Daniel were near being accomplished, Dan. ix. 24. the last great Age of the Cumean Prophecy was come; the Swords were turned into Plow-Shares and the Spears into Pruning-Hooks; and all this that the Prince of Peace might be born, whose Throne is established in Righteousness, and of whose Dominion there shall be no end, Isa. ii. 4. Mic. iv. 3.*

III. Such a divine Person as this was not to be manifested in our Nature without a proper Notice to Mankind. 'Twas necessary they should be informed of the extraordinary Benefits they were immediately to be made capable of partaking. God had long before declared by his Prophets, *Mal. iii. 1. and 46. That a Messenger should go before his Face, to prepare his way; that he should turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the Hearts of the Children to the Fathers.* This Messenger was further described under the Character of *Elijah* the Prophet, and in another Place he was call'd, *The Voice of him that crieth in the Wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, and make*

straight in the Desert a Highway for our God, Isa. xl. 3. In accomplishment of these Prophecies therefore, the Conception of *John the Baptist*, who was the Forerunner here described, did necessarily precede that of our Lord; and as every Thing that related to the Messiah was to be according to his Name, *Wonderful*, Isa. ix. 6. so this previous Conception of *John* had something in it beyond the ordinary Course of Nature, as will appear from what follows.

IV. The Divine Goodness had pitch'd upon two Persons for the Father and Mother of this Child, *Luke i. 5, 6, 7* who were not only remarkable for their Piety and diligent Observance of the sacred Institutions, but who had lived together in Matrimony, without Children, to an Age that is usually past Procreation; demonstrating thereby, that God can make use of what Means he pleases to bring about the Purposes of his Will, as well as that he sometimes, even in this Life, rewards a steady Adherence to his Commands with extraordinary and unexpected Blessings. The Names of these Persons were *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth*: The former a Priest, and the latter also of the Progeny of *Aaron*. *Elizabeth's* Barrenness had long made her a Subject of Reproach, as was always the Case among the *Jewish* Women; but she was now to be not only a Mother, but the Mother of a Prophet, greater than any that had risen in *Israel* from the Time of *Moses* downwards.

V. When *David* had appointed the Service of the Temple that was to be built, he divided the Priests into twenty-four Courses, who were to officiate by turns, every Course beginning on a Sabbath Day, and continuing all the next Week. Only four of these Courses return'd from the *Babylonish* Captivity; the rest either carried behind or were extinct. However that the Number of

Urania Cumari venit jam carminis ætas. Virgil Eccl. iv. ver. 4.

Twenty-four might still subsist, each of the remaining Four divided itself into Six; the new Courses taking upon them the Names of those that were wanting. Zacharias was of the Course of Abia, one of the new ones in this Subdivision, and the Eighth in order of the Twenty-four. Each of these Courses being by this Time pretty numerous, it was usual with them all, when it came to their Turn, to chuse by Lot the Men who were to perform the several Parts of the Service of that Week: In this Manner Zacharias was chosen, and was attending the Duties of his Function in the Temple, when God revealed to him the sudden Conception of his Wife Elizabeth.

VI. He went into the Sanctuary to make the Daily Oblations, while the People staid praying in the Court without, according to Custom. Here it was that he saw an Angel standing on the Right Side of the Altar of Incense, and was struck with extraordinary Terror and Amazement at the Heavenly Appearance; which, without doubt, was with a Lustre and Beauty far exceeding any Thing that the good Man had ever seen before. The Angel perceiv'd his Surprise, and immediately made his Address in the following Manner: *Fear not, Zacharias, for God is propitious to thee, and has sent me to tell thee, that thy servant's Prayers, which thou hast so often poured out before him for a Child, and for the Redemption of Israel, are at last heard: Thy Wife Elizabeth shall bear a Son, and the Name by which thou shalt call him is John, for he will be graciously given of God. He shall be an Occasion of great Joy unto thee, and unto many others of the People of God. He shall be in Favour with the Almighty himself, and set apart for an especial Office: for which Reason he shall abstain from Wine and strong Drink, and live after the abstemious Manner of the Nazarites; that so he may be a proper Habitation for the Holy-Ghost, with which he shall be*

filled even from his Birth. And as he is to be the Forerunner of the Messiah, who by the Appointment of God shall appear immediately after him, he shall be furnished with Instructions and Abilities like those that were formerly committed to Elias; that he may convert the Jews from their present Irregularities, as Elias did from the Idolatry of Baal, to a conscientious Worship of the true God. He shall reconcile Father and Son, who are at present divided about Religion; he shall engage the Obstinate to receive the Sentiments of the Pious, and lead them all to one Master, the Messiah, who, when he comes, shall by this means find a People prepared to receive and obey his divine Precepts.

VII. When Zacharias had heard all this, he reflected on the natural Probability of what was predicted, Luke i. 18, 19, 20. and considering the great Age both of himself and his Wife, he could not apprehend how such a Thing should ever come to pass. This Doubt in his own Breast, made him demand a Sign of the Angel, whereby he might be ascertain'd that his Wife Elizabeth should really become a Mother. The Angel who was permitted to resolve all the Difficulties he might start, but in such a Manner that he might perceive how much God was offended at his Unbelief, began thus to reprove him: *Thou dost not well to call in question the Truth of my Embassy; for I am Gabriel, an Angel of God, in whose Presence I minister, and from whom I am commissioned to bring thee these happy Tidings. However, since thou hast rashly required a Token of my veracity, as a Punishment for thy Want of Faith, thou shalt be deaf and dumb till the Things I have declar'd are punctually fulfill'd, which they shall certainly be in their proper Season.*

VIII. The People who were waiting all this Time in the Court of Israel, for the Return of Zacharias, wondered that he tarried longer in the Sanctuary than the Priest

Priest who offered Incense usually did. At length he came out, and found himself deprived of Speech, according to the Words of the Angel; for when the People asked him why he tarried within so much longer than was customary, he could answer them only with Signs. However, he made himself sufficiently understood by these, for his Friends to perceive that he had seen a Vision. When his Week of Ministration was expired, *Zacharias* returned to his own House; not long after which *Elizabeth* found herself with Child, but made a Secret of her Conception for the first five Months, contenting herself with giving Thanks to God in private, that he had at last condescended to look graciously on her, and take away from her the Reproach of Barrenness.

IX. Six Months after the Conception of *Elizabeth*, in the Thirty-third Year of *Herod the Great*, King of *Judea*, and the Twenty-sixth after the Establishment of *Augustus Caesar* in the Imperial Dignity, the same Angel, *Gabriel*, who had foretold the Birth of *John the Baptist* to *Zacharias*, was sent to *Nazareth*, a small City of *Galilee*, about sixty Miles almost North of *Jerusalem*. His Business was to foretel the Nativity of *Jesus Christ*, to the Blessed *Mary*, who was chosen by God to be his Mother. She was a mean but holy Virgin, of the Family of *David*, espoused to one *Joseph*, a Man of the same Condition and Family, who probably as well as the Virgin, was frequently praying to God for the Accomplishment of his Promises in the Birth of the Messiah. The Angel appeared suddenly in the Room where *Mary* was, and thus saluted her: *Hail! happy Virgin, favour'd of God, the Lord is with thee; on thee will be bestow singular Blessings, and all Nations shall call thee Happiest of Women.*

X. We may imagine the Mixture of the holy Passions, that were raised in the

Virgin's Soul at this unusual Appearance. Tho' she had been used to spiritual Converse with God himself, this was the first Time, she had seen with her bodily Eyes, a Creature so superior in Dignity to Mankind. Her Admiration and Surprise withheld her from a Reply, while she silently revolved in her Mind what could be the meaning of such a Salutation, having never heard of any Thing like it before. The Angel perceiving this, gently advised her not to be afraid, and proceeded to deliver his Commission. *Be ye assured, says he, that thou shalt conceive immediately and bring forth a Son, whom thou shalt name Jesus. He shall be called the Son of the most High in a peculiar Manner, and the Lord God shall give him in Possession the Throne of David, from whose Family he derives his Birth. He shall reign over the Israelites, as his Ancestors have done, but there shall be no End of his Empire; whereas the Kingdom of David and his Successors endured only for a few Ages, like the other Monarchies of the Earth.*

XI. The Holy Virgin thought herself a Person very unlikely to be a Mother; for tho' she was contracted to *Joseph*, there had been no Advances made towards the Consummation of Matrimony, and it seems more than probable that she had no Thoughts of altering her Manner of Life, at least for some Time: 'Twas therefore with very good Reason that she asked the Angel, *How this could be, seeing she knew not a Man.* But the sacred Messenger now explained the Mystery of what he had said, by informing her, that *she should be impregnated by the Divine Power, without the Concurrence of a Man. The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy Thing that shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God.* And then, that she might have no more Doubts, concerning the Truth of his Predictions, he gave her

her an Instance of what God could do, by telling her what he had already done for *Elizabeth*. And behold thy Cousin *Elizabeth*, she also hath conceived a Son in her old Age; and this is the sixth Month with her who was call'd Barren: For with God nothing is impossible. When *Mary* had heard this, she replied, That she was ready to submit to the Divine Pleasure, whatever it might be, and that she no longer doubted of the Accomplishment of what God had commanded him to declare; whereupon the Angel disappeared.

Soon after the Departure of the heavenly Minister, *Mary*, longing to communicate her Vision to her Cousin *Elizabeth*, and hear from her own Mouth what she had already sufficient Authority to believe, took a Journey of about 80 Miles, from *Nazareth* to a City in the Hill-Country of *Judea*, where *Elizabeth* dwelt. She was no sooner arriv'd than she repair'd to the House of *Zacharias*, and saluted *Elizabeth* as she enter'd; when the Child, with which *Elizabeth* was now big, began to spring in her Womb in an unusual Manner: Whereupon the Mother, instructed by the Holy Ghost of what had happen'd to *Mary*, and inspired with Sentiments suitable to the Occasion, deliver'd the Transports of her Soul in Words to this Effect: O thou Blessed among Women! and O Blessed Son, whom thou bearest in thy Womb! But whence is this Favour to me, that the Mother of my Lord should come first to visit me, her Handmaid? For no sooner did the Voice of thy Salutation strike my Ears, but my Child leaped within me, as if he too had known that the Mother of the Messiah, big with that happy Burden, was present. Blessed art thou who hast believed; for whatever has been foretold thee from the Lord, shall be accomplished; nor shalt thou suffer for thy Incredulity, as my Husband doth, having been dumb from the Angel's Appearance.

XIII. The Return which the Blessed Virgin made to these Gratulations, was a zealous and joyful Thanksgiving to God, express'd in that admirable Hymn, call'd the *Magnificat*. My Soul doth magnify the Lord, and my Spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour; for he hath regarded the low Estate of his Handmaiden: For behold, from henceforth all Generations shall call me Blessed. She adds, that God sometimes does great Things for the meanest of his Servants; that he loves to exalt the Humble, and debase the Proud; and lastly confesses, That he is faithful to the Promises which he had made to *Abraham* and his Seed, in making her the Mother of his Son, the promised and long-expected Messiah. In this Ode the Blessed Virgin discovers such a Sense of the divine Honours with which she was favour'd, and at the same Time so fully testifies her Humility and Devotion, that it appears she was indeed full of Grace, and had a Soul plentifully enrich'd with the Gifts of God's Holy Spirit. The *Magnificat* was so esteem'd by the primitive Christians, that they used it as a Part of their Devotions; and the Church of *England* retains it in her Service, as proper Language to express the pious Affections of a devout Mind. Thus were their Joys on both Sides utter'd, as fully as Words could express: And *Mary* abode with her Cousin *Elizabeth* about three Months, and then return'd to her own Habitation at *Nazareth*, being by that Time perfectly convinc'd of her Pregnancy.

XIV. In a short Time after the Blessed Virgin was departed from her, *Elizabeth's* full Time was come that she should be deliver'd; and she brought forth a Son, as the Angel had promised. Her Neighbours and Relations, hearing how gracious God had been to her, came to pay their Visits, and congratulate her on the Happiness by which she was now distinguished. On the Eighth Day after her Delivery, when the Child was to be circumcised

circumcised, and received a Name, according to the Custom of the Jews, the Relations unanimously agreed to call him *Zacharias*, after the name of his Father. But his Mother who had learned from her Husband what Name was to be given him, withstood their Proposition, and steadily insisted on it, that he should be called *John*. They replied, that none of his Family had ever been of that Name, and made Signs to *Zacharias*, who still continued dumb, to know his Pleasure concerning the Matter in debate. *Zacharias* immediately beckoned for a Writing-Table, and writ upon it, His Name is *John*; at which all the Company wondered; not because *John* was an uncommon Name among the Jews, but because it was customary to call Children after some one or other of their Ancestors. *John*, or *Johanan*, signifies the Grace of our Lord, and therefore pertinently alluded to the Person who bore it, whose Office was to prepare the Way of the Lord, and usher his Grace into the World. *Zacharias* had no sooner written the Name of his Son, but he recovered the former Use of his Ears and Tongue, and began to give Thanks to God with a very audible Voice, to the Surprize and Astonishment of all that were present, and the whole Neighbourhood and Country round about, as soon as it was rumour'd abroad. All the wonderful Accidents, which attended the Birth and Circumcision of this Child, were taken particular Notice of, and People conjectured from thence that he would prove an extraordinary Man. But *Zacharias*, receiving the Influence of the Holy Ghost together with the Recovery of his Speech, and now clearly apprehending the near approach of the desired Messiah, broke forth into prophetic Raptures, and blessed the Lord God of Israel, who had begun to visit and redeem his People, by a mighty Saviour, arising out of the Family of David, as he before revealed him

to Adam, Abraham, and all the holy Prophets, that had appeared from the Beginning of the World to that Time: That Mankind might be rescued out of the Hands of their spiritual Enemies, and enabled to serve the Lord without Fear, by walking before him in Righteousness and true Holiness. And then, speaking of his own Child, he gives him a Character agreeable to what we find in the Prophets: That he should be esteemed a Prophet of God: for he should go before the Face of the Lord, to call the Jews to Repentance, and so prepare them to receive his Doctrine at his Manifestation. All this he ascribes to the Free and Fatherly Goodness of God, who caused this Sun of Righteousness to arise on the benighted World, to give Light to them that sit in Darkness, and in the Shadow of Death, and to guide their Feet into the Way of eternal Happiness.

XVI. These Predictions concerning *John* were fully accomplished in process of Time; and God so ordered the Education of this Child, that he was not exposed to any Thing that might hinder the Practice of those self-denying Graces, which were necessary to qualify him for his Office. He improved in Wisdom and Strength of Mind beyond what was common, and led a contemplative Life in Solitudes and Desarts, till he received his Commission to go and preach Repentance to his Countrymen, and appear in the most eminent Cities of the Jewish Nation. Thus much concerning the Son we have from undoubted Authority: Tradition informs us further, that *Elizabeth* being obliged to fly from the Rage of *Herod* with her Child then eighteen Months old, she died about forty Days after in the Wilderness; and that much about the same Time *Zacharias* was killed in the Court of the Temple in the Week of his Ministration. Thus *John* being left an Orphan, the Story adds,

St. Chrysost. Hom. de Nativ. St. Jo. Baptiste.

God deputed an Angel to be his Nourisher and Guardian, as he had formerly done for *Ishmael*, who dwelt in the Wilderness, and for *Elias*, when he fled from the Rage of *Abab*. Whether or no the Fathers, who have left us these Particulars, may have Authority enough to support them, every learned Reader has the Liberty to determine for himself.

DISSERTATION I.

Of the Necessity, and gradual Revelations, of the Messiah; of the two great Dispensations which preceded the Ministry of Jesus Christ, the Patriarchal and Moisaical; the Allusions under each to the Sacrifice of Christ, and the Christian State; with a View of the most direct and circumstantial Prophecies of the Old Testament, which relate to this last Dispensation.

- I. Testimony of the Scriptures sufficient.
II. Unreasonableness of Scepticism. III.
The Substance of this Dissertation.

I. **T**HERE is no need of Arguments to prove, that Man is fallen from his original State, to those who believe the Doctrine of Redemption; since the latter of these Doctrines as naturally presupposes the former, as an Acknowledgment of the Authority of the Bible includes a firm Belief of them both. To a Christian therefore, the Account we have of our own Degeneracy from Revelation, is sufficient to inform him of the Necessity there was of such a Person as Jesus Christ, to restore what Sin had ruined, to re-instate Mankind in the Divine Favour, and leave behind him an Example for those to copy after who are willing to

be just and holy in their Lives. Such an one blesses God for the glorious Provision he has made, by sending his Son into the World, who has fully answer'd all these Purposes, and *on whom whosoever believes shall not perish, but obtain everlasting Life*, as is express'd by the Son of God himself.

II. But we meet with some who call in Question every Thing they cannot immediately comprehend, and had rather continually doubt of the most important Truths, than give themselves the Trouble of accounting for them by a little close Attention. I chuse to mention Things in the softest Terms, otherwise I might have said, There are many Persons who act the Braves against God and Religion, and are resolv'd, in spite of repeated Convictions, to persist in the Denial of every thing they are unwilling to believe. Admitting that the Corruption of human Nature, and the Necessity of propitiatory Sacrifice, cannot be proved by simple Reasoning, are they not blameable for continuing indifferent in a Point about which so great a Part of Mankind are agreed? But if it can be proved that there are certain Signs in our Breasts of the Degeneracy of our Nature, what will these People say to excuse their neglecting to observe them? But I shall have frequent Opportunities of examining what has been said against the several Parts of Revelation, in the Course of this Work. At present therefore, I would only leave these two Questions to be consider'd closely, as they peculiarly relate to the Subject before us. If human Nature be not corrupted, why do we not enjoy that Happiness and Perfection of which we can think and reason so clearly? If human Nature was never uncorrupted, whence have we those Ideas of a remote Happiness, which we are not able to reach, and which frequently give us so much Uneasiness? Every thinking Man will allow, that his Reflections on a distant Good, which he cannot attain, cause him almost a perpetual Dis-

Discontent; and who will assert, that the great Author of Nature design'd to make Man unhappy with what so nobly distinguishes him, his reasoning Faculty?

III. Without entering formally into the Disquisition of a Point, which we had much better receive on the Authority of the Bible, and the Testimony of our own Minds, than endeavour to account for in an argumentative Way, let us only form to ourselves this plain, and, as I think, rational System of Things: *That Man, by falling from his original Rectitude, was very early reduc'd to the Necessity of a Third Person, to make his peace with God, whom he had offended; and that God immediately found such a Person, the Lord Jesus Christ, whom in due Time he determined to send into the World, revealing in the mean while his Purpose, and accepting the Attonement of this Mediator in the Behalf of all who believed on him, as well before his Manifestation as afterwards.* This will lead us to enquire into the Nature and Progress of these Revelations, the religious Rites and Modes of Worship of those Believers who lived before the Incarnation of Christ, how their Ceremonies alluded to this Messiah, and in what manner God might be said to accept their Typical Sacrifices, and other religious Performances. That we may do this distinctly, 'twill be proper to consider the Church from the Creation till this Time, as under a threefold OEconomy, Patriarchal, *Mosaical*, and Evangelical; the Reason of which Names will appear in the Sequel. The two former of these must be the Subject of this Dissertation, they being previous to the Birth of Christ, and filling up the whole Time of the Fathers and Prophets. A short View of them will be necessary in order to the better understanding of the Evangelical Dispensation, introduced by the Son of God, the Perfection towards which the others were but distant Steps, the Substance of which they were only

Shadows. This Survey may be divided into two Sections, by the two Period is comprehends.

SECT. I. Of the Patriarchal OEconomy.

I. *Patriarch, what it signifies.* II. *Religion of the Patriarchs.* III. *Moral Precepts of the Sons of Noah.* IV. *Positive Precept concerning eating of Blood.* V. *Of Circumcision.* VI. *Other positive Precepts.* VII. *Worship of the Patriarchs.* VIII. *Their Sacrifices.* IX. *Places of Worship.* X. *Times of worshipping.* XI. *Their Priesthood.* XII. *Their Morals, simple and natural.* XIII. *But insufficient.* XIV. *They were accepted in the same Manner as Christians.*

I. **T**HE Word *Patriarch* comes from the Greek, and signifies Head of a Family. It is usually apply'd to the ancient Fathers, who lived before *Moses*, as *Adam*, *Lamech*, *Noah*, *Shem*, *Heber*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Judah*, and all the other Heads of the twelve Tribes. This Name has also been extended by the Christians to the Bishops of the first Churches in the East as *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Jerusalem* and *Constantinople*; and to the Founders of Religious Orders, as *St. Basil*, *St. Benedict*, *St. Augustin*, &c. But I must confine it in this Discourse to the original and best known Sense, the Fathers before *Moses*, from whom the Patriarchal Age receiv'd its Denomination.

II. The Patriarchal Age commenced from the Beginning of the World, and continued 'till the Delivery of the Law upon Mount *Sinai*. Under this Dispensation the Laws which God gave for the Exercise of Religion were either natural or positive. Natural Laws are those innate Notions and Principles, whether speculative or practical, with which every Man is born into the World; those common Sentiments of Virtue and Religion, those

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those Ideas of what is proper and right, that are naturally upon the Minds of Men, and obvious to our Reason at first Reflection; commanding what is just and honest, and forbidding what is evil and uncomely; and that not only in general, by intimating that what is good ought to be embraced, and what is evil to be avoided, but in the particular Instances of Duty, valuing Things by their Conformity or Repugnancy to natural Light, weighing the intrinsic and moral Nature of the Things themselves, without regarding the Authority they may derive from any arbitrary Constitution whatsoever. These Laws being the Results and Dictates of Right Reason, are, especially as to their first and more immediate Emanations, the same in all Men in the World, and in all Times and Places. They are interwoven into Mens Nature, and inserted into the Texture and Constitution of our Minds. We need take no Pains to prove that there are such Principles in Mens Breasts, since it is evident from the common Experience of the World and these are what the Apostle calls, *the Law written in the Hearts, the Conscience bearing witness, and the Thoughts that accuse or excuse*, Rom. ii. 14, 15. By these Laws Mankind were principally governed in the first Ages of the World, there being for near two thousand Years no other standing Rule of Duty than the Dictates of Nature.

III. The *Jews* frequently mention (*b*) seven particular Commands, which they call the Precepts of the Sons of *Noah*. The six first of these are said to be given to *Adam* and his Children, and contain the Substance of the Decalogue. The first is against the Worship of Idols, and strange Gods. The second against blaspheming the Name of the true God. The third forbids the shedding of innocent Blood. The fourth prohibits Adultery, unlawful

Marriages, and incestuous Mixtures. The fifth Precept is concerning Theft, and opposes invading another Man's Property, the Violation of Bargains, the falsifying a Man's Word, and all manner of Lying and Fraud. The sixth respects the Administration of Justice, that Judges and Magistrates should be appointed in every Place, for the Order and Government of Civil Societies, and the Determination of Causes between Man and Man. Whether these Precepts were by any solemn external Act particularly delivered to the antediluvian Patriarchs or no, 'tis certain they contain a considerable Part of Nature's Statute Law, and comprise the greater Strokes and Lineaments of those natural Dictates that are imprinted on the Souls of Men: And so agreeable to Reason did they seem, that the *Jews*, the fondest People under Heaven of their legal Rites, received those *Gentiles* who observed them as Profelytes into their Church, tho' they did not submit to Circumcision, and the rest of the *Mosaical* Institutions.

IV. The seventh of these Precepts was of the positive kind, and deliver'd by God to *Noah* Gen. ix. 4. It prohibits eating of Flesh *with the Blood, which is the Life thereof*. This Precept, as well as the rest, was imposed on the *Gentile* Converts by the Apostolical Synod at *Jerusalem*, as a proper Expedient to heal the Differences between them and the *Jews*, by whom it had been before received as of equal Authority with the other six, and the Observance of it required of all Profelytes. These positive Precepts were communicated by God as Occasion required, to supply the Exigencies of the Church. The Signification of this concerning Blood, as appears by what follows the Command to *Noah*, was no other than that God would not have Men trained up to Acts of Cruelty, lest Severity towards Beasts should de-

(b) Gem. Babyl. tit. Sanhed Maimonides Tr. Melak, & alibi ap. Judæos.

generate into Piety towards Men. We commence inhuman by Degrees, and little Approaches render a Thing in itself abhorrent, not only familiar but delightful. The Romans, who first entertain'd People in the Amphitheatre with wild Beasts killing one another, came afterwards wantonly to sport away the Lives of their Gladiators, and at last to cast Persons to be devoured by Bears and Lions, merely for the Diversion of the People. This Law against eating Blood was renewed under the Mosaic Constitution, but with a peculiar Signification, which we shall there explain.

V. Another positive Precept was concerning Circumcision, given to Abraham at the Time that God enter'd into Covenant with him, to take his Posterity for his peculiar People, and out of them to raise the promised Messiah. This was to be the discriminating Badge of Abraham's Children, and the Seal of the Covenant, as all federal Compacts have some solemn external Rites of Ratification. It was also an Argument of Abraham's hearty Compliance with the Terms of this Covenant, that he would submit at his Years to so painful and dangerous an Ordinance. This Institution also was afterwards incorporated with the Body of the Jewish Laws.

VI. We might enumerate several other Precepts that were occasionally given for the Use of the Church; such as that none of the Holy Line, or the Sons of Seth, should intermarry with the idolatrous Nations, or go unto the Daughters of Men. Thus we find Abraham careful that Isaac should not take a Wife of the Daughters of the Canaanites. Such also was the Command, that the next Brother to him who died without Issue, should marry the Wife of the deceased, and raise up Seed to his Brother, the Contempt of which Institution cost Onan his Life, Gen. xxxviii. 8, 9, 10. By their Obedience to these positive Laws were the People of God in those Days distinguished, when a Corruption of

Manners, and the Worship of false Deities, were grown prevalent, thro' a Neglect of those natural Principles abovementioned. Thus did God begin, even from the Fall itself, by a gradual Revelation of his Will, to repair those Parts of his Image in the human Mind which were effaced by the Transgression of his first Command. As the Degeneracy was greater, the Revelation was clearer and more particular, till the Sun of Righteousness arose, with Healing under his Wings. But that we may not anticipate the Subject of the following Parts of this Dissertation, let us now take a short View of the Patriarchal Worship, by considering the Nature of it, the Places where, the Times when, and the Persons by whom, it was administer'd.

VII. Doubtless the first Care of those holy Patriarchs, was to explain and improve the natural Laws written on the Mind, to all that were under their Charge; and to acquaint them with those divine Traditions and positive Revelations, which they themselves had received from God. Part of the Character of Abraham, given by God himself, is in these Words: *I know him, that he will command his Children, and his Household after him, and they shall keep the Way of the Lord, to do Justice and Judgement*, Gen. xviii. 19. To this they joined Prayer and Invocation, than which no Duty is more natural and necessary. More natural, as it expresses our great Reverence of the Divine Majesty, and the Propensity there is in us to make known our Wants. More necessary, because our whole Dependance being upon the constant Returns of the Divine Power and Goodness, 'tis but reasonable that we should make our daily Addresses to him, in whom we live, move, and have our Being. Nor were they wanting in Returns of Praise, both by entertaining venerable Thoughts of God, and by Actions suitable to those honourable Sentiments. In these Acts of Worship they were careful to use Gestures

Gestures of the greatest Submission, the most common of which was Prostration. Abraham bowed him self towards the Ground, Gen. xviii. 2. The Israelites bowed their Heads and worshipped, when God sent them the happy News of their Deliverance out of Egypt, Exod. iv. 31.

This Posture has ever since been the usual Mode of Adoration in all those Eastern Countries.

VIII. But the most remarkable Part of the publick Worship of those Times was their Sacrifices; a very early kind of Devotion, taking its Rise in all probability from Adam's Fall. They were either eucharistical, expressing Thankfulness for Blessings received; or expiatory, offered for the Remission of Sins. Whether these Sacrifices were first taken up at Mens arbitrary Pleasure, or positively commanded by God, might admit of a very large Enquiry: But it seems more than probable that eucharistical Sacrifices, such as First-Fruits, and the like, might be suggested by Mens own Reason, as the natural Significations of a grateful Mind. And thus far might there be Sacrifices in the State of Innocence; for Man being created under such excellent Circumstances as he was in Paradise, could not but know that he owed all possible Gratitude and Subjection to God, and therefore was obliged to pay him some Testimony of his Acknowledgment. But when our first Father was sunk under a State of Guilt, he was then to seek for a Way to pacify his angry Benefactor; and this was done by bloody and expiatory Sacrifices, which God accepted in the Sinner's stead. It seems reasonable to suppose that these were founded upon a positive Institution; for a Pardon of Sin was a Matter of pure Grace and Favour, God alone could appoint the Means by which it should be signified and convey'd; which Means

might be first revealed to Adam, and by him communicated to his Children. The Deity propitiated by the Attonements, or rather by their Respect to a future Redeemer, was wont to testify his Acceptance of them by some external visible Sign. Thus Cain perceived that God had respect to Abel's Sacrifice; which probably was discovered by sending Fire from Heaven to destroy it, as the Passage (b) has formerly been rendered. This frequently happened to the Sacrifices of the Mosaic Dispensation; and in that famous Sacrifice of Abraham, we read, *That a Lamp of Fire passed between the Parts of the Sacrifice.*

IX. 'Tis highly probable, that they had fixed and determinate Places for the Discharge of their religious Duties, those especially that were performed in common; for Nature, and the Reason of Things would put them upon it. Most have expounded the Phrase, *Cain and Abel brought their Oblations*, by adding, *to the Place set apart for divine Worship*; and 'tis like Cain deferred his murderous Intentions till he came into the Field, on account of the Solemnity of the Place, and the visible Appearances of the Divine Majesty. Altars, no doubt, were contemporary with Sacrifices themselves, tho' we read not of them till after the Flood: That 'twas usual to build them in Groves we have more than one Proof in the Old Testament. To instance only in Abraham, when he dwelt at Beer-sheba in the Plains of Mamre, he planted a Grove there, and called upon the Name of the Lord the Everlasting God. There was an Oak standing here which bore the Patriarch's Name till the Days of Constantine, who caused it to be cut down, and a Church erected in the Place, on account of its being prophaned, because both Jews and Gentiles, as well as Christians, used to visit it, and do honour to the venerable Relic, according to

the different Principles of their Religion. *Josephus* (c) mentions the Place of this Oak, and says it was called *Ogyges*; whence 'tis conjectured that *Noah* might live there before, and either give Name to the Place, or receive his own Name from it, he being usually called *Ogyges* by Pagan Writers. The Gentiles, and particularly the *Druids*, might probably derive their Oaks and Groves from this Practice of the Patriarchs, as they did their Name from the Place of their Worship, the Word *Deru* signifying an Oak both in *Celtic* and *Welsh*; and 'tis well known that the *Druids* were the Masters of Religion and Learning among the antient *Gauls* and *Britons*.

X. As to the Times when those Antients usually paid their Devotions, since Order is more especially necessary in Actions of Religion, we cannot think that the Patriarchs of the Church were left at an Uncertainty in a Matter of such Importance, when we find the most unpolished Heathens had Times set apart for the Worship of their Gods. When *Gain* is said to bring his Oblation *in process of Time*, the original Word signifies a determinate or appointed Time. But this is all we chuse to say on this Head, the Argument for a weekly Sabbath, taken from the Place where 'tis said, *That God resting on the Seventh Day from all his Works, blessed the Seventh Day and sanctified it*, having but little Force, it being confessed by the *Jews*, and asserted by many of the antient Fathers, that there are no Footsteps of such a Sabbath thro' all the Patriarchal Periods, till the Time of *Moses*.

XI. We proceed to the Persons by whom their publick Worship was administered. The Priesthood in those Times was vested in the Heads of Tribes and First-born of every Family: And this Office hereditarily descended to the First-

born, who had the Power to discharge it during the Life of his Father. *Abraham* was a Priest, tho' *Sem*, the Head of the Family, ten Degrees removed from him in a direct Line, was yet alive. *Jacob*, who succeeded in his Brother's Right, offered Sacrifices in the Life-time of his Father *Isaac*. This was not, however, so absolute, but that the younger Brothers might in some Cases exercise the sacerdotal Function; for we know that neither *Abraham*, *Levi*, nor *Moses*, was an eldest Son: But in general the Case was thus: The Patriarch of every Tribe was High-Priest over all the Families descended from him; the First-born of every Branch, was ordinary Priest of his particular Family; the younger Brethren, when they left their Fathers House, becoming Heads of Families, assumed also the ordinary Priesthood, tho' the main Honour was reserved for the elder Brother. This Right of the Priesthood was so much esteemed, that 'tis thought *Esau* is called, *a prophane Person* for selling his Birth-right, because he thereby made light of that sacred Office.

XII. This brief Enquiry into the Worship of the Patriarchs, gives us the Idea of a Religion altogether natural, simple, unforced, and highly agreeable to the common Dictates of our Minds. They were not conducted by a Body of numerous written Laws, but following the Order of Nature and right Reason, they maintained a free and uninterrupted Course of Integrity and Devotion: So that having purged their Minds from Lust and Passion, they had no other external Constitutions than those which were immediately given them by God, as the Occasion required, either as Preservatives from the Pollutions among which they dwelt, or as Shadows of some future Good, on which they were taught to depend. Of this Religion were *Abel*, *Enoch*, *Noah*,

Sam, Lot, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all that fill up the direct Line from Seth through many Generations; of the same Religion also were Melchisedek, and Job, though we have no particular Account of their Families.

XIII. But these holy Men had all need of something more than this natural Worship; even their expiatory Sacrifices were no otherwise accepted of God than as they pointed out the great Sacrifice of his Son, who was in due time to be offered once for all, for the Sins of the World; and therefore St. Paul attributes the superior Excellence of all the Patriarchs to their Confidence in the Promises of God. This Apostle, after having enumerated the particular Trials of their Faith that are recorded in the Old Testament, concludes with saying, *that these all having obtained a good Report through Faith, received not the Promises, God having reserved some better Things for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.* Now that by the better Things reserved for us, should be understood the Coming of Christ, and the clearer Revelation of the New Covenant, seems agreeable to the Apostle's Reasoning through this and the next Chapter, and proves the Imperfection of the Dispensation under which the Patriarchs lived. And as he runs over the Names of the most remarkable Persons for Piety under the Law, as well as before it, his Argument holds good with respect to that Dispensation also. If none of these extraordinary Persons, who carried their Duty to the greatest Length that ever any of the Sons of Adam had done, could be justified in the Sight of God, and otherwise than by Faith alone; if the most surprizing Instances of their Humility, Stedfastness, and Obedience were accepted only as so many Proofs of their Confidence in the Promises of God,

with respect to the future Messiah; if these Particulars are true, how necessary was the Manifestation of this Messiah, on whose expected Satisfaction the most excellent of Humankind, who to the clearest Reason had the additional Advantage of occasional Revelation, had so long before depended for all their Merit, and whom they beheld from afar as their Propitiation with the Father?

XIV. Thus, notwithstanding the Difference of outward Forms and Customs, the Faith and Manners of the Patriarchs were one and the same with the Belief and Practice of Christians; with this Advantage however on our Side, that we have a more certain Ground for our Faith, from the Evidence we have, that all the Promises on which they depended, have been since actually accomplished. (e) Eusebius not only asserts this, and makes it good in general, but deduces it from the particular Instances of *Enoch, Noah, Abraham*, and others before mention'd, whom he expressly proves to have believed and lived *altogether after the manner of Christians*. In a word, he maintains, That as they had the same common Religion, so they had the same common Reward and Benefit. That this was the direct Meaning of Heaven is also plain from the Messiah's being promised in the very Infancy of the World, as soon as ever Man found himself in a helpless Condition. The very Sentence passed upon our first Parents was accompany'd with an Assurance, *That the Seed of the Woman should bruise the Serpent's Head*, Gen. iii. 15. and the Command of Circumcision given to *Abraham*, for himself and his Posterity, was only the Seal of that Covenant, *That in his Seed should all the Nations of the Earth be blessed*, Gen. xvii. 7, 8, 9, The Particulars of which

(e) Demonstratio Evangelica, lib. i. cap. 3 & 6.

Covenant were so well understood by *Jacob*, that he declared in the Spirit of Prophecy which of his Sons should have Dominion over his Brethren till the Messiah actually appeared.

SECT. II. Of the *Mosaic Dispensation*, what, and by whom introduced. II. Delivery of the Law. III. Substance of it. IV. Moral Laws of the Jews. V. Their Ceremonial Laws, of what they consisted, and for what Purpose introduced. VI. Prayers. VII. Sacrifices. VIII. Sacraments. IX, X, XI, XII. Where, when, and by whom, their ritual Institutions were celebrated. XIII. End of the Ceremonial Law. XIV. Judicial Constitutions. XV. Methods of Revelation under the Law. XVI. Urim and Thummim. XVII. The Spirit of Prophecy. XVIII. The audible Voice. XIX, XX, XXI, XXII. Prophecies under the Law considered, and apply'd.

WHEN the Church was multiplied into a great Nation, God was pleased to renew that Covenant with the whole Body of the People, which he had before made with private Families, by giving them a Dispensation, consisting of Meats and Drinks, and divers Washings, and carnal Ordinances, imposed on them until the Time of Reformation; Heb. ix. 10. The Minister of this Dispensation was *Moses*, the Son of *Amram*, a Person of extraordinary Qualities, whose signal Preservation, when but an Infant, prefig'd him to be born for great Undertakings.

II. The *Israelites* having pass'd the Red Sea, and seen the Host of the Egyptians drown'd therein, when they came to the Wilderness of *Arabia*, they were or-

der'd to sanctify themselves for three Days, that they might entertain the Divine Will with a pure Mind. *Moses* was call'd up into Mount *Sinai*, where, being prepar'd by fasting and Prayer, he conversed with Heaven, and received the Body of the Jewish Laws. On the third Day after the People had begun to purify themselves, God descended from Heaven with great Appearances of Majesty and Terror, with Thunders and Lightnings, with black Clouds and Tempests, with Shouts and the loud Noise of a Trumpet, with Fire and Smoke on the Top of the Mount, ascending up like the Smoke of a Furnace; the Mountain itself quaking, the People trembling, Heb. xii. 21. so terrible was the Sight, that *Moses* himself said, I exceedingly fear and quake. Such Pomp and Magnificence did God make use of at this Time, to excite the more solemn Attention to his Laws, and begot the greater Reverence for them in the Minds of the People.

III. The Digest, or Code, of the Laws which God now gave to the Jews, is the Terms of the national Covenant which he made with them, consisted of three Sorts of Precepts, Moral, Ecclesiastical, and Political; which the Jews will have intimated by the Laws, Statutes and Judgments, so often mention'd in the Writings of *Moses*. By Laws they understand the Moral Law, or our natural Notions of Good and Evil. By Statutes, Ceremonial Precepts, given with peculiar Reference to the Church. By Judgments, Political Laws, concerning Equity, and the Order of Human Society. I shall briefly consider them all according to this Division.

IV. The Moral Laws are contained in the Decalogue, or (a) the ten Words that were written upon two Tables of Stone. They are nothing but a Summary of the

(a) So they are called in the Hebrew. (c)

great Laws of Nature, the most material Parts of which were now consign'd to Writing, and incorporated with the Jewish Institutions. Those, however, who take the Decalogue for a compleat System of natural Laws, are greatly mistaken, there being many Instances of Duty so far from being commanded in it, that they are not reducible to any Part of it, unless drawn thither by unnatural Inferences. Where do those Commandments oblige us to do Good to others? to love, assist, relieve our Enemies? Where do they command, or even intimate, the Duty of Gratitude to Benefactors? Not to instance in many other Particulars, from all which 'tis probable, that God reduced only so many of the Laws of Nature to Writing as were proper to the present State and Capacity of the People to whom they were given; adding some, and explaining others, by the Preaching and Ministry of the Prophets. Hence it is that our Lord, who came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it, Matt. v. 17. has explained the Obligations of Nature more fully and clearly, rendered our Duty more fix'd and certain, extended many Instances of Obedience to the higher Measures, to greater Exactness and Perfection, than they were ever understood to have before. The Doctrine of universal Charity, *That we should love our Enemies, bless them that curse us, do Good to them that hate us, and pray for them that despitefully use us, and persecute us*; the Doctrine of Self-Denial, and taking up of the Cross; that of retrenching our irregular Appetites, express'd by cutting off a Right Hand, and plucking out a right Eye; these, and many more, are Evangelical Commands, yet agreeable to the great Standard of Nature. Add to this, that besides the Duties omitted in the Decalogue, the Command concerning the Sabbath-Day had never been infer'd there, had God design'd to give a mere Summary therein of the Laws of Nature, that Command having nothing of an eter-

nal Obligation in it more than this, That God should be honour'd with publickly, as well as private, Worship, which he cannot be, unless proper Portions of Time are set apart for that Purpose.

V. The Ceremonial Laws seem to have been given for two Purposes: For the more orderly Government of the Church, the more decent Administration of the Worship of God; and that they might be Types and Figures of the Evangelical State, *Shadows of good Things to come*, Heb. x. 1. visible and symbolical Representations of the Messiah, and the great Blessings which he was to introduce into the World. I shall respect them chiefly in the latter of these Lights; which doubtless was the principal End of their Institution, and the Reason why God was so particular in the minutest Part of the Temple Ministration. The Mosaical Worship consisted chiefly in Prayer, Sacrifices, and Sacraments.

VI. Prayers were daily put up together with their Offerings; of which tho' we have few Constitutions, yet the particular Forms that are extant in the Jewish Writings and the constant Practice of that Church, are sufficient Evidence.

VII. Sacrifices were the constant and most solemn Part of their Worship, they having their continual Burnt Offering, a Lamb offer'd Morning and Evening, with a Measure of Flour, Oil, and Wine; the Charge whereof was defray'd out of the Treasury of the Temple. The rest of their Sacrifices, like those of the Patriarchs, were either expiatory or eucharistical. The expiatory Sacrifices were to pacify the divine Displeasure, and procure the Pardon of Sin, which they did by virtue of their typical Relation to the great Sacrifice of the Son of God. They were either whole Burnt Offerings for Sin in general, which were entirely consum'd; or for the Redemption of particular Offences, of which latter there were two Sorts. The Sin Offering, for involuntary Offences,

ces,

ees, either of the Priest, the Prince, the People, or any private Person; and the Trespass-Offering, for studied and premeditated Transgressions, which the Offenders could not pretend were the Effects of Chance or Surprize. Eucharistical Sacrifices were Testimonies of Gratitude to God for Mercies received. They were of three Sorts. The *Meat-Offering*, in return for the daily Preservation and Provisions of Life, consisting only of the Fruits of the Ground. The *Peace-Offering*, from a Sense of some Blessing received, or to perform the voluntary Obligation of some Vow; Here the Fat was consumed, and the rest divided between the Priest and the Offerer. The *Thanksgiving-Offering* was a mixed kind of Sacrifice, consisting of living Creatures, and the Fruits of the Earth, which they might offer at their own Will, but it must be eaten the same Day. All other occasional Sacrifices are reducible to one or other of these Heads.

VIII. The third Part of their Worship was their two Sacraments, *Circumcision* and the *Passover*. Of Circumcision and the mystical Reason of its Institution I have spoken before, and will only add in this Place, that it was to be administer'd the eighth Day, which the *Jews* understand inclusively, for six whole Days, and Part of two others, in like manner as we reckon three Days between our Saviour's Burial and his Resurrection. The *Passover* was instituted as an annual Memorial of their Deliverance out of *Egypt*, and as a typical Representation of our spiritual Redemption by Christ. It was to be celebrated with a Male Lamb without Blemish, taken out of the Flock; to denote the *Lamb of God, that takes away the Sins of the World; who was taken from among Men, a Lamb without Blemish and without Spot, holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from Sinners.* None but the Clean and Circumcised might eat of it, to shew that only true Believers can be Partakers of Christ, and the Merits of his Death.

IX. To pursue the Method of the former Part of this Dissertation, I should now take notice of the Places where, the Times when, and the Persons by whom, the ceremonial Worship of the *Jews* was performed. Each of these Particulars might be largely treated of, and to Advantage in the present Enquiry, they being all very significant, and having a visible Relation to the more glorious OEconomy of the Gospel; but having already gone beyond my intended Length, I shall leave a great deal on every one of these Articles, as I have already done with respect to many of the foregoing Particulars, to be introduced in other Parts of this Work, where they may be separately consider'd at large as Occasion offers, without suspending my Reader's Attention too long at once from the History itself.

X. In brief then, the Places of their publick Worship were either the Tabernacle made in the Wilderness, or the Temple built by *Solomon*, between which there was no essential Difference, the former being as it were a moveable Temple, and the latter a standing Tabernacle. They were divided into, *The Holiest of all*, or *Sanctum Sanctorum*, a Type of Heaven, whither none entered but the High-Priest, and that but once a Year; the *Holy-Place*, or *Sanctuary*, where the ordinary Priests performed their daily Ministrations; and the *Inner-Court*, whither the People came to offer their Prayers and Sacrifices. There was always a Fourth Court, called *the Court of the Gentiles*, into which Strangers and *Jews* that were unclean might enter. This in the New-Testament is sometimes called the Temple, and here it was that the *Corban*, or Treasury, was kept. The Golden Censer, the Ark of the Covenant, the Pot of Manna, *Aaron's* Rod that budded, the two Tables, the Mercy-Seat, the Golden-Candlestick, the Shew-Bread, &c. are Types of the Messiah, and will hereafter severally fall under our Consideration.

XI. Their

XI. Their Times of Worship were daily, weekly, monthly, or yearly. Their daily Worship was the Morning and Evening Sacrifice. Their weekly Solemnity was the Sabbath, a Type of that Rest that remains for the People of God. Their monthly Festivals were the New-Moons, observed with Sacrifices, Sound of Trumpets, and other Expressions of Joy, in Remembrance of the Blessings which had that Month been conferred on them. Their grand annual Feasts were three, at which all the Males were to appear at Jerusalem, and present themselves before God. First, the Passover, celebrated as before described, on the fourteenth Day of the first Month. Secondly, the Pentecost, fifty Days after the Passover, partly in memory of the Promulgation of the Law, partly as a Thanksgiving for the Gathering in of their Harvest. Thirdly, The Feast of the Tabernacles, beginning on the fifteenth Day of the seventh Month, and continuing seven Days successively; at which Time they dwelt in Booths made of green Boughs, as a Memorial of their sojourning in the Wilderness, and a Type of the transitory Duration of this Life. Besides these were some of less Moment, such as the Feast of Trumpets, and that of Expiation. Every Seventh was a Sabbatical Year, when the Ground was to lie fallow; and every fiftieth Year, which was the Return of seven times seven, was a Jubilee, when Servants were released, Debts discharged, and mortgaged Estates restored to the proper Owners. How evidently did this shadow out the State of the Gospel, and our Lord's coming to bring Good Tidings to the

Meek, to bind up the Broken-hearted, to preach Liberty to the Captives, and the Opening of the Prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable Year of the Lord, that they might lift up their Heads, because their Redemption drew nigh? Isa. lxi. 1, 2. Luke, iv. 18.

XII. For the Administration of publick Worship were the High-Priest, the ordinary Priests, and the Levites; who all had their proper Offices. Of these the High-Priest was most eminently a Figure of the Messiah, the one Mediator between God and Man, who by the Sacrifice of himself, thro' the Veil of his own Flesh, entered not into the holy Place made with Hands, but into Heaven itself, to appear in the Presence of God for us; in like Manner as the High-Priest only, once a Year, entered in the Holiest of all, to make Attonement for the Sins of the People.

XIII. I have omitted the ritual Constitutions about Meats and Drinks, Creatures clean and unclean, ceremonial Pollutions, and other Provisions concerning the several Parts of human Life; it being sufficient to observe in general, That the whole ceremonial Law had only a Shadow of good Things to come, and not the very Image of the Things themselves; the Body was Christ: And therefore tho' the Law came by Moses, yet Grace and the Truth of all those Types and Figures came by Jesus Christ. Ceremonies were no longer of Use when once the Substance was at Hand; as the Stars disappear at the Rising of the Sun. The Messiah being cut off, caused the Sacrifice and the Oblation to cease. (b) Forty Years before the Destruction of Jerusalem, say the Jews themselves, (c) the

(b) Which answers to the Time of our Lord's Crucifixion.

(c) This refers to the Day of Expiation; when two Goats were brought to the High-Priest, and placed one on his Right Side, the other on his Left; at the same Time that two Lots were put into an Urn, on one of which was written for the Lord, and on the other for the Scap-Goat. After the Urn had been shaken, the Priest put both his Hands into it, and took out the Lots; when if that for the Lord came up in his Right Hand, 'twas thought a propitious Omen.

Lot did no more go up into the Right-hand of the Priest, (d) nor did the Scarlet Ribbon any more turn White, nor the Evening Lamp burn any longer; and the Gates of the Temple opened of their own accord. This last Particular at once confirms what the Gospel reports of the Opening of the Temple by the Scissure of the Veil; as in the rest they seem to confess, that their Sacrifices and Temple-Services began to cease, or at least to fail, about the Time of Christ. And how should they do otherwise, when the Reason for which they were at first instituted was no longer in Being?

XIV. The judicial and political Laws of the Jews were the municipal Laws of the Nation, enacted for the Good of the State. They were a kind of Appendage to the second Table of the Decalogue, as the ceremonial Laws were to the first. As these Laws were peculiarly calculated for the Jewish State, they cannot reasonably be imposed on any other People, tho' enacted by the wisest Legislator, unless such People were under an equal Concurrence of Circumstances with that of the Israelites, when these Precepts were given. Therefore they went off the Stage with the Jewish Polity; and if any Parts of them do still remain obligatory, 'tis because they are Branches of the Law of Nature, and consequently immutable and eternal.

XV. Before we part with this Account of the Mosaical Oeconomy, it will be worth while to take Notice briefly of the principal Methods in which God communicated his Mind to that People, which were these two; the Urim and Thummim, and the Spirit of Prophecy.

XVI. What the Urim and Thummim was the Scriptures have no where explained,

any farther than to say, that it was something which Moses put into the Breast-Plate of the High-Priest. The learned Dr. Prideaux, after having given the several Opinions of Commentators, concerning it, concludes it to be only the divine Virtue and Power given to the Breast-Plate at its Consecration, of obtaining an oraculous Answer from God; and that these Words, which literally signify Light and Perfection, mean no more than the Clearness and Truth which those Answers carried with them. The same Author, with as good Reason, believes the Manner of asking Counsel by the Urim and Thummim to be this. The High-Priest, clothed with his Robes and Breast-Plate, presented himself before the Ark of the Covenant, without the Veil of the Sanctum Sanctorum; the King, the President of the Sanhedrim, or the General of the Army, standing at some distance behind him; for God would be consulted this Way only in national Affairs. When the Matter was proposed concerning which Counsel was desired of the Lord, the Answer was given from the Mercy Seat within the Veil, by an audible Voice. The Form seems to have been much the same when the Breast-Plate was carried to the Camp, without the Ark of the Covenant; for a Tent was built, on which was placed a Coffer resembling the Ark, which served as the Repository of the Breast-Plate and Ephod; before this the Priest who was anointed for the Wars in the room of the High-Priest, made his Addresses, and received an Answer from God on any Emergency, as directly as when the Ark was present.

XVII. But the most frequent and standing Method of divine Revelation was the Spirit of Prophecy, when God communi-

Till the Time of Simon the Just, this was always the Case; from Simon's Time till now the Lot for the Lord came up sometimes in the Right Hand, and sometimes in the Left; but after our Lord's Death always in the Left.

(d) the Scarlet Ribbon was tied to the Forehead of the Scape-Goat, and its turning White was a Token that God accepted of the Attonement.

cated.

cated his Will by Dreams and Visions, or immediate Inspirations. The highest Pitch of this Prophetick Revelation was that which God used to *Moses*, when he *spake to him Face to Face, as a Man speaketh unto his Friend*, *Exod. xxxiii. 11.* This is evidently distinguished from the other Methods of Inspiration, when God says, *Numb. xii. 6, 7, 8. If there be a Prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a Vision, and will speak unto him in a Dream. My Servant Moses is not so; with him I will speak Mouth to Mouth, and not in dark Speeches, and the Similitude of the Lord shall be bebold.* Besides these Ways of speaking by Dreams and Visions, God sometimes dealt immediately with the Understandings of Men, distinct from their Fancy and Senses, which was the most serene and easy Way to the Prophet, he having his Power active, his Mind calm and undisturbed, while the Supreme Being imparted his Pleasure. These divine Communications were always so convey'd, and the Evidence they brought was so mighty and perspicuous, that the inspired Person had no Room to doubt their heavenly Original. 'Tis true indeed, when the prophetick Spirit seized upon wicked Men, as in the Case of *Balaam* and *Caiaphas*, the Revelation passed through them, as a Sound through a Tube, without leaving any suitable Impression on their Minds; but the true Prophets always knew the Spirit that acted them, and what was the Meaning of the Intelligence they received.

XVIII. The *Jews* mention another kind of Revelation, which say they, was in Use only during the times of the second Temple. This they call *Daughter of a Voice*, and pretend that it came from Heaven sometimes accompany'd with Thunder on many extraordinary Occasions. But as we have this Account only from *Jewish*

Writers, whose Faith is hardly to be trusted, there is little Reason to believe any Thing of the Matter; or we may reasonably think at least (e) that if there ever were such a Thing, 'twas only a diabolical Delusion. We have, indeed, the Testimony of the Evangelists, that such a Voice bore Witness to our Lord at his Baptism, his Transfiguration, and at the Passover at *Jerusalem*; and most of St. *John's* Intel- ligences in his Book of Revelation, are ushered in with affirming that *he heard a Voice from Heaven*. But these Instances make nothing for the *Jews*, and rather prove that this Way of Revelation was reserved for the Dispensation of the Gospel.

XIX What might be here said of the *Jewish* Polity and Religion at the Time of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, and the gradual Decays in both, from their Institution till they were abolished by the Gospel, shall be referred to a subsequent Discourse, when we shall extend our Enquiries to the other Nations also, whose Affairs were so intermixed with those of the *Jews*, as to afford them a great deal of Light, and ought therefore to appear in the same Place.

XX. There needs not a very close Reflection, to discover throughout both Parts of this Dissertation, especially the latter, many more Allusions to the Messiah, and the evangelical State, than have been mentioned expressly. It remains, however, to take Notice of some of the most direct and positive Promises that were given to the *Jews* during the *Mosaical* Dispensation; these being less capable of Misrepresentation than the former, and consequently affording us an unanswerable Authority for believing that Jesus of *Nazareth* was the Anointed of God, the Redeemer of Mankind. But in this I shall also be very brief at present.

(e) Dr. *Lightfoot*. H. Hebr. in Matt. iii. 27.

XXI. We find *Moses* foretelling one main Errand for which the Messiah was to come, which was to be the *Great Prophet of the Church*; to whom all the People should hearken as to an extraordinary Person, sent from God to acquaint the World with the Laws and Counsels of Heaven. *David* was informed that he should spring out of his House and Family, and speaks very plainly of his Sufferings, and the particular Manner of his Death, *by piercing his Hands and his Feet*; of his powerful Resurrection, *that God would not leave his Soul in Hell, nor suffer his Holy One to see Corruption*; of his triumphant *Ascension into Heaven*, and glorious *Session at God's Right-Hand*. From the Prophet *Isaiah* we have an Account of the extraordinary and miraculous Manner of his Birth, that he should be born of a *Virgin*, and his Name be *Immanuel*; of his incomparable Furniture with Gifts and Graces for the Execution of his Office, of the Entertainment he was to meet with in the World, and the Nature and Design of those Sufferings which he was to undergo. The Place of his Birth was foretold by *Micah* to be *Bethlehem Ephrath*, the least of the Cities of *Judah*, but honoured above all the rest with the Nativity of a Prince, who was to be a Ruler in *Israel*, whose Goings forth had been from everlasting. To conclude, the Prophet *Daniel* fixes the particular Period of his Coming, expressly affirming, *Dan. ix. 25, 26.* that the Messiah should appear in the World, and be cut off as a Victim for the Sins of the People, at the Expiration of seventy prophetic Weeks, or four hundred and ninety Years, which accordingly came literally to pass.

XXII. Most, if not all, of the Texts that have been recited, are understood by the *Jews* in the same Manner as by us Christians, and are so interpreted in their

(e) *Targums*, the principal of which were composed not long before the Birth of our Lord, when the Expectation of a great Deliverer was so prevalent among the *Jews*. Indeed there is no other Way of explaining these Passages that is reconcileable to common Sense; and therefore they undeniably prove the truths they are brought to maintain, that from the Fall of Man till the Fullness of time for his Redemption was come, God at sundry times, and in divers Manners, frequently by explicit and circumstantial Declarations, revealed the Messiah to the Fathers and Prophets; and that the Accomplishment of these Revelations and Prophecies in the Person of Jesus Christ, affords us a sufficient Ground for our Faith and Confidence in him, as the Mediator of the new Covenant, in whom all the Promises of God are Yea and Amen.

DISSERTATION II.

Chronological, Historical, and Critical.

I. *Time of Christ's Birth, and Remarks on an old Jewish Tradition.* II. *State of the Roman Empire at our Lord's Nativity.* III. *Current Year of the Reigns of Augustus and Herod at that Time.* IV. *Family of Herod, and Religion of the Idumeans.* V. *Profelytes to Judaism describ'd.* VI. *Herod's Descent according to Nicolas of Damascus, the Fathers, and Josephus.* VII. *According to Father Harduin.* VIII. *Virgil's Pollio consider'd.* IX. *Compared with some Passages of Isaiah's Prophecy.* X. *A Prediction recorded by Julius Marathus.* XI. *Others taken from Tacitus and Suetonius.* XII. *Whence these Prophecies derived.* XIII. *What the Sybils were.* XIV. *When the Cumean Sybil lived.* XV. *History of Tarquin*

and the Sybil. XVI. *The Sibylline Oracles renew'd.* XVII. *Occasion and History of their Destruction.* XVIII. *The Collection of Sibylline Oracles now extant.* XIX. *Conjecture concerning them.* XX. *The Story of Tarquin a Fraud.* XXI. *These Predictions not immediately from God.* XXII. *Whence the Heathens received them.* XXIII. *The Hand of Providence in their Promulgation.*

I. **T**HAT Christ was born in the Year of the World four thousand, is according to the Computation of Archbishop *Usher*, which is thought the most exact. 'Tis also worth Notice, that it falls in-punctually with the Time where an old Tradition of the *Jews* places the Beginning of the Days of the Messiah. The Substance of this Tradition is, That the World was to last six thousand Years; of which two thousand were before the Law, two thousand under the Law, and the last two thousand were to be under the Messiah. This Opinion is said to be of great Antiquity, and still retained among the *Jews*, as one of their most authentic Traditions: But its pretending to foretel when the World shall end, which the Scriptures assure us God has reserved as a Secret to himself, sufficiently proves its Vanity. It may serve, however, to convict the *Jews* of gross and most perverse Infidelity, in that whereas Christ was born in that very Year wherein their Tradition fixes the Appearance of the Messiah, they have now suffered above seventeen hundred Years to pass, and have not yet acknowledged him. In answer to this, they confess, That the Year four thousand was the exact Time pointed at by the Prophets for the Coming of the Messiah; but his Appearance has been delay'd on account of their Iniquities. But this is contrary to another Doctrine

generally receiv'd among them, which teaches, (a) that when God denounces Evil to come, he doth not always bring it to pass, as in the Case of the repentant *Ninevites*; but when he foretells of good Things to come, he never fails of the Performance. And indeed this Doctrine is not without Reason; for Promises transfer a Right of Expectation to the Persons to whom they are made; but Threats leave it in the Power of the Threatner to drop or abate what he has threatened, as he shall see Cause for so doing. Wherefore the (b) same People make it a certain Sign of a false Prophet, if the Good he foretels be not accomplished, but not so of the Evil.

II. The Application to the Time of our Lord's Nativity, which I have made of the prophecy which mentions the turning of *Swords into Plough Sberes, and Spears into Pruning Hooks*, will be thought not improper, when the State of the *Roman Empire* at that Time is consider'd. It was usual to lay open the Gates of the Temple of *Janus* at *Rome* in Time of War, and shut them whenever the Republic was at Peace with her Neighbours. They had been shut only five Times from the first building of *Rome*. The first time was in the Reign of *Numa*; the second, after the End of the first *Punic War*; the third, after *Augustus* had vanquish'd *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, and thereby reduced the whole *Roman Empire* into a quiet Submission to himself; the fourth time on the said Emperor's Return from the War which he had with the *Cantabrians* in *Spain*; and the fifth time in the very Year wherein Christ was born, during the Reign of the same *Augustus*. There was at this last time of shutting up the Temple of *Janus*, a general Peace all over the World, and it continued for twelve Years together; so that the Use

(a) Maimonides in *Præfat. ad Seder Zeraim.*

(b) Maimonides, *ibid.*

I have made of the above recited Prophecy is at least very natural, whatever might be the immediate Sense of the inspired Author.

III. The Year of the Reigns of *Augustus* and *Herod*, to which I have fixed the happy *Æra* of the Angel's appearing to *Mary*, is borrow'd from the Chronology of Dr. *Prideaux*. This Author numbers the Years of *Augustus* from the Victory at *Actium*, when he became absolute Master of the *Roman* Empire, thirteen Years after the Murder of *Julius Cæsar*, and twelve after the setting up of the *Triumvirate*, between himself, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*. The Reign of *Herod* begins with his taking *Jerusalem*, about three Years after he was declared King of the *Jews* at *Rome*, when upon the Death of *Antigonus* he was settled in the full Possession of *Judea*. This Computation makes the twenty sixth Year of *Augustus* fall in with the thirty third of *Herod*, and the four thousand seven hundred and ninth of the *Julian* Period, the exact time of our Lord's Conception.

IV. This *Herod* was an *Idumean*, whose Family were Profelytes to the *Jewish* Religion, as were all of that Nation, who since the time of *John Hircanus* had inhabited among the *Jews*. For that Prince obliged all the *Idumeans*, who during the *Babylonish* Captivity had gotten Possession of the *Jewish* territories, either to retire within their former Limits, or embrace the Institutions of *Moses*; whereupon they conformed, were circumcised, and became, as it were, one People with the *Jews*, both in their Polity and Religion, till at length the Name of *Edomites* or *Idumeans* was entirely swallow'd up in that of *Jews*: this happened about the End of the first Century after Christ, as may be gathered from these Names not being mention'd after that time, except in the Writings of the Rabbies. They indeed

have since made use of the Names *Cathareans*, *Epicureans*, and *Edomites*; but they mean thereby the Christians of the *Roman* Empire, whom they were afraid of offending, by speaking more plainly, their Nation being in subjection to the Christians. *Dion Cassius* takes notice, that in his time it was usual for other Nations, as well as the *Edomites*, to take on them the Name of *Jews*, when they became Profelytes to the *Jewish* Religion.

V. Having used the Word Profelyte it may be proper in this Place to consider what it signifies, especially since we shall have further Occasion to understand it hereafter. There (c) were two Sorts of People among the *Jews* who bore this Name, and they were distinguished into *Profelytes of the Gate*, and *Profelytes of Justice*. The former were obliged only to renounce Idolatry, and worship God according to the Law of Nature, which they reduced to six moral Precepts, adding also a Seventh of the positive kind, which altogether were called the seven Precepts of the Sons of *Noah*. To these they held that all Mankind were obliged to conform, but not so to the Law of *Moses*, which they justly looked upon as made only for their own Nation. Those Foreigners who conformed to these Precepts were permitted to live with them in their Land, and were thence sometimes called *sojourning Profelytes*, as they had the Name of *Profelytes of the Gate*, from their being allowed to dwell within the Gates of the Sons of *Israel*. The Occasion of this seems to be taken from these Words of the Fourth Commandment, *and the Strangers that are within thy Gates*; which might as well be rendered, *thy Profelytes which are within thy Gates*; that is, the Profelytes of the Gate, who dwell with thee; no Strangers being suffered to dwell within their Gates, unless they had first renounced Idolatry. Profelytes of this

kind were admitted into the Temple to worship God: but they durst not enter any farther than the outer Court, which was therefore called *the Court of the Gentiles*. *Naaman* the Syrian, *Nabuzaradan* General of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Army, the Eunuch of Queen *Candace*, and *Cornelius* the Centurion, are held to be Worshipers of this Degree. The other Sort of Profelytes were such as took upon them the Observance of the whole *Jewish* Law, and had a common Right with the Descendants of *Jacob*, after having been initiated by Baptism, Sacrifice, and Circumcision, to all the *Mosaical* Ceremonies and Privileges, Intermarriages only excepted. From mixing their Blood with the natural *Jews*, some Nations were excluded for ever, and others till after a certain Time, the *Edomites* in particular till the third Generation. The *Jews* were very fond of making these Profelytes of Justice, and gladly received all who would thus profess their Religion, they being remarked by our Saviour himself for their Sedulity on this Head, *Matt. xxiii. 15*. The *Idumeans*, who became Profelytes at the Command of *Hyrchanus*, were all of this kind; and when they had thus taken on them the Religion of *Moses*, they became united to the *Jews* ever after, till their original Name was lost, and both People were accounted as one and the same Nation.

VI. To return to *Herod*: This Prince was born seventy two Years before the vulgar *Æra* of our Lord's Nativity, in the seventh Year of *Alexandra* Queen of the *Jews*. In the twenty fifth Year of his Age he was made Governor of *Galilee*, and by a Series of good Fortune he at last raised himself to the regal Dignity upon the Ruins of the *Asmonean* Family. His Father *Antipas* was a noble *Idumean*, and his Mother *Cyprus* of an illustrious Family among the *Arabians*. This *Antipas*, to bring his Name to the Greek Form, called himself *Antipater*, and by that Name he is most commonly known in History. *Ni-*

colas Damascenus having published a general History in the Life-time of *Herod*, including the Actions of that Prince, whose great Favourite he was, to flatter his Master and Benefactor, endeavoured to derive the Pedigree of *Antipater* from one of the principal *Jews* who returned from the *Babylonish* Captivity. Others have pretended, in order to blast his Character, that *Antipater* was only the Son of one *Herod*, a Sexton of the Temple of *Apollo* at *Askalon*; and that being taken Prisoner while a Child by some Thieves of *Idumea*, and his Father not being able to redeem him, he was made a Slave in that Country, and so bred up in the *Jewish* Religion; from which mean Original, they tell us, he grew up to the Figure which he afterwards made in the World. But, *Josephus*, who best knew the Truth, and is the most likely to relate it without Disguise on either Side, declares as above, That he was nobly born, and that his Father, who was also called *Antipas*, was Governor of *Idumea*, under King *Alexander Janneus* and *Alexandra* his Queen: So that *Herod* was an *Idumean* by Country, and a *Jew* by Religion. This Account of *Josephus*, as it is in itself the most probable, so it proves the Accomplishment of *Jacob's* Prophecy, concerning the Departure of the Sceptre from *Judah* at the time of *Shiloh's* Appearance, altogether as well as what the Fathers have advanced so much to the Prejudice of *Herod's* Family. But the Invention of *Damascenus* ought by no means to be received, if we understand this Prophecy of *Jacob* in a literal Sense; for if *Herod* was descended from the *Jews* of the *Babylonish* Captivity, it would be difficult to prove that the Sceptre in his time was translated from *Judah*, the People that returned by Permission of the Kings of *Persia* consisting chiefly of the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*. There are, however, some unavoidable Difficulties, which attend such a literal Interpretation of the Patriarch's

Patriarch's Words, that are independant of *Herod* and his Family; and therefore, I shall examine these Matters more particularly hereafter, when I come to trace the Progress and Changes of the supreme Power among the *Jews*, from the Beginning of their State, till they became entirely subject to the *Romans*.

VII. Father *Harduin*, the Jesuit, has formed an entire new System concerning *Herod's* Family, which ought not to be omitted. He believes that this Prince was an *Athenian*, because on some Medals he is called a Benefactor to *Athens*, and it is certain that there was a *Herod* there in the time of *Cæsar*. He maintains also, that the whole History of *Josephus* is spurious; and that *Herod* had only *Samaria* and *Judea* under his Jurisdiction; because he built Fortresses in none of the other Provinces of which he is said to have been Sovereign. But the Opinions of this Jesuit are more admired for their Singularity, than relied on as Proofs; for they generally tend to destroy the Authority of Antient Writings, which have been universally received, as the genuine Works of the Persons to whom they are ascribed.

Mr. *Le Clerc*, in his Harmony of the Evangelists, has made the Angel tell *Zacharias*, that he shou'd be deaf and dumb from that Hour till he had a Son born of his Wife *Elizabeth*: I have followed him in this Particular, tho' the Words of the Angel, as related by St. *Luke*, according to our Translation, are only, *Tbou shalt be dumb and not able to speak, till the Day that these Things be performed*. The original Word here render'd dumb, signifies both deaf and dumb, and is understood in either Sense. Besides, this Circumstance is fully supplied in the same Chapter *Luke* 1. 62. where we are told, that the Friends of *Zacharias* made Signs to him, how he would have his Son called: For if *Zacha-*

rias had not been deaf, there had been no need to ask him by Signs, but they might have put the Question to him in Words, and he have returned an Answer, as he did in Writing. Mr. *Le Clerc* observes upon this, and other Passages of the same kind, *That a Circumstance omitted in the Beginning of a Relation is often made out from what follows*. This Remark may be of use in the reading of any Author, but will be more especially so in studying of the Scriptures, and we shall have Occasion to repeat it, perhaps more than once, in the Progress of our History.

VIII. In the second Section of the preceding Chapter, I have mentioned Predictions of the Messiah that were on Record among the *Gentiles*, as well as the *Jews*. We have the Prophecy of *Balaam* in our Bibles, *Numb.* xxvi. 17. Part of which is, *There shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall arise out of Israel, and shall () bear Rule over the Children of Seth, or over all the Sons of Men*, as Commentators with one Consent understand it.

IX. I presume 'twill be agreeable to the Reader, if I present him in this Place with a Comparison between several Passages of *Isaiab's* Prophecy, and a literal Translation of some Parts of *Virgil*. It was made by Mr. *Pope*, and subjoin'd to that beautiful Poem of his called *Messiah*, which he writ in imitation of the *Roman* Poet, borrowing his Thoughts from the Evangelical Prophet, as *Virgil* did his from the Books of the *Cumean Sibyl*. I shall give the Passages in the Order I find them.

VIRGIL.

Now the Virgin returns, now the Kingdom of *Satan* returns, now a new Progeny is sent down from high Heaven. By means of thee, whatever Relicks of our

(a) So it should be rendered. See *Prideaux's Conn.* Part II. Book viii.

Crimes remain, shall be wiped away, and free the World from perpetual Fears. He shall govern the Earth in Peace, with the Virtues of his Father.

ISAIAH.

Behold, a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son. Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given; --- the Prince of Peace: Of the Increase of his Government, and of his Peace, there shall be no End. --- Upon the Throne of *David*, and upon his Kingdom, to order and to stablish it, with Judgment and with Justice, for ever and ever,

VIRGIL.

For Thee, O Child, shall the Earth, without being tilled, produce early Offerings; winding Ivy, with Baccar, and Colocasia mixed with smiling Acanthus. Thy Cradle shall pour forth pleasing Flowers about Thee.

ISAIAH.

The Wilderness and the solitary Place shall be glad, and the Desert shall rejoice and blossom as the Rose. The Glory of *Lebanon* shall come unto thee, the Fir-tree and the Box together, to beautify the Place of thy Sanctuary.

VIRGIL.

O come and receive the mighty Honours! the Time draws near, O beloved Off-spring of the Gods, O great Increase of *Jove*! The uncultivated Mountains send Shouts of Joy to the Stars; the very Rocks sing in Verse; the very Rocks cry out, A God! a God!

ISAIAH.

The Voice of him that crieth in the Wilderness, Prepare ye the Way of the Lord! make strait in the Desert a Highway for our God! Every Valley shall be

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exalted, and every Mountain and Hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made strait, and the rough Places plain. Break forth into singing, ye Mountains! O Forest, and every Tree therein! for the Lord hath redeemed *Israel*.

VIRGIL.

The Goats shall bear to the Fold their Udders distended with Milk; nor shall the Herds be afraid of the greatest Lions. The Serpent shall die, and the Herb that conceals Poison shall die.

ISAIAH.

The Wolf shall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard shall lie down with the Kid, and the Calf and the Fatling together; and a little Child shall lead them: --- And the Lion shall eat straw like the Ox; and the sucking Child shall play on the Hole of the Asp, and the weaned Child shall put his Hand on the Den of the Cockatrice.

Here Mr. *Pope* concludes his Parallel, with telling us how much the Prophet has the Advantages of the Poet in many other of his Sentiments. But the few Comparisons he has made are sufficient to prove, that what was written by the *Roman*, can be apply'd only to the same Person with the Prophecies of the *Jew*, and that there is a remarkable Parity between many of the Thoughts of those two Writers.

X. There was another Prophecy recorded by *Julius Maratbus*, a Freedman of *Augustus*, whose Life he wrote. 'Tis said to have been delivered by the Oracle a few Months before the Birth of that great Emperor, and to import, *That Nature was about to bring forth a Son, that should be King of the Romans*; which Phrase imports something more than ordinary both in the Cause and Effect: For here Nature itself, that is the God of Nature, is made

the

the immediate Cause of the Birth; and he must be more than an ordinary Person, who was to be produced by so extraordinary a Generation. According to the same Author, the Senate was so terrified by this Prediction, that they made a Decree for destroying all the male Children that should be born that Year: But such of the Senators as had then pregnant Wives, hoping each of them that the Oracle might be fulfilled in his own Family, took care that this Decree was never carried to the Treasury; wherefore for want of being register'd, and laid up among the publick Records of the State, it became of no Effect. No doubt the Historian apply'd this Oracle to *Augustus*, in whom it was typically fulfill'd, but ultimately and really so only in the Birth of *Jesus Christ*, the Spiritual King of the whole World, whose Reign was then approaching.

XI. But this Prediction, as well as that in *Virgil*, speaks of the Birth of the Messiah in general, without naming the People of whom he should descend, or the Country where he should be born, otherwise the Application could not have been made to *Augustus*. But we find both these determined by other Prophecies, recorded by *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, who lived after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and wrote an Account thereof. Doubtless the Romans received this additional Information by being more conversant among the Jews afterwards, when *Judea* was reduced to a Province, than they were at the Time when *Virgil* and *Maratbus* wrote. *Tacitus*, the first of these Historians, writes thus: *A firm Persuasion had prevailed among a great many, that it was contained in the ancient sacerdotal Books, that about this Time it should come to pass, that the East should prevail, and that those who should come out of Judea should obtain the Empire of the World.* And *Suetonius*, the other of these Authors, speaking of the same time, has the following words: *There*

had prevailed all over the East an ancient and constant Notion, that the Fates had decreed, that about that Time there should come out of Judea, those who should obtain the Empire of the World. Both these ancient Writers refer the Completion of the Prophecies they record, to the Coming of *Vespasian* out of *Judea* to the Empire; which happened not many Years after the Death of *Christ*, and the Beginning of his Kingdom on Earth, to which they truly belonged; tho' 'twas very natural for the Historians to give them the Turn they did.

XII. The *Sibylline Oracles* are supposed to be the Fountains of all these Prophecies: These Books were of great Repute in the Heathen World, and were often appealed to by the ancient Writers of the Christian Church; it will therefore be proper to give such Account of them, and the Persons by whom they were delivered; as may in some measure satisfy the Curiosity of our Readers.

XIII. The *Sibyls* were Women of ancient Times, said to have been endued with a prophetick Spirit, and to have delivered Oracles foretelling the Destinies of Kingdoms and States. We have, in the Writings of the Antients, mention made of ten of them, the eldest of whom being named *Sibylla*, all others of the same Sex, who afterwards pretended to the like fatidical Spirit, were from her called *Sibyls*. The most eminent among the ten above-mentioned, was by the Romans called *Sibylla Cumæa*, and by others *Erythræa*: For being born at *Erythræ* in *Ionia*, she removed from thence to *Cumæ* in *Italy*, and there delivered her Oracles in a subterraneous Vault, digged out of the main Rock: *Justin Martyr* describes this Cave, which he says he had seen, and informs us, that the *Sibyl* who lived in it was the Daughter of *Berosus* the *Chaldean* Historian. Here follows the Substance of his Description: *'Tis a large Chapel, or Oratory,*

tory, hewn out of the main Rock: a Work of surprizing Labour and Difficulty. In the middle of the Chapel the Inhabitants shew'd me three hollow Places, hewn out of the same Rock, in which, as they inform'd me from the Traditions of their Forefathers, the Sibyl used to wash herself; and then she retired into the innermost Cell of the Place, hewn also out of the same Rock, where having settled herself on an elevated Seat, she from thence gave forth her Oracles. Thus far Justin Martyr. Onuphrius writes that it continued till destroy'd by an Earthquake in 1539, which shook all Campania! and adds, that being upon the Place in 1548, the Description given him thereof by the Inhabitants agreed exactly with that of Justin, but there was nothing of it to be seen. Nevertheless Travellers are still shewn a Vault which they call the Grotto of the Sibyl, probably because the Natives find their Account in the Fraud.

XIV. There are various Opinions of the Time when this Sibyl lived. Justin Martyr, by making her the Daughter of Berosus, places her below Alexander, which proves that he mistook her for Athenais the second Sibyl, who was also called the Erythraean, but never the Cumæan. Virgil makes her to have lived at Cumæ when Æneas came to Italy; but the Poet might probably bring her to the Time of his Hero, for the Ornament of his Piece, as he did the Queen of Carthage. There are others who place her in the Time of Tarquin the last King of Rome, and found their Opinion on the following Story:

XV. A certain Woman came to Tarquin from a foreign Country, with nine Books of Sibylline Oracles, which she offered to sell him for three hundred Pieces of Gold. But Tarquin refusing to give so much, she burnt Three of the Nine, and offered him the remaining Six at the same Price. Tarquin, now thinking her mad, began to treat her with Scorn;

whereupon she burnt three more of the Books, and persisted to demand the same large Sum for the three that were left. The King was strangely moved at this odd Procedure, and sent for his Augurs, to consult them in the Affair; who, upon examining the Matter, found by certain Signs, that he had despised a divine Gift, and earnestly advised him to give what the Woman asked for the three that remained. The Money being paid, the Woman charged him to keep them safely, as containing Oracles relating to the future State of Rome. After this she disappeared, and was no more seen. Tarquin hereupon put these Books into a Stone Coffer, and laid them in a Vault in the Temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, appointing two of the principal Nobility to keep them, with a Charge not to divulge their Contents, or suffer any but themselves to have the Perusal of them. This Injunction was so strict, that Marcus Attilius was sown up in a Sack, and cast into the River, a Punishment peculiar to Parricides, for permitting Petronius Sabinus to take a Copy of these Oracles. The Commonwealth after the Dissolution of the Regal Power, continued the same Regard to these Books, and craftily made them an Engine of State, for quieting the People in all Disturbances: For whenever any Misfortune beset them, or Prodigy frighten'd them, the Keepers of these Books upon consulting them, brought forth such an Answer as served the Purpose of the State. Thus were these Oracles preserved, with only augmenting the Number of their Keepers from Two to Ten, and afterwards from Ten to Fifteen, till they were destroy'd by Fire, together with the Capitol, in the Civil Wars between Marius and Sylla.

XVI. This Accident happened about eighty three Years before Christ: But the Loss was soon repair'd by the Commonwealth, which had so often experienced the

the Benefit of these Books. Ambassadors were sent to *Erybra*, where the *Sibyl* was born, to collect what they could of her Oracles from private Libraries; and they soon gathered together about a thousand *Greek Verses*, which they brought to *Rome*. Besides these, great Numbers of the same kind were brought from several Cities of *Greece*, *Sicily*, *Africa*, and *Italy*, which were all together laid up in the new Capitol; for that Edifice was rebuilt in seven Years after it was burnt. But whereas the old *Sibylline Oracles* were vulgarly known to Nobody, and were never seen by any but their Keepers, these latter were soon in Every-one's Hands, People being fond of getting Copies of what the *Roman State* seemed to value so highly. From some of these private Transcripts *Virgil* had his Prophecy of the Coming of *Christ*, and the Restoration of Righteousness, Justice, and Blessedness to the World. But the Intent of the Commonwealth being much defeated by these Oracles being vulgarly known, a Law was shortly after made, that all who had Copies of them should bring them to the *Prætor* of the City, under Pain of Death to the contrary. *Augustus*, upon taking on him the High-Priesthood, not long before the Birth of *Christ*, revived this Law, which had hitherto been ineffectual; for People were rather the fonder of these Transcripts when they found them prohibited, and even added to them a multitude of Forgeries: And by virtue of this Decree that Emperor procured a very great Number of these Books, which he ordered to be strictly examined, burning those that were disapproved, and laying up the rest for the Use of the State. *Tiberius* had these examined over again, and burnt many more of them, preserving only such as might be serviceable to the End for which they were originally intended; and to these great Recourse was had as long as *Rome* remained

Heathen. For all other Oracles ceasing on the Coming of *Christ*, the great Oracle of Truth, these *Sibylline Prophecies*, the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, the *Sortes Prenestinae*, and some other idle Inventions, were the only Oracles they had to consult.

XVII. In this Use the *Sibylline Oracles* continued till they were utterly destroy'd by the Emperor *Honorius*, in the Year 399, on the following Occasion: Not long before a Prophecy was given out by the Heathen *Romans*, said to be taken from the Writings of the *Sibyls*, which imported, that *Peter* having founded the Christian Religion by Magic for the Term of three hundred sixty-five Years, it was to vanish at the End of that Term, and be no more professed in the World. This Time expiring in the Year 398, which was just three hundred sixty-five Years after our Lord's Ascension, *Honorius* took the Advantage hereof to convict these Writings of manifest Forgery and Imposture; and the next Year, by virtue of a Decree from him, they were all burnt, and the Temple of *Apollo*, in which they were reposit, utterly destroy'd. The same Year was also fatal to many other Heathen Temples in *Africa*, and elsewhere throughout the *Roman Empire*.

XVIII. There is still preserved in eight Books of *Greek Verse*, a Collection of Oracles pretended to be the *Sibylline*. *Baronius*, Bishop *Montague* of *Norwich*, and others, would have it to be genuine; but most learned Men look on it as the Production of some zealous Christian, who compiled it for promoting the Interest of the Christian Religion. Besides an Abstract of the Doctrine of the Old and New Testament, it contains the whole Mystery of our Salvation by *Christ*, and every Thing that belongs to the Person and Kingdom of the Messiah, in more clear and explicit Expressions than are to be found in the undoubted Prophecies of the

the truly inspired Writers : Which reduces the Case to what the Patrons of this Opinion would be loth to confess ; that God revealed himself by heathen Prophets to heathen Nations, more fully than he did by his own Prophets to his chosen People : A Consequence sufficiently absurd as well as unchristian. There are many other Arguments, more than are necessary to be rehearsed, which not only prove the Forgery of these pretended Oracles in general, but that it must have been executed between the Year of our Lord 138 and the Year 167.

XIX. The most probable Account of the Collection of *Sibylline Oracles* now extant, seems to be this. They were digested by some Heathen, about the Time of our Saviour, or a little before, into a Book of Greek Verses, and so many Prophecies concerning the Messiah being found therein, it operated very much to the Advantage of Christianity in its earliest Times ; the Christians, as appears from their Writings, often appealing to this Book for the Proof of what they professed. In process of Time, probably about the Reign of *Antoninus Pius* the Roman Emperor, this Collection was interpolated with many Additions by some Christian, more pious than honest or wise ; by which means he destroy'd the Authority of the whole, and did much harm to the Cause he intended to support. This is the whole Charge of *Celsus*, the greatest Enemy of Christianity among the Antients ; and thus much must be allow'd by all judicious Persons, who consider the Matter with Impartiality.

XX. The Story of the Woman, and her three Books, might perhaps be better referr'd to the Reign of *Numa* than that of *Tarquin*, it being of a Piece with all the rest which that Law-giver did for the Establishment of the Roman State ; for he built entirely on Superstition and Impos-

ture, pretending the Direction of the Goddess *Egeria* in his Institutions, the better to make them go down with the People. Possibly an unknown old Woman, brought from some foreign Place, was bribed to act the Part above-mentioned, and burn six of the Books, that the remaining three might make the more Noise. And tho' this Artifice fully answered the End proposed with the People in general, yet we find that the Fraud was seen thro' by wise Men, and *Cicero* has argued against these Oracles with Reason and Judgment.

XXI. That the *Sibyls* were very antiently in great Repute, none ever pretended to deny : For *Plato* and *Aristotle*, as well as *Varro*, *Livy*, and *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, mention them with regard. Nor can it be questioned, after the Instances that have been produced, that there were many Predictions among their Oracles relating to *Christ*, which were vulgarly known before his Birth. The Thing to be considered then, is, How these Prophecies came there. If we allow that there really were such Women as the *Sibyls* are represented to be, it must not be granted that their Gift of Prophecy was by divine Inspiration : For most of the Oracles, that were produced from their Books, when consulted by the Romans, directed to such idolatrous and abominable Rites, as cannot, without Impiety, be said to have come from God. They even sometimes commanded the Sacrifice of a Grecian Man, a Grecian Woman, a Gallic Man, a Gallic Woman, by burying them alive in the *Bullock Market* ; and most of their other Answers were no less impious. Whence then could proceed their Oracles concerning *Christ* ? We find that diabolical Spirits had their Oracles in antient Times, which were mostly delivered by Women ; and God might compel these Spirits, before they left their Habitations, as they were obliged to do before the Birth of

of *Christ*, to proclaim the Saviour of Mankind, who was coming to take away their Dominion. Thus the Devils in the New Testament acknowledged the Son of God, who cast them out of the Persons they had taken Possession of, *Matt. vii. 29. Mark v. 7. Luke viii. 28.*

XXII. But if we imagine the whole Story of the *Sibyls*, and all the heathen Oracles in general, to be no more than a political Contrivance, we shall be yet more to seek for the Origin of these extraordinary Predictions. There is some Ground for such a Suspicion as this, if we consider how the *Sibylline* Books were managed: None were to inspect them but the Members of the sacred College, and they always brought forth such Answers as were proper for the Occasion on which they were consulted. They had an Oracle, which forbid the State to restore *Ptolomy Auletes* King of *Egypt*, after that Prince had given all the Money he could raise to procure such a Favour. And when *Cæsar* had a Mind to be declared King, before he went against the *Parthians*, he dealt with these Keepers for an Oracle, *That the Parthians could not be overcome but by a King*. The only probable Means, admitting this Supposition, whereby the Prophecies of *Christ* came to have a Place originally among the Inventions of the Heathens, must have been the Dispersion of the *Jews*, as was before intimated. Their Expectation of the promised Messiah, attested by *Josephus* of the whole Nation, as well as by *St. Luke* in the particular Instances of *Simeon* and *Anna*, was doubtless one of the favourite Subjects of their Conversation, wheresoever they inhabited. The Prophecies of *Daniel* determined the very Time of his appearing, and for above eighty Years before it came, all the Children of *Israel* were big with the Thought. The Heathens got these Predictions from the *Jews*, and by Degrees

received them into equal Reputation with their own Oracles, among which they were ingrafted before the Collection of *Sibylline Prophecies* was made after the Burning of the Capitol; which is as far back as 'tis necessary to trace them, because as the Books that were burnt were never public, 'tis impossible to judge whether or no they contained Prophecies of the same Nature. If they did, a Correspondence between the *Jews* and Heathens might be traced as far back as the oldest Heathen Author who mentions the *Sibyls*; and so all the Difficulty vanishes at once, and the Reader is at Liberty to embrace which Opinion he thinks proper.

XXIII. But let us think what we please of the Manner in which these Prophecies were communicated to the Heathens, we ought to acknowledge the Goodness of Providence in that they were communicated to them at all. It certainly was not the Work of Chance, that the Writings of the Gentile Poets and Historians about this Time, had so much in them of the Language of the Prophets: But it was the Will of God, that his Son should be proclaimed in the World for some Years before his Appearance, that so the Nations that had hitherto been afar off from his Covenant, might be made nigh; that *Jew* and Gentile might at once expect their Redemption, and become Partakers together of the same great and common Salvation.

DISSERTATION III.

A short Description of the *Holy Land*, as it was in the Days of our Saviour, with a more particular Account of *Nazareth* and the Hill-Country of *Judea*.

- I. The Land of *Israel* described. II. The Province of *Judea*. III. Of *Idumea*.

IV. Of Samaria. V. Of Galilee. VI. The Coasts of Tyre and Sidon. VII. Abilene. VIII. Iturea and Trachonitis. IX. Perea. X. Decapolis. XI. Method to be pursued in the following Geographical Accounts. XII. The ancient and modern State of Nazareth, and the Country round it. XIII. The Chapel of the Annunciation. XIV. The Mountain of Precipitation. XV. An Account of the Chapel of our Lady of Loretto. XVI. Hebron, the supposed City of Zacharias, described.

I. **T**HE Land of Israel, in the largest Acceptation of the Name, comprehended all that Tract of Ground, on each Side the River Jordan, which God gave for an Inheritance to the Children of Israel upon their coming out of Egypt. Within this Extent lay all the Provinces and Countries which our Lord honoured with his Presence, excepting Egypt only, whither he was carried an Infant to avoid the Rage of Herod. This was certainly a great Honour to the Land, and a glorious Advantage to its Inhabitants, had they improved the Blessing; but they not only neglected, but even crucify'd, the Lord of Life; so that by the just Judgment of God the Romans came upon them, and took away both their Place and Nation. 'Twas on account of this distinguishing Favour, that the Country we are speaking of was first called the Holy Land, which Name, it still bears among Christians.

II. The Province of Judea was so called from Judah, the Fourth Son of Jacob, whose Offspring made up the most renowned of the twelve Tribes, not only their Race of temporal Kings descending from it, but our Saviour also, who was born in a direct Line from the former. Hence by the Children of Judah was originally understood only that particular Tribe, and by the Land of Judah that

Portion of Land of which they were possess'd. But when ten of the twelve Tribes revolted, and erected themselves into a distinct Kingdom, under the Title of the Kingdom of Israel, the other two Tribes, Judah and Benjamin, who adher'd to the House of David, began to be both comprehended under one common Name of the Kingdom of Judah; which Name extended as the People enlarged their Possessions; particularly upon the ten Tribes being carried into Captivity by the King of Assyria, when those of Judah seem to have seiz'd the Lands of the two adjoining Tribes, Simeon and Dan, and imposed the Name of Judea on all the Southern Tract of the Land of Israel. After the Babylonish Captivity, we sometimes find this Name used to signify all that we now call the Holy Land, at least so much of it as was inhabited by the Jews, which Name became common to the People, as that of Judea to the Country. But whenever 'tis mentioned in conjunction with Galilee, Samaria, and the Country beyond Jordan, it is to be understood in the limited Sense, for all the Southern Part of the Holy Land; except in one Text, Mark iii. 7, 8. where Idumea is also mention'd, of which I shall now take notice.

III. By Idumea, in the Place refer'd to, seems to be denoted the more Southern Part of the Province of Judea, which, during the Captivity of the Jews at Babylon, being left without Inhabitants, was possess'd by the neighbouring Idumeans, whose original Habitation, Mount Seir, border'd on the Inheritance of Judah by the South of the Dead Sea; Idumea being no more than the Greek Name for Edom. Tho' these Idumeans were afterwards brought so low by the victorious Maccabees, as to be forced to comply with such Terms as were offered them by the Jews, yet they still kept their

their Possessions, chusing rather to embrace *Judaism* than quit their new Habitations. By this Means they became incorporated into the *Jewish* Nation, and were reckon'd themselves among the *Jews*. Nevertheless that Part of *Judea*, which they inhabited, did not immediately lose the Name which they had impos'd on it; so that not only in the Times of the New Testament, but for about a Century after, this Tract was called *Idumea*, as appears from common Historians.

IV. Above *Judea* Northwards lay the Province of *Samaria*, so call'd from the City of that Name, which was formerly the Capital of the Kingdom of *Israel*. It was founded by *Omri* King of *Israel*; who bought the Hill *Samaria* of *Shemer* for two Talents of Silver, and built thereon, and called the City which he built, after the Name of the Owner of the Hill, *Samaria*. This Province, as well as *Judea*, stretch'd itself from the *Mediterranean Sea* Westward, to the River *Jordan* Eastward, taking up the most considerable Part of what formerly pertained to the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and the half Tribe of *Manasseh* on the West of *Jordan*; and lying exactly between *Judea* to the South, and *Galilee* to the North; for which Reason when our Lord left *Judea* and departed into *Galilee*, 'tis said, he must needs go thro' *Samaria*.

V. There is not enough said in Scripture of *Galilee* to fix the Etymology of the Word on a well-grounded Conjecture: What is most worthy Notice of this Province, is, That it was honoured more than any other with our Saviour's Presence. 'Twas here that he was conceived; 'twas hither that *Joseph* and *Mary* brought him on their Return out of *Egypt*; 'twas here that he settled, and lived with his reputed Father, and the Blessed Virgin his Mother, till he began to be about thirty Years of Age, and was

baptised of *John*; 'twas hither that he returned after his Baptism and Temptation by the Devil; and tho', after his Entry on his public Ministry, he frequently visited other Provinces, yet here was his Habitation. I may add, that 'twas here he made his first Appearance to the Eleven Apostles after his Resurrection; and that the most considerable Part, if not all, of the said Apostles, were of this Country, whence they were all stiled by the Angels Men of *Galilee*.

VI. On the West and North of *Galilee* lay the Coasts of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, two very considerable Cities, seated on the *Mediterranean Sea*, and celebrated for Merchandize in sacred as well as prophane History. They both lay within the Land of *Canaan*, of which *Sidon* was the Northern Boundary; and upon the Division of this Land among the twelve Tribes, they both, with other maritime Towns, fell to the Lot of the Tribe of *Asher*. But *Asher* not driving out the Inhabitants, dwelt among the *Canaanites*, the Natives of the Land. The City of *Sidon* was so called from *Sidon* the eldest Son of *Canaan*, who gave Name to the whole Country.

VII. After what we have said of *Samaria* and the Coasts of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, there remains only the Eastern Boundary of *Galilee* to be spoken of; and this consisted of the Countries of *Abilene*, *Iturea* and *Trachonitis*. *Abilene* was the most Northerly Province of the three, and is thought to have belonged to the Lot of *Nephtalim*, tho' never subdued by that Tribe. It was so call'd, according to some, from its chief Town, *Abila*: But in this Country was to be seen, not long since, on the Top of a high Hill, an antient Structure, supposed by the Inhabitants to be the Tomb of *Abel*, and to have given Name to the adjacent Territories. The Tomb is thirty Yards long, and

and yet is affirmed by the Natives of the Country to have been but just proportioned to the Stature of the Person buried in it. It stands near a small Village called *Simie*. The Reader may acquiesce in which Etymology he pleases; and believe just as much as he thinks proper concerning the Stature of the Antediluvian Patriarchs.

VIII. South of *Abilene*, on the East of *Jordan*, lay *Iturea*, thought to have taken its Name from *Jetur*, one of the Sons of *Ishmael*, who settled in these Parts, and whose Posterity were afterwards subdued by those *Amorites*, over whom in the Time of *Moses* reigned *Og*, by the Title of King of *Basban*. *Iturea* therefore being much the same with *Basban*, it was a considerable Part of that Tract of Ground which *Moses* gave to that half Tribe of *Manasseh*, which settled on the East of *Jordan*. And to the same half Tribe belonged the Region of *Argob*, or the Country about Mount *Gilead*, which from its craggy rough Mountains was called by the Greeks *Trachonitis*, the rough or mountainous Country. *Trachonitis* lay Eastward of *Iturea*, and together with it made a Tetrarchy in the Time of our Saviour. What a Tetrarchy was shall be explained in another Place.

IX. There is one Province more which lay within the Bounds of the Land of *Israel*, and that is *Perea*, or the Country beyond *Jordan*, lying on the South of *Iturea*, and to the East of *Judea* and *Samaria*; it was possess'd of old by the Tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*.

X *Decapolis* was only a Tract of Land so named from ten considerable Cities it contain'd, some of which lay without, but the greatest Part within the Compass of the *Holy Land*, partly in *Iturea*, and partly in *Perea*.

XI. Having gone thro' the Provinces which were contained, either wholly or in part, in the Land of *Israel*, I shall leave the few other Countries and Towns occa-

N^o VII.

sionally mentioned in the Gospels, to be described in the Places where their Names occur, what I have already said being a sufficient Introduction to the Travels of our Lord. It remains therefore to describe in the Course of this History, every Place as fully as the Description can be supported by good Authority: And for the greater Variety, I shall add the modern State of every Town, Village, Temple, or other Monument of Antiquity, where any Thing remarkable can be collected from the Memoirs of Travellers on whose Veracity we may depend.

XII. The first Place that we find mentioned by Name is the City of *Nazareth*, whither the Angel was sent to inform the Virgin *Mary*, that she was so highly favour'd as to be made choice of for the Mother of the Redeemer. This Town was situated in the South-West Part of *Galilee*, not far from the Confines of *Samaria* to the South, and nearer to the Territories of *Tyre* and *Sidon* to the West. We may gather from the sacred Story, that it was a Place of no Reputation among the *Jews*, who often despised our Lord for being a *Galilean*, and coming out of *Nazareth*, from whence no good Thing, much less the Messiah, was ever expected. *Nazareth* is at present only an inconsiderable Village, situate in a kind of round concave Valley, on the Top of a high Hill. There is a Convent built over what is said to be the Place of the Annunciation, where a small Number of *Latin* Fathers are immured, who live a Life truly mortified, being in perpetual Fear of the *Arabs*, who are absolute Lords of all the Country.

XIII. The Church of *Nazareth*, or what they call the Sanctuary of that Place, is in a Cave, supposed to be the very Spot where the Blessed Virgin received the Message of the Angel. "This Church resembles the Figure of a Cross. That Part of it that stands for the Tree of the

G

" Cross

“ Cross is fourteen Paces long and six
 “ over, and runs, directly into the Grotto,
 “ having no other Arch over it at the
 “ Top, but that of the natural Rock.
 “ The traverse Part of the Cross is nine
 “ Paces long and four broad, and is built
 “ athwart the Mouth of the Grotto. Just
 “ at the Section of the Cross are erected
 “ two Granate Pillars, each two Foot
 “ and one Inch Diameter, and about three
 “ Foot distant from each other. They
 “ are supposed to stand on the very Places,
 “ one, where the Angel, the other where
 “ the Blessed Virgin, stood at the Time
 “ of the Annunciation. Of these Pillars,
 “ the innermost, being that of the Blessed
 “ Virgin, has been broke away by the
 “ Turks, in Expectation of finding Trea-
 “ sure under it, so that eighteen Inches
 “ Length of it is clean gone, between the
 “ Pillar and the Pedestal. Nevertheless
 “ it remains erect, tho’ by what Art it
 “ is sustained cannot be discerned. It
 “ touches the Roof above, and is probably
 “ hang’d upon that; unless you had
 “ rather take the Friars Account of it, that
 “ it is supported by a Miracle.” *Maun-*
 “ *drell’s Journy from Aleppo*) Here is also
 shewn the House of *Joseph*, being the same,
 as the Friars relate, in which the Son of
 God lived for near thirty Years, in Sub-
 jection to his reputed Father.

XIV. Not far distant from hence they
 shew the Synagogue, wherein our blessed
 Lord preached that Sermon, which so ex-
 asperated his Countrymen, *that they rose*
up and thrust him out of the City, and led
him to the Brow of the Hill whereon the City
was built, that they might cast him down
headlong. This same Precipice they now
 call *the Mountain of Precipitation*: ’Tis
 about half a League Southward from *Na-*
zareth, and in going to it you cross first
 over the Vale where *Nazareth* stands.
 There is a great Stone on the Brink of the
 Precipice, and in the Stone several little

Holes representing the Prints of Fingers,
 which, they affirm, were made by our
 Lord, while he resisted the Violence of his
 enraged Neighbours. Two or three
 Cisterns for saving Water, and a few other
 Ruins, are all the present Remains of a
 religious Building founded here by the
 Empress *Helena*, Mother of *Constantine*
the Great. The same Fate has attended
 the Churches she built by the House of
Joseph, and the Synagogue abovemention-
 ed; these Monuments of her Piety being
 now likewise in Ruins.

XV. It may be worth while, in order
 to expose the unreasonable Bigotry of some
 People, to observe, that in how mean a
 Condition soever *Nazareth* may be at pre-
 sent, the Chamber in which the Blessed
 Virgin was sitting when she received the
 angelic Salutation, has had better Luck
 than the rest of the City, even at no less
 Expence than of a downright Miracle, if
 we may believe the Popish Legends. This
 Chamber being had in great Veneration
 by the Christians, and remaining in *Naza-*
reth till the *Holy Land* was subdued by the
Turks and *Saracens*, it was then, it seems,
 most miraculously transported into *Scla-*
vonia. But that Country being unworthy
 of the Virgin’s Presence, it was by the
 Angels carried over into *Italy*, and at
 length settled at *Loretto*, then a Village,
 or, according to some, only a Farm, in the
 Ecclesiastical State, belonging to a Lady
 named *Lauretta*. His Holiness’s Territo-
 ries, without doubt, were the most worthy
 Receptacle of such an holy Apartment.
 No sooner was the wonderful Arrival of
 so extraordinary a Relic noised abroad,
 but People of all Ranks came to pay it
 reverence, and even the Popes themselves
 shew’d it a more than common Respect.
 One of the holy Fathers built a magnificent
 Church over this Chamber, which, by
 the Presents that have been made to the
 Lady of it, is now become the richest in
 the

the World. Another of them erected the Village of *Loretto* into a City and Bishop's See, out of pure Veneration to the Blessed Virgin. So that *Nazareth* and *Loretto* have exactly changed Conditions; *Nazareth* from a City and Bishop's See, being reduced to a State as contemptible, as that from which *Loretto* was advanced to the Dignity it now enjoys.

XVI. The City of *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth*, in the Hill-Country of *Judea*, to which the Blessed Virgin went from *Nazareth* to visit her Cousin, is probably enough supposed to be *Hebron*, that being one of the Cities given to the Priests in the Tribe of *Judab*, and expressly said to lie in

the Mountains or Hills; which running a-cross the Middle of *Judea* from South to North, gave the Name of the Hill-Country to the Tract of Land they passed through. *Hebron* was the Seat of *David* before he took *Jerusalem* from the *Jebusites*; it was utterly ruined, when visited by Mr. *Sands*, about one hundred and twenty Years ago. But hard by it there was a little Village with a handsome Temple, built by the Empress *Helena*, in the Field of *Machpelah*, over the Burying-Vault of the Patriarchs, a Place formerly much visited by Pilgrims, till the Structure was converted into a Mosque for the Mahometans.

CHAP. II.

- I. *Joseph* discovers the Pregnancy of *Mary*. II. Law of the *Jews* in such a Case; *Joseph* proposes to put her away, but is satisfy'd in a Dream. III. The Decree of *Augustus*, and Journey of *Joseph* and *Mary* to *Bethlehem*. IV. The Nativity of *Jesus Christ*. V. Appearance of the Angels to the Shepherds. VI. Who repair'd to *Bethlehem*, and pay their Adoration to the Infant. VII. The Circumcision of *Christ*, and Appearance of the Star in the East. VIII. The wise Men come to *Jerusalem*, and are questioned by *Herod*. IX. They go to *Bethlehem*, worship the Messiah, and present to him Myrrh, Gold, and Frankincense.

I. **A**S the eternal Son of God was to take our Nature and Substance of a pure unspotted Virgin, that he might secure the Reputation of his Birth among those who could not apprehend the Mystery of it, 'twas necessary that this Virgin should be espoused at the Time of her Conception to some pious and holy Man, to whom the Secret of such a stupendious Miracle might properly be communicated. Such a Person was *Joseph*, who consequently was at first exceedingly shock'd when he perceived the Condition of *Mary*, whose Chastity he had never yet in the least suspected: For how could he avoid being dissatisfied at this Discovery, since he was conscious that her Pregnancy was not from him? But Heaven did not

long suffer him to entertain dishonourable Thoughts of the Person whom it had favour'd beyond all her Sex; and who, no doubt, was altogether as uneasy as *Joseph* himself, when she observed how his Countenance was changed towards her. The Reason of this Alteration she could not chuse but divine, being now very sensible of her own Condition, and the blessed Occasion thereof; but how was it possible to convince her Husband under such Circumstances, that she had preserv'd her Honour, and that her Conception was immediately from Heaven?

II. The Law of the *Jews* in such a Case as *Mary's* appeared to be, was, That she should be carried back from her Husband's Habitation, to the Door of her

Father's House; and *there be stoned to Death*, Deut. xxii. 21, 24. Now *Joseph* being naturally of a mild and merciful Disposition, after he had considered what he could not but look upon as her Crime; and also the Punishment that would be inflicted on her if the Affair came to be known, he so far pitied her Condition, as to resolve within himself to dissolve the Marriage Contract in a private Manner, and so dismiss her with as little Infamy as possible. But while he was actuating these Matters in his Mind, an Angel of the Lord appeared to him in a Dream, and assured him, that he need not scruple to take home his Wife, for she was not with Child by any unlawful act, or in the ordinary Way of Production, but by a supernatural Operation of the Divine Power. He added, that the Child of which *Mary* was to be delivered, should be called *Jesus*, which signifies a *Saviour*; because he should save the People of *Judea*, not from their Bondage to the *Romans*, which they expected would be the Office of the Messiah, but from their Iniquities and spiritual Miseries, which was a Matter of much greater Concern. *Joseph*, upon this heavenly Notice, was entirely satisfy'd, especially when *Mary*, upon his Inquiry, related the History of her Conception in the same Manner as he had heard it from the Angel: So, without any farther delay, he took her to his House, and lived with her in perfect Chastity till she had brought forth her first-born Son, as the Evangelist testifies.

III. Just about this Time, and as we may suppose by the special Direction of God a Decree of *Augustus Caesar*, which was published all over the *Roman Empire*, came into *Judea*, ordaining that all Persons, with their Estates and Conditions, should be register'd at certain Places, according to their respective Provinces, Cities, and Families. In Obedience to

the imperial Decree, *Joseph* with his espoused Wife, being both of the Tribe of *Judah* and Family of *David*, took a Journey from *Nazareth*, the Place of their Habitations, to *Bethlehem*, a small City in the Territories of their own Tribe, where *David* himself was born long before, and where the Prophet *Micah* had expressly fixed the Birth of the Messiah, the great Antitype of *David*, that they might give in their Names at the Office appointed for that Purpose.

IV. The general and great Resort of People on this public Occasion had so filled the little Town of *Bethlehem*, that when our holy Travellers went to seek for Lodging at an Inn, they could not be entertained in any better Place than a Stable: And *Mary's* Travel coming upon her just at that Time, they were obliged to put up with such Room as they could get, and retire together into what was designed only as a Receptacle for Beasts. In this mean Place the Blessed Virgin was delivered of her heavenly Burthen, as we may suppose without Pain, since it was conceived without Sin. She herself performed the Offices of Midwife and Nurse, bound the Infant in swaddling Clothes, and laid it to rest in a Manger, which was the most commodious Situation that her present Circumstances would admit of. After this low Manner was the Son of God pleased to enter into the World, to teach haughty Man the noble Virtue of debasing himself; and that as Pride was the Occasion of our Fall, so Humility might lay the Foundation of our Rising again. How well this agreed with the Character which the blessed *Jesus* afterwards gave of himself, when he persuaded his Followers to learn of him, for he was meek and lowly, and assured them that the Son of Man came not to be minister'd unto, but to minister.

V. The same Night that the Saviour of the World was born, while the rest of Mankind

Mankind were asleep, certain Shepherds happened to be watching over their Flocks, in the very Plains where *David* himself had often exercised the same Charge. To these was made the first Publication of our Lord's Birth, by the visible Appearance of an Angel, who came upon them, while the Glory of the Lord shone round about them, with such a sudden Flash of Light, that it put them at first into a great consternation. But the heavenly Messenger soon relieved them from their Fears, and said unto them with an audible Voice, *Fear not; for I bring joyful Tidings to you, and to all Mankind: The great Saviour and King, the Messiah whom you have so long expected, is born this Night at Bethlehem; and the Token you shall know him by, if you go thither, shall be your finding him in a Stable, wrapp'd up in swaddling Clothes, and lying in a Manger.* No sooner had the Angel delivered his Message, than there appeared with him an innumerable Multitude of blessed Spirits, praising God and saying, *Glory to God in the highest, and on Earth Peace; good Will towards Men.* Thus we may see it was the Pleasure of God, that as the Angels sung at the Creation of the World, so they should at the Redemption of Mankind: Nor need we doubt but that the whole heavenly Host paid their Adoration to the Babe in the Manger, at the same Time that a Part of them were heard by the Shepherds; for the Father had ordered, that when he brought his First-born into the World, all the Angels of God should worship him; and *St. Peter* assures us further, that these celestial Beings even long'd to look into the Mystery of the Incarnation.

VI. When the heavenly Quire had concluded their Anthem, and were returned into the immediate Presence of God, the wondring Shepherds hastened to *Bethlehem*, where they found *Joseph*,

Mary, and the Infant, in their homely Lodging, agreeably to the Information of the Angel. Here they did homage to Messiah the King in this humble Situation, representing in their Worship the whole Nation of the *Jews*; as the wise Men of the East were, if we may be allow'd such a Manner of expressing ourselves, the Deputies of all the Gentile World, when they came afterwards with their Offerings. When the Shepherds had been Eye Witnesses of the Humility of the Son of God, and had inform'd *Joseph* and *Mary* of the Revelation that had been communicated to them in the Field, they return'd again to their Flocks, praising and magnifying God for having bless'd them with a Sight of the Messiah, and publishing what they had seen and heard concerning this Child, to the Admiration and Astonishment of all that heard them speak. But *Mary* was very reserved amidst all these Occurrences, and tho' she took particular notice of every thing that past, she yet continued modest and silent in her Deportment, contenting herself with pondering over in her own Mind the Observations which she secretly made; giving thereby an Example worthy the Imitation of her Sex; none of whom can ever have an equal Occasion of glorying in their own Happiness.

VII. Eight Days after his Birth, the holy Babe was circumcised, and called *Jesus*, according to the Command of God by his Angel; it being necessary that our Redeemer should fulfil the whole Law, by yielding Obedience to every Part of its Institutions. And while these Things were doing at *Bethlehem*, a new Star appeared in the Heavens, probably of an extraordinary Brightness and Magnitude, which was taken Notice of by the Eastern Nations, who were much given to Astrology. The wisest of those People, we may suppose, were very earnest in their Addresses

to God, that he would let them know for what Purpose he had sent this surprising Phenomenon. Whereupon, probably by some Revelation, like that which they afterwards received in *Judea* concerning their Return, three of the greatest and devoutest among them, were assured of the Birth of the Messiah, a great King, to whom all the World should become subject; of which Prince they could not but have heard or read something before, at a Time when the *Jews* were in so general an Expectation of his Appearance.

VIII. After a Journey of six or seven Days, as it is commonly computed, these *Magi*, or, as they are call'd in our Translation, wise Men, arrived at *Jerusalem*, and enquired publicly where they might find the new-born King of the *Jews*; affirming that they had seen an unusual Star in their own Country, by which they understood that a Prince was just born in *Judea*, who was worthy to receive the highest Honours, and that therefore they were come to worship him, as they were in Duty bound to do. The Report of these Men quickly reached the Ears of *Herod*, who being a bloody and ambitious Prince, and consequently jealous and timorous, began to fear that some Seeds of Sedition might be scattered among the People by such Rumours; the more, because he perceived that the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* were very much alarm'd by this Declaration of the *Magi*. He therefore summon'd together such as were descended of the Chief Priests, or had themselves discharged that Function, or were at that Time Heads of the Sacerdotal Classes, and such of the *Sanhedrim* as were most famous for Learning, and inquired of them in what Part of *Judea* the Messiah was to be born, according to the Prediction of the Prophets: And being inform'd that the Town of *Bethlehem* was mentioned by Name in the Prophecy

of *Micah*, he resolved to take his Opportunity of finding out the holy Infant, and destroying him. For this Purpose, he sent for the Travellers, and asked them several Questions; particularly how long it was ago that they first discovered the Star; that so by finding out the Child's Age, he might be enabled to put him to Death without any Tumult. When they had informed him of what they knew, he dismiss'd them with great Appearance of Goodwill, both to them and their Errand, injoining them to use their utmost Diligence to find out this young Prince, and bring him Word of their Success, that he also might go and pay his Devotions, in a becoming Manner, to the future King of *Judea*.

IX. The wise Men, as soon as they were discharged by *Herod*, pursued their Journey towards *Bethlehem*; and as they were on their Way, the same Star that had conducted them to *Jerusalem*, appeared to them again, and moved on before them directly to the Place where *Jesus* was. When they saw their Guide a second Time, they were transported with Joy, and followed it, till they arrived at the Lodging of *Mary* and her Son, over which the heavenly Light made a full Stand. By this Token they entered, and finding the Child with his Mother, they instantly fell down and worshipp'd him: After which they offered to him the Presents they had brought, which were Gold, Frankincense, and Myrrh, the most valuable Product of their Country; it being the Custom of the Oriental People never to approach their Princes without a Gift. When they had in this Manner performed the Business of their Journey, and were purposing to return again by the Way of *Jerusalem*, that they might acquaint *Herod* where the blessed Infant was to be seen, God, who knew the bloody Intention of that cruel Tyrant, prevented

prevented them by a Vision, and directed them to repair into their own Country by some other Way, which they accordingly did, and so evaded any further Enquiry.

DISSERTATION I.

Chronological, Critical, and Topographical.

- I. *Æra and Epocha, what they signify.*
- II. *Æras among the Heathens.* III. *Among the Jews and Christians.* IV. *Correction of the vulgar Christian Æra.* V. *Reason of the Mistake therein.* VI. *Month and Day of our Lord's Nativity uncertain.* VII. *Disputes about them to no Purpose.* VIII. *It is proper to keep some Day.* IX. *Conjectures on the Decree of Augustus.* X. *Descriptions of the Roman Empire during the Reign of Augustus.* XI. *How long that Survey mentioned by St. Luke was in executing; and a Comparison of it with the Dome's-Day Book in England.* XII. *Dependant Kingdoms survey'd but not taxed, and why.* XIII. *Review of three preceding Paragraphs, and an Interpretation of two Verses of St. Luke's Gospel.* XIV. *Account of the Jewish Shepherds, and their Watches by Night.* XV. *A Description of Bethlehem.* XVI. *Of the Cave of the Nativity.* XVII. *Convents, Chapel of the Manger, and Grotto of the blessed Virgin.* XVIII. *Chapels of St. Joseph, St. Jerom, St. Paula and Eustochium; the Field of the Shepherds, &c.* XIX. *Particulars remarkable in the Road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem.* XX. *Solomon's Pools, Gardens, and Fountains.* XXI. *Objections against the Prophecy of Micah considered.*

I. WE shall confine ourselves as much as may be, throughout this whole Work, to such Expressions as may easily

be understood by all our Readers; nevertheless it will be impossible, on some Occasions, to avoid a few Terms of Art, which may need a little Explanation. Whenever this happens, if we are sensible of it, such Interpretations shall be given as may appear to be necessary, tho' we shall never enter into any tedious Enquiries about the Derivation of Words. We make this Remark once for all; and it is introduced here as properly as it could have been in any other Place. To apply it therefore: The Words *Æra* and *Epocha*, which we shall have frequent Occasion to use, are taken indifferently for a fixed and certain Point of Time, from which Chronologers compute their Years, and determine how long any one remarkable Action, Person, Occurrence, &c. was distant from another, either before or after. *Æra* is composed of the Initial Letters of four Latin Words, (*Annus erat regni Augusti*) which signify *the Year of Augustus's Reign*; it being usual for the Romans to compute their Years from the Establishment of that Prince in the Imperial Dignity after the Conquest of *Egypt*. *Epocha* properly signifies an Interval, because all Records, &c. from one of these particular Points, till it is supplanted by some other, are referred thereunto. But in their present Use, as I just now observed, these Words are not distinguish'd one from the other.

II. The most remarkable *Æras* among the Heathens were these five: 1. The Foundation of the *Assyrian* Empire by *Belus*, in the Year of the World 2737; before Christ 1263 Years. 2. That of *Nabonassar*, beginning at the Death of *Sardanapalus*, the last *Assyrian* Monarch, and the Foundation of the Empires of *Babylon* and the *Medes*, in the Year of the World 3257; before Christ 743. 3. The Reign of *Cyrus* at *Babylon*, and Beginning of the *Persian* Monarchy, in the Year

3468 from the Creation, and before *Jesus Christ* 532. 4. The Conquest of the *Perfians* by *Alexander the Great*, and the Foundation of the *Grecian* Monarchy, before Christ 326 Years, and after the Creation 3674. 5. The Beginning of *Augustus's* Reign, in the Year of the World 3960, forty Years before the true Time of our blessed Saviour's Nativity.

III. Sacred Chronology has generally been referr'd to some of these eight particular Points of Time. 1. The Creation of the World, by which all the other Epochas, both sacred and prophane, are regulated. 2. The Deluge, in the Year of the World 1656, before Christ 2344. 3. The building of *Babel*, and Confusion of Tongues, about the Year of the World 1800, before Christ 2200. 4. The second calling of *Abraham* from the City of *Haran*, in the Year of the World 2083, before Christ 1917. 5. The Departure of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, in the Year of the World 2517, before Christ 1483. 6. The Dedication of the Temple, in the Year 3001 from the Creation, before Christ 999 Years. 7. The End of the *Babylonish* Captivity, in 3468, before Christ 532. 8. The Nativity of our blessed Lord in the Year of the World 4000, or rather 4004, according to the establish'd, tho' erroneous, Method of computing.

IV. Having kept to what we call the true Time of our Lord's Nativity in the Articles of all the preceding Æras, and afterwards brought down the Nativity itself four Years lower, it is necessary we should give the unlearned Reader our Reason for so doing, and where this Mistake of four Years in the Computations of all the Christian World has its Rise. For the first of these Purposes let these two Things be observ'd: 1. That learned Men in general are agreed, that there is an Error in this Particular; tho' they do not all grant this Error to be of so much

as four Years; otherwise they could not reconcile some Particulars of the Evangelical Story with prophane History of the same Times: And secondly, that far the greatest Part of the best and most modern Chronologers allow the full Term of four Years to this Mistake, and by so doing are enabled to resolve more Difficulties, than those who embrace any other System. These two Considerations, I believe, are sufficient to support the Chronology I have followed: For if an Error be allow'd, it may as well consist of four Years as of less; and where there is Room for different Opinions, that is always to be preferr'd which accounts for the greatest Number of Difficulties.

V. But then in the second Place we are to trace the Origin of this Mistake: And here we have good Authority to prove, that Christians did not begin to compute by the Æra of the Nativity of Christ till the five hundred and twenty seventh Year of that Æra; a Time when the State of Learning was far from being in a flourishing Condition; and then this Computation was introduced by *Dionysius Exiguus*, a *Scythian* by Birth, at that Time a *Roman* Abbot. Our Countryman *Bede*, taking it from *Dionysius*, used it in all his Writings; and the great Reputation of this Monk recommended it to the general Use of Christians, especially in these Western Parts. Thus is this whole Matter easily accounted for to any reasonable Person: For had the Church from the Beginning of Christianity calculated the Times by this Epocha, there could then have been no Mistake therein; but at a Distance of five hundred and twenty seven Years, and in an Age when so few Helps to the clearing up a Chronological Difficulty could be procur'd, we may rather wonder that the Error was no greater, than that the true Year was mistaken at all.

VI. We are far more to seek for the true Month and Day of our Lord's Nativity,

vity, than we are for the Year of it. Some very antient Traditions direct us to the Twenty-fifth of *December*, which Day is accordingly kept as one of the great annual Festivals of the Western Christians. But Mr. *Mede*, Dr. *Lightfoot*, and others, have given very probable Reasons for fixing it to the Month of *September*, and particularly to the Jewish Feast of *Tabernacles*.

VII. 'Tis very well known, that while it was the general Opinion of the Western Churches that Christ was born on the 25th of *December*, the Churches of the East contended as strongly for the Sixth of *January*; alledging, that they must needs have a better Insight into this Affair than the Occidental Christians, who were at so much a greater Distance from the Place of his Birth than themselves. *Vossius* has indeed collected a great many Testimonies of the Antients upon this Head; but whoever diligently examines the Matter, and considers moreover, that in the most primitive Times of Christianity neither of these Days was particularly consecrated as the Anniversary of our Lord's Nativity, will be easily convinced, that there are no certain Grounds for determining on either Side. This Difficulty is obvious to every Man of Letters; and therefore M. *Le Clerc* tells us, that having, as he imagines, found out the true Year, he will not affirm or deny that Christ was born in this or that Month, but rather chuses to leave the Prosecution of such a doubtful Enquiry.

VIII. But tho' we are still in the dark with respect to the precise Time of the Nativity of Christ, yet the Disputes that have been carried on between the Eastern and Western Christians, on this Head, are sufficient Testimony, that in the Opinion of the universal Church, the keeping of some Day, in memory of this great Event, is very becoming, and even necessary. This is enough to be said in a

No. VIII.

Work where we would not chuse to repeat those Arguments which better become the Pulpit; from whence they are inculcated as often as they are called for by the Returns of that Season of the Year, which our Church has directed us to solemnise on this happy Occasion.

IX. The Decree of *Augustus* mention'd by St. *Luke*, was not that all the World, or the whole *Roman Empire*, which is what the Evangelist means, should be immediately taxed, as our Translation seems to import, but that Persons of all Ranks, Ages, and Conditions, should be enrolled, according to their respective Families and Estates. Several Reasons are given for this Procedure of the Emperor. *Suidas* informs us, that it was because the Taxes should be paid by an equal and moderate Proportion; those who were in Power before *Augustus* having taken from their Subjects according to their arbitrary Pleasure. *Cassiodorus* tells us, that it was partly that Mens Properties and Estates, which were become uncertain and confus'd by the Civil Wars, should be made secure to them; and that therefore it was necessary for them to make out their Descent and Families. Others have affirm'd, that this Enrolment was only an Effect of the Emperor's Curiosity, without any View either to the enriching of his Treasury, or reforming the Excesses of those who had gone before him. If this last Opinion be true, it sufficiently confirms, that he was over-ruled herein by the special Providence of God, who took this Method of bringing to pass what he had before declared by his Prophet *Micah*, and thus made it necessary for the Virgin *Mary* to go to *Bethlehem*, in order to her being there deliver'd of her heavenly Burthen. But let the Cause of this imperial Decree have been what it will, we have the concurrent Testimony of the Authors of that Time, that such a Survey of the *Roman Subjects* was actually made. I

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have also the Authority of the greatest Number of Commentators and Paraphrasts to support what I have said concerning *Publius Sulpicius Quirinus*, that he was sent into *Syria* with a special Commission on this Occasion: Nevertheless, as this is not universally agreed to, and may not perhaps, after all, be the most rational Manner in understanding the Evangelist, I shall now give my Readers a System of this whole Affair, extracted from the learned and ingenious Dean of *Norwich*, whose Decisions I have already acquiesced in, oftner than in any other I have met with; his Opinion on those Subjects of Criticism which he has entered into, being, I believe, as much to be relied on, as those of any other Author whomsoever.

X. *Augustus* having issued out a Decree for taking a Description, or Survey, of the whole *Roman Empire*, such as should contain an Account of all the Persons, Possessions, and Estates therein, and the Taxes issuable from them, it was in this Year wherein *Christ* was born executed in *Judea*, in the Manner as *St. Luke* in his Gospel relates. Such an Account used to be taken of the Citizens of *Rome* every fifth Year, and they had Officers appointed for that Purpose, called *Censors*. Their Business was to make a Registration of all the *Roman Citizens*, their Wives and Children, with their Age, Qualities, Trades, Offices, and Estates real and personal. *Augustus* first extended this to the Provinces, and three Times during his Reign he caused the like Description to be made throughout all the *Roman Empire*. The first was in the Year when he himself was the sixth Time, and *M. Agrippa* the second Time, *Consuls*, twenty-eight Years before the *Christian Era*. The second Time was in the Consulship of *C. Martius Censorinus* and *C. Asinius Gallus*, before the *Christian Era* eight Years. And the last Time in the Consulship of *Sextus Pompeius Nepos* and *Sextus Apuleius Nepos*,

in the Year of the *Christian Era* Fourteen. In the first and last Time he executed this with the Assistance of a Collegue: But in the second Time, which is the Description *St. Luke* refers to, he did it by himself alone.

XI. The eighth Year before the vulgar *Era*, in which this Decree was issued out, was only three whole Years before the Birth of *Christ*, according to the Correction of that *Era*, taken notice of above: And so long, was this Description carrying on thro' *Syria*, *Calefryia*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judea*, before it came to *Bethlehem*. When it came thither, *Joseph* and *Mary* were called from *Nazareth* in *Galilee*, the Place of their Habitation, to this ancient City of *David*, to which they originally belonged, that their Circumstances might be described and register'd among the rest of the same Family: And while they tarried here, *Mary* was delivered of the promised Seed; by whom the World was to be saved, in the Manner as related in the Gospels. That we allow three Years for the Execution of this Decree can give no just Reason for Exception: For supposing the Execution of it in every Province of the *Roman Empire* to have been committed to the Governour of it, (and that it was so in *Syria* is attested by *Tertullian*) three Years Time was little enough for the carrying it through *Syria*, *Calefryia*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judea*, which all together made up the *Roman Province* of *Syria*. *Joab* was nine Months in taking an Account of only ten, of the Tribes of *Israel*, and of no more in them than of the Men that were able to bear Arms. Whereas the Account taken by the Decree of *Augustus*, at the Time of our Saviour's Birth, extended to all Manner of Persons, and also to their Possessions, Estates, Qualities, and other Circumstances. And when a Description of this latter kind was taken in *England*, by the command of *William the Conqueror*,

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(we mean that which was called the *Dome's-Day Book*) it was six Years in making, tho' the whole Kingdom of *England* be not near half so big as the *Roman Province of Syria*.

XII. But tho' this Survey of *Judea* was made at the Time we have mentioned, and every Man's Estate there estimated according to the Custom of the *Romans* when they levied Taxes, yet no Payment of any Taxes was made by the *Jews* till the twelfth Year after. Till then *Herod*, and after him *Archelaus* his Son, reigning in *Judea*, the Taxes of that Country were paid to those Princes only. But when *Archelaus* was deposed, and *Judea* put under the Government of a *Roman Procurator*, then first were Taxes paid for that Country to the *Romans*, *Publius Sulpicius Quirinus*, who in *Greek* is called *Cyrenius*, being at that Time President of *Syria*. If it be asked for what Reason this Description was made, if no Taxes were to be paid immediately upon it? The Answer is, *Augustus* was then at work upon the Composure of a Book, containing such a Survey of the *Roman Empire*, as that which our *Dome's-Day Book* doth for *England*. Now in order to his making this Work thoroughly complete, his Decree for the Survey was made to extend to the depending Kingdoms, as well as the Provinces of the Empire, tho' the Taxes of these Kingdoms were always paid to their proper Sovereigns, and only those of the Provinces to the *Romans*. What Revenues the Emperors had from the dependant Kingdoms, were from the Princes of them, and not the People. For the People paid the Taxes to their Princes, and the Princes their Tribute to the *Roman Emperors*. Nevertheless this Dependancy put it into the Power of the Emperors to take such a Description as we are now treating of.

XIII. Putting all this together, the Sum and Series of the Matter appears to be

as followeth. *Augustus*, three Years before the Birth of *Christ*, issued out a Decree for this Description of the whole *Roman Empire*, including the dependant States, Kingdoms, &c. and committed the Execution of it to the Governor of each Province, both for his own proper District, and the States, Kingdoms, and Dominions, that by their neighbouring Situation were more immediately dependant thereon. By this Means the Survey of *Judea* came into the Charge of *Sentius Saturninus*, at that Time President of *Syria*, who having gone thro' the other Parts of his Division, executed his Commission at *Bethlehem* at the Time when *Christ* was born. But notwithstanding this, no Tax was here levied till the Deposing of *Archelaus* above mentioned, in the twelfth Year after, when *Cyrenius*, or *Quirinus*, was Governor of *Syria*. So that *St. Luke* speaks of two distinct particular Actions, performed at very different Times, when he mentions the Decree of *Augustus*, and the Taxing under *Cyrenius*. What is said in his first Verse of the second Chapter, where, as we have before observed, the Word *enrolled* ought to have been in the room of *taxed*, is to be understood only of the Survey or Description under *Saturninus*, whereof we have been speaking. But in the second Verse, where *Cyrenius* is mentioned, we are to understand a real Taxation that was laid upon the *Jews* after the Deposition of *Archelaus*. This reconciles the Evangelist with *Josephus*, from whom it is manifest, that *Cyrenius* was not the Governor of *Syria*, neither was there any Tax levied in *Judea* till after *Archelaus* was deposed, and his Dominions put under a *Roman Procurator*. Thus a different Manner of rendering only two Verses of *St. Luke's Gospel*, at once removes all the Difficulties that have been stated concerning his Chronology. And this Interpretation which we argue for is not less natural than

what is at present received; for it leaves the second Verse in a Parenthesis, as it now stands in our Bibles, and the Alteration it makes is chiefly in one Word, which we have already proved to be accurately translated. Thus have I done with this Affair, and at the same Time with my Extract from Dr. *Prideaux*, whom I have rather abridged than transcribed: I have also taken the Liberty in one or two Places to transpose the Order of his Observations, and to add an occasional Remark or two which I found elsewhere, or which seemed to arise from the Subject.

XIV. The first Notice of our Lord's Nativity was to *Shepherds watching over their Flocks by Night*. For the better understanding of this, we may observe, that Night was divided into four Watches, which were, the Evening Watch, the Midnight-Watch, the Cock-crowing, and the Morning. These are all mentioned by Name in different parts of the Bible, *Lam. 2. 19. Luke 12. 38. Matth. 14. 25. Exod. 14. 24.* The first of them ended at nine at Night, the second at twelve, the third at three in the Morning, and the fourth at six. These were so distributed among the Shepherds of the Country, that such a Number might always be in the Field; every Party by Night taking their Turns, so that when one Watch was ended, the same Number of fresh Men succeeded to the Charge. The Reason of this Care was to preserve their Sheep from Thieves and wild Beasts, and they had little Cottages erected for that Purpose. We may here take notice, that the Word Shepherd is very honourable in the Bible; *Abel* was a Keeper of Sheep according to *Moses*, and the greatest Part of the antient Patriarchs were of the same Profession. The Messiah is often mentioned in the Character of a Shepherd, and our Lord applies the Title of a Good Shepherd to himself, *because he lays down his Life for the Sheep, John 10. 11.* But not to

insist on these Testimonies, we may suppose, that the Shepherds among the *Jews*, at the Time of our Lord's Birth, were, as they have generally been represented in all Ages, a simple, honest-hearted sort of People, who were therefore proper Persons to receive this happy Tidings, as free from those Prejudices which would almost unavoidably have risen in the Minds of politer People, at their being informed, that the Saviour of the World was born in a Stable, and to be seen lying in a Manger.

XV. We made a separate Dissertation of the Geography of the first Chapter, because we therein took a general View of the whole Land of *Israel*: But we have only *Bethlehem*, the Place of our Lord's Nativity, to describe at present; and as this Discourse is not yet extended to any great Length, notwithstanding the different Subjects herein treated of, we shall here introduce such Observations on that antient Town, so highly honoured above all the Cities of *Judah*, as are necessary for our pursuing the Method as first proposed. The Word *Bethlehem*, *Bethlehem*, or *Bethlechem*, signifies *the House of Bread*. It was a City in the Tribe of *Judah*, generally called *Bethlehem of Judah*, to distinguish it from another of the same Name in the Tribe of *Zebulun*, *Jos. 19. 15.* It was likewise called *Ephrath*, and its Inhabitants *Ephrathites*, *Gen. 35. 19, and 48. 7.* This City was not at all considerable for Extent or Riches, but was infinitely so on the Account of the Messiah's Birth, which has made it honoured by all Nations. Its Situation is upon the Declivity of a Hill, about six Miles, or two Hours Travel, to the South West from *Jerusalem*. *Josephus* seems to place it at the Distance only of thirty Furlongs, or three Miles and seven hundred and fifty Paces from *Jerusalem*; and *Justin Martyr* at thirty five Furlongs, or four Miles three hundred and seventy five Paces: But it is very

very probable, that the Cyphers in both those Authors have been changed, because they could not be ignorant in this Particular, and all other Writers prove their Accounts as they now stand to be very faulty. Of this Place was *Elimelech*, the Father-in-Law of *Ruth*, that illustrious *Moabitish* Woman, who retired hither with her Mother-in-Law *Naomi*, when they were both become Widows; and here it was that *Boaz* took that celebrated Proselyte to Wife, from which Union descended *David*, King of *Israel*, who was also born in this City, 1 Sam. 17. 12.

XVI. The Cave where our Saviour is said to be born is not exactly in the Town of *Bethlehem*. *St. Jerom* says, it lies on the South Side; *Justin Martyr* and *Eusebius*, that it is without the City, and in the Fields. The Inn whither the Virgin *Mary* and *Joseph* retired was probably a *Caravanserah*, or Publick House, where Guests were receiv'd gratis, but had no more allowed them than barely Shelter: And as the Croud was very great when the Holy Couple arrived at this Place, they were therefore obliged to take up their Lodging in this Cave, which the Evangelist calls a Stable, it serving for that purpose to the *Caravanserah*. It is certain that the Antients mention the Birth of *Jesus Christ* to have happened in a Cave; and Travellers tell us, that this Place is about forty Foot deep, and twelve wide, growing narrow towards the Roof. *St. Jerom* says, That the Emperor *Adrian*, in order to obliterate the Memory of the Place where our Saviour was born, planted over the Cave a Grove of tall Trees, in honour of *Thammuz*, or *Adonis*; so that when the Festival of that infamous Deity was celebrated, the holy Grot was heard to echo back the Lamentations, which were made in commemoration of the Lover of *Kenis*.

XVII. Modern Travellers inform us, that *Bethlehem* is still visited by Pilgrims,

and that to this very Day there are three Convents remaining there; one of *Latins*, another of *Greeks*, and a third of *Armenians*; the two latter being contiguous to the former, and each having their several Doors opening into the Chapel of the Holy Manger, which stands, as the Friars believe, upon the Spot where our Lord was born. At about the Distance of thirty or forty Yards from one of these Convents is shewn the Grotto of the Blessed Virgin, which is revered on account of a Tradition, that the Blessed Virgin hid herself and her divine Babe therein from the Rage and Malice of *Herod*, for some Time before their Departure into *Egypt*. The Grotto is hollowed into a chalky Rock; but they will not allow the Whiteness of the Place to be natural, but to have been occasioned by some miraculous Drops of the Blessed Virgin's Milk, which fell from her Breast while she was suckling the holy Infant. And so much are they possess'd with this Opinion, that they believe the Chalk of this Grotto has a miraculous Virtue for the increasing of Women's Milk; and it is frequently taken by the Women hereabouts, as well *Turks* and *Arabs* as Christians, for that purpose. 'Tis added too, that the Effect, on these Occasions, is often answerable to their Persuasion; which may be easily believe by those who allow a great deal to the Operation of Fancy.

XVIII. Here are also shewn the Chapel of *St. Joseph*, the supposed Father of our Blessed Saviour; the Chapel of the Holy Innocents, and those of *St. Jerom*, *St. Paula* and *Eustochium*. *St. Jerom* was a celebrated Writer in the latter End of the Fourth Century. *Paula* the Mother, and *Eustochium* the Daughter, were two Roman Ladies; instructed in Learning and Piety by *St. Jerom*, with whom they afterwards retired to *Bethlehem*, where is likewise shewn the School of that learned and pious Father. What is further worth

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notice at *Bethlehem*, is, that about half a Mile out of the Town Eastwards, Pilgrims may entertain their Piety in the Field where, according to Tradition, the Shepherds were watching their Flocks, when they received from Heaven the glad Tidings of the Birth of the Messiah; and not far from the Field is the Village where they are supposed to have dwelt; near which, on the Right Hand, is an old desolate Nunnery, built by *St. Paula*, and made the more memorable by her dying therein.

XIX. There are several Things remarkable in the Way between *Jerusalem* and *Bethlehem*, which have been taken notice of by Travellers. The Country through which the Road lies, is the Valley of *Rephaim*, so famous for being the Theatre of *David's* Victories over the *Philistines*, 2 *Sam.* 5. 23. On the Right Hand, at the South of a square Seraglio, is a Fountain, reported to be that wherein *Bathsheba* bathed herself. About two Miles from *Jerusalem* is the famous Turpentine Tree, in the Shade of which the Blessed Virgin is said to have reposed herself, when she was carrying *Christ* in her Arms, to present him before the Lord. At about the same Distance, on a little Hill, stands an antient Tower, which is thought to have been the House of *Simeon*, that venerable Prophet, who taking our Blessed Lord in his Arms, sung that celebrated Hymn in the Temple, called *Nunc Dimittis*, from the two first Words of it in *Latin*. A Mile beyond the Turpentine Tree, in the midst of the Way, stands a Cistern, or Well, where we are told the Star first appeared again to the Wise Men, after they left *Herod* to go to *Bethlehem*, and from thence it went before them to the Place of the Nativity. And not above half a Mile further, there is a Convent, dedicated to *St. Elias*, in which the Greek Monks pretend to shew the Impression of that Holy Man's Body, on a hard

Stone, which was wont to serve him for a Bed. Further yet they shew a Sepulchre, which they call *Rachel's Tomb*; and it may probably stand in the true Place of her Interment, according to the Bible; *Gen.* 35. 19. but the present Monument cannot be that which *Jacob* erected, for it appears plainly to be a modern Turkish Structure. Near this Edifice is a little Piece of Ground, in which are pick'd up a Sort of small round Stones, exactly resembling Pease; concerning which they have a Tradition here, that they were once really what they appear to be, but that the Blessed Virgin petrify'd them by a Miracle, as a Punishment to a surly Rustick, who deny'd her the small Charity of a Handful of them to relieve her Hunger. In the Neighbourhood of *Bethlehem* also lies *Rama*, where the Prophecy of *Jeremy* is said to have been fulfill'd upon the Murder of the Holy Innocents; but we shall speak more particularly of this Place when we come to treat of that inhuman Massacre, perpetrated by the Order of *Herod*.

XX. Mr. *Maundrel*, in the Account he gives of this Country, mentions his visiting those famous Pools, Fountains, and Gardens, which are said to have been the Contrivance and Delight of King *Solomon*. To these Places of Pleasure he is thought to have alluded, when amongst other Instances of his Magnificence, he reckons up his Gardens, Vineyards, and Pools, *Ecc.* 2. 5, 6. As to the Pools, the ingenious Gentleman above-mentioned observes, that 'tis probable enough they may really have been *Solomon's* according to the Tradition, there not being the like Quantity of excellent Spring Water to be met with any where else, throughout all *Palestine*; but for the Gardens, he says, one may safely affirm, that if *Solomon* made them in the rocky Ground which is now assign'd for them; he demonstrated greater Power and Wealth in finishing his Design, than he did

did Wisdom in chusing the Place for it. The Pools are three in Number, lying in a Row above each other; so that the Waters of the Uppermost may descend into the Second, and those of the Second into the Third. Their Figure is Quadrangular; the Breadth being the same in all, amounting to about ninety Paces; but in their Length there is some Difference; the First about a hundred and sixty Paces long, the Second two hundred, the Third two hundred and twenty. They are all lined with Wall and plaister'd, and contain a great Depth of Water. Close by the Pools is a Castle of modern Structure; and at about an hundred and forty Paces from them, the Fountain from which they principally derive their Waters. But I shall not trouble the Reader with a longer Detail of these Particulars, which may seem too much like a Digression.

XXI. The Fulfilling of that Prophecy of *Micah*, which mentions the Coming out of Bethlehem He, who was to be a Ruler over Israel, has been referr'd by St. Matthew, as well as by other Christian Writers in general, to the Birth of *Jesus Christ* in that Place. Some, who are unwilling to allow such a plain Testimony of our Lord's being the Messiah, have taken Occasion from hence to insinuate, that the Prophet only alluded to *David*, who also was born there. But let it only be consider'd how unlikely 'tis that the inspired Author should express himself in this manner concerning a Prince who was dead so many Years before, and then I believe this Objection will be thought very unnatural, and not worthy any further Answer. There has also been another Difficulty started from the different Readings of this Prophecy, in the Old Testament,

Micah 5. 2. and in the Quotation of it by St. Matthew, *Matt.* 2. 6. But this being founded only on a trifling Criticism about Words, which on neither Side proves any thing with regard to the Substance of this Dispute, to insist on it here would be tiring the Reader without instructing him at all. If any thing material has been offered against the Authority of this Oracle, 'tis what the Jews say, when they allow that the Messiah is to be born at *Bethlehem*, but deny that *Jesus* is the Messiah, and that this Prophecy has any Regard either to *Jesus* or the Messiah. They found their Objection of *Micah's* calling the Person he speaks of, *A Ruler over Israel*, and on these other Words of the same Prophet, which follow those last referr'd to, *The Remnant of his Brethren shall be converted, and reunited with the Children of Israel*. Upon which they argue, That *Jesus* never reigned over *Israel*; and if he be God, can have no Brethren: Besides, say they, to confine the Kingdom of the Messiah to *Israel*, would be too much a Limitation of it. The Answer to all this is, That *Jesus*, as God, had no Brethren, tho' as the Son of *Mary* he might: That the Prophet has distinguished between his temporal Birth at *Bethlehem*, and his eternal Birth, when he says, *His Goings forth have been from old, from everlasting*: And lastly, that it is no more contrary to the Greatness of the Messiah, to say, he will reign over *Israel*, than it is for God to call himself the God of *Israel*, as he does in many Places; for this does not exclude the Dominion either of the one or the other, over the rest of Mankind, and over all the Creation in general.

DISSERTATION II.

The Genealogy of Jesus Christ.

I. His Descent from David a Character of the Messiah. II. Genealogy, what it signifies, with a Proof of St. Matthew's Design. III. Genealogies among the Jews exactly kept. IV. Why St. Mark and St. John did not write any. V. Difficulties in the Evangelical Genealogies. VI. What is uncertain concerning them. VII, VIII, and IX. The Genealogy of Matthew and Luke in a Table, with some explanatory Remarks. X. Whether St. Luke's Genealogy belongs to Joseph. XI. Whether sufficient with respect to Jesus Christ. XII. The Virgin Mary's Line included in that of Joseph. XIII. Another Proof of it. XIV, XV. Joseph the Son both of Jacob and Heli, and how; with Remarks on St. Matthew. XIV. The natural Father of Joseph, whether Jacob or Heli. XVII. That Point determin'd, with a Conjecture on the Relation between Joseph and Mary. XVIII. Other Remarks on St. Matthew's Division of his Genealogy. XIX. Cainan, and other Names in St. Luke's Catalogue, rejected, and why.

WE shall now take Notice of the Descent of Jesus Christ, according to the Flesh, and how, as a Man, he was the Son of Abraham and David, to both of whom the Promise, that he should be born in their Family, had been respectively made. That the Messiah was to be born of the Seed of David, was one of his Characters, which was received by the Jews at the Time of Jesus Christ, and founded upon the aforesaid Promise. This is plain from the Question put by Jesus to the Pharisees, when they gather'd together in order to examine him, and the

Answer which he receiv'd from them: He asked them, saying, What think ye of Christ? whose Son is he? And they said unto him, David's, Matth. 22. 42. 'Tis true indeed, That the Lineal Descent of Jesus Christ from David, which had been so positively determined in the Old Testament, was far from being itself a sufficient Proof that he was the Messiah. For this Character had always subsisted as really and manifestly, in the elder Branch at least of the regal Stock, from Solomon, quite down to Joseph, as it could do in the Person of Jesus Christ himself. But then this Descent from David was so much a necessary Part of this Proof, that all the other Characters of the Messiah which were visibly united in Jesus Christ, could never have amounted to such a Proof without it. There were other Children born in Bethlehem of Judah, in the same Year with our Lord; but he alone could be the direct Heir of David's Family, who was born in the Town prefixed by Micah, at that very Time when the Prophecy of Daniel made the Birth of the Messiah become necessary. Add to this also, That our Lord was born of a Virgin, and you have in one View four of the principal of those Characters, which the Prophets had given of the Messiah: But this last could not so well have been insisted on to the Jews, who were not at all inclined to believe our Lord's Pretensions, as the other Three, which were all of them capable of Demonstration.

II. The Evangelists Matthew and Luke have each of them, in his respective Gospel, given us a Catalogue of the Ancestors of Jesus Christ: The former of them up to Abraham, and the latter quite back to Adam. These Works are called Genealogies, or Lists of our Forefathers. The Hebrew Expression for the same Thing signifies a Book of Generation. And for this Reason, as it is conjectur'd, St. Matthew, who has used several Hebraisms in his

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his Gospel, calls his Genealogy, *The Book of the Generation of Jesus Christ, the Son of David, the Son of Abraham*: Where we may observe, moreover, the Allusion of the Evangelist to the Promises above refer'd to, and from thence collect what was the chief Reason of his putting this Catalogue of Names at the Head of his Gospel. For if he had not intended to prove that *Jesus Christ* was the Messiah by deducing his Lineage from *Abraham* and *David*, to whom the Promise was made and confirmed, what could be the Motive of his calling him the Son of that Patriarch and that Monarch, in such an emphatical Manner, when he was so many Generations from both? The Word Son, indeed, is frequently used in Scripture for a Grandson, a remote Descendant, or even an Heir, as we shall have occasion to observe more particularly by and by; but then 'tis always with some Design like what we here ascribe to St. *Matthew*; and therefore this proves no more than that the Evangelist spoke in the same Manner as others had done before him, upon the like Occasions.

III. The antient *Jews* were remarkably careful in preserving their Genealogies; so that perhaps there never was any Nation in the World more exact in this Point than they. St. *Paul* seems to censure his Countrymen for carrying their Affectation of this Knowledge to an Excess, when he bids them *avoid foolish Questions, and Genealogies, and Contentions, and Strivings about the Law; for they are unprofitable and vain*, Tit. 3. 9. A considerable share of this Knowledge, however, was necessary among them, and especially among the Priests: For 'tis observed in *Ezra*, that such Priests as were not able to produce the Genealogies of their Families, were not permitted to exercise their Function. *Josephus* says, that down to his Time they had in their Nation an uninterrupted Succession of Priests for two thou-

sand Years. He adds, that not only in *Judea*, but also in *Babylonia* and *Egypt*, and wherever they were dispersed, the Priests never married below themselves, but kept exact Genealogical Tables of their Families, which were taken from authentic Monuments kept at *Jerusalem*, to which they also had recourse upon Occasion. In all their Wars, Persecutions, and publick Calamities, says the same Author, they were particularly diligent in securing these Monuments, and renewing them from Time to Time. This proves, and 'tis the Observation of *Josephus*, that the Priests were peculiarly diligent on this Head, with respect to themselves: And we cannot doubt but that the whole Nation was altogether as careful to preserve the Knowledge of the Royal Line of *David*, from whom they expected the Messiah to descend, as the Sons of *Levi* could be in their own Particular. 'Tis certain then, that the Evangelists must have had proper Materials, which were commonly known in *Judea*, for performing what they undertook in a just Manner: And we need not wonder that two of these inspired Writers have given us the Genealogy of *Christ* according to the Flesh, if we reflect, that besides the Necessity they were under of proving him the Descendant of *David* in a direct Line, the Genealogy of any Person, whose Transactions, were committed to Writing, was look'd upon among the *Jews* as an essential Part of his History. Of this we need no other Proofs than what are extant in the Books of the old Testament, particularly in the Books of *Genesis* and *Chronicles*, where we have Genealogies carried on for above three thousand five hundred Years; containing in them not only the lineal Descent of such Persons, whose Names make a Figure in the Histories of their respective Times, but also the nearer collateral Branches of their Families, many of the

Names in which are never mentioned upon any other Occasion.

IV. It may be demanded, Why the other two Evangelists, *Mark* and *John*, did not also insert the Lineage of *Jesus Christ* into their Gospels, if such an essential Part of the Evidence that he was the true Messiah could be deduced from an Account of his Family, and if, moreover, the Custom of writing Genealogies was so common among the *Jews* as is here represented? The Answer to this need be only, That *Mark* and *John* might have seen, and been satisfied with, what was before done by their Predecessors in the Province of writing the History of *Jesus Christ*. *Matthew*, 'tis universally agreed, was the First of the Four who committed the Actions of his Lord and Master to Writing, and *John* the last: 'Tis also conjectured by a great many, that *Luke* preceded *Mark* in the Composition of his Gospel; and as there is no Proof that makes against this Opinion, *Mark's* omitting the Genealogy seems to me a very considerable one for it. *Luke* might have had Reason for composing a List of our Lord's Ancestors after what was done by *Matthew*; nay we are pretty sure he had some such Reason, because his Performance differs so much from that of *Matthew*, that 'tis plain he intended some other Thing; but this reason, whatever it was, subsisted no longer after *Luke* had publish'd his Gospel; and therefore if *Mark* or *John* had attempted to write a Genealogy, 'tis likely they must have been obliged to have copy'd either the one or the other of those Lists that were made before, which would have been altogether a needless Labour; whereas *John* found a new Subject for the Introduction of his Gospel, which was altogether as necessary, and more noble, than the other; I mean the eternal Existence of the Word, i. e. *Jesus Christ* the Son of God.

V. The Difference between the Genea-

logies of *Matthew* and *Luke* has been triumphed in by some, as a Difficulty never to be got over; and it has even been confess'd on the other Side, that a great Part of what the most learned Commentators have offered upon this Head, amounts to little more than well grounded Conjecture. *Grotius* has taken a great deal of Pains to reconcile these Accounts, and he is thought to have succeeded better than any Commentator who went before him. *Dr. Hammond* has expressly declined entering into any part of this Dispute; partly out of Deference to what *Grotius* had performed, and partly because the Difficulties that attended the Subject, were, in his Opinion, superior to any Advantages he could expect to reap from the nicest Examination of it. But *Dr. Whitby* among our *English* Authors has ventured to examine and determine two very important Questions in this Controversy, after what *Grotius* had done, and after *Hammond* had passed over the whole Affair for the Reasons just now mentioned. A great many others, both before and since *Dr. Whitby*, have taken Pains with this subject: I shall select the best of those Observations which I have met with, and insert them in the Remarks that follow the Table: And tho' perhaps there may be some Particulars relating to these two Genealogies, which can never be cleared any other way than that above proposed, by well grounded Conjecture, yet even this may be prov'd sufficient in an Affair where the principal Points may be determined, by Arguments which amount to a Demonstration.

VI. This last Assertion may soon be establish'd beyond all Dispute: We may be certain, for Instance, that the Evangelists did not intend to contradict one another because they were both dictated by the same Spirit; or if that be thought a trifling Pretence, because they were both engaged in the same Cause; for Interest is allow'd by all to be a standing Argument.

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We may be also sure, that in the Times wherein they published their Gospels, when the Records from which they collected their Genealogies, were extant, and consequently their respective Designs were well known, no accidental Contradiction could be proved between their two Accounts; for this would have destroy'd the Credit of them both, and have been an Objection in the Hands of the Enemies of that Revelation which these Evangelists made known, greater than the primitive Christians could ever have got over. Hence 'tis apparent, that from the seeming Difficulty which remains, instead of a reasonable Objection, there occurs a noble Testimony to the artless Integrity of the Evangelists, and the antient Fathers of the Church. The Evangelists were not conscious of having made any Mistakes in their Accounts of our Lord's Genealogy, and therefore took no Precautions against any trifling future Cavils that might be started, which could proceed only from an Ignorance of their respective Designs and Methods. And the antient Fathers, those of them that first perceived this Difficulty, chose rather to let it remain, and trust the success of their Ministry to the Evidence of the Doctrine they taught, than to obviate the Objection, by making such Alterations, or Comments, as would have render'd them liable to an Imputation of Forgery. This is reasoning according to the present Temper of Mankind, which inclines them to require a formal Argument on every Occasion, tho' perhaps the Subject needs it not.

VII. Thus far have we discoursed in general concerning these two Genealogies, without giving an Account of either, or

* The Evangelist *Matthew* being a *Jew*, and writing to the *Jews*, contents himself with representing *Christ* as the Son of *David* and *Abraham*, from whom it was promised he should lineally descend; but *St. Luke*, who was a *Gentile*, traces our Lord's Genealogy up to *Adam*, probably to represent him as the Mediator of all Mankind, and that Seed of the Woman, who should bruise the Serpent's Head.

enquiring into the respective Designs of their Authors. Before we proceed to these, or any other Observations of the like Nature, it will be proper to give a View of the Genealogies themselves. The Form of the subsequent Table is taken in a great measure from *M. le Clerc*, who seems to have apply'd the most valuable Remarks of *Grotius*, and other curious Enquirers, particularly himself, to the Advantage of his Scheme. This ought to be said of so great a Man, tho' his religious Sentiments must not always be approved.

VIII. The GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

* St. Matthew.	St. Luke.
	1 God
	2 Adam 1
	3 Seth 2
	4 Enos 3
	5 Cainan 4
	6 Maleleel 5
	7 Jared 6
	8 Enoch 7
	9 Mathusala 8
	10 Lamech 9
	11 Noe 10
	12 Sem 11
	13 Arphaxad 12
	14 Cainan 13
	15 Sala 14
	16 Heber 15
	17 Phaleg 16
	18 Ragau 17
	19 Saruch 18
	20 Nachor 19
	21 Thara 20

St. Matthew.

St. Luke.

The first Series of St. Matthew, the same as in St. Luke.

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|----|--|----|
| 1 | Abraham | 20 |
| 2 | Isaac | 21 |
| 3 | Jacob | 22 |
| 4 | Judah | 23 |
| 5 | Phares, the Son of Tamar, and Brother of Zara, | 24 |
| 6 | Efrom | 25 |
| 7 | Aram | 26 |
| | Aminadab | 27 |
| 9 | Naaßon | 28 |
| 10 | Salmon | 29 |
| 11 | Booz, the Son of Rachab, a Woman of Jericho, and the Husband of Ruth, after the Death of the Son of Elimelech, | 30 |
| 12 | Obed | 31 |
| 13 | Jesse | 32 |
| 14 | David, who had two of his Sons (Solomon and Nathan) by Bathsheba, formerly the Wife of Uriah, | 33 |

The Legal Line.

The Natural Line.

- | | | | | |
|----|----------|----|----------|----|
| 1 | Solomon | 1 | Nathan | 34 |
| 2 | Roboam | 2 | Mattatha | 35 |
| 3 | Abia | 3 | Menan | 36 |
| 4 | Afa | 4 | Melea | 37 |
| 5 | Josaphat | 5 | Eliakim | 38 |
| 6 | Joram | 6 | Jonan | 39 |
| * | Achasia | 7 | Joseph | 40 |
| * | Joas | 8 | Judah | 41 |
| * | Amasia | 9 | Simeon | 42 |
| 7 | Ozias | 10 | Levi | 43 |
| 8 | Joatham | 11 | Matthat | 44 |
| 9 | Achaz | 12 | Jorim | 45 |
| 10 | Ezechias | 13 | Eliezer | 46 |
| 11 | Manasses | 14 | Jole | 47 |

- | | | | | |
|----|--|----|---------|----|
| 12 | Amon | 15 | Er | 48 |
| 13 | Josias | 16 | Elmodam | 49 |
| 14 | Jechonias | 17 | Cosam | 50 |
| * | Jechonias, another of that Name, who died without Children. | 18 | Addi | 51 |
| * | Zedechias, Uncle by the Father's Side, and Heir, to the younger Jechonias. | 19 | Melchi | 52 |
| * | Affir, Heir to Jechonias after Zedechias. | 20 | Neri | 53 |

The Lines United.

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|---|--|----|
| 1 | Salathiel, the Son of Neri, Heir to Affir and Jechonias. | 54 |
| 2 | Zorobabel, Heir to Salathiel. | 55 |

St. Matthew.

St. Luke.

The Legal Line.

The Natural Line.

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|----|-------------------------------------|----|---|----|
| 3 | Abiud | 23 | Rhesa | 56 |
| 4 | Eliakim | 24 | Joanna | 57 |
| 5 | Abner | 25 | Juda | 58 |
| 6 | Azor | 26 | Joseph | 59 |
| 7 | Sadoc | 27 | Semei | 60 |
| 8 | Achim | 28 | Matrathias | 61 |
| 9 | Eliud | 29 | Maath | 62 |
| 10 | Eleazar | 30 | Nagge | 63 |
| * | | 31 | Elli | 64 |
| * | | 32 | Naum | 65 |
| * | | 33 | Amos | 66 |
| * | | 34 | Matrathias | 67 |
| * | | 35 | Joseph | 68 |
| * | | 36 | Janna | 69 |
| 11 | Matthan; who died without Children. | 37 | Melchi, natural Father of Jacob, and Father of Heli-Levi. | 70 |

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12 Jacob, the natural Son of Melchi, by the Relict of Matthan, whose legal Son Jacob was therefore accounted, according to the Law of the Jews in such Cases.

38 Levi
39 Matthat
40 Heli, or Heli-Levi, the Son of Melchi, half Brother of Jacob, and natural Brother of Joseph. 71

13 Joseph the Son of Heli, or Heli-Levi, and Heir of Jacob. 72

14 Jesus Christ, the supposed Son and legal Heir of Joseph, who, by the Intermarriages of his Predecessors, was Heir to the two Branches of David's Family, descended from Solomon and Nathan. Jesus Christ therefore, according to these Accounts, was strictly and legally King of the Jews, and Successor of David, which was one of the Characters of the Messiah, given long before by the Prophets.

IX. The Reader will please to take notice of the Names that are put in *Italick* Characters: There are seven of them in St. Matthew's Genealogy, and three in St. Luke's, besides *Pedaiah*, who comes between *Salathiel* and *Zorobabel*, where the Lines are united. The Stars before six of those in St. Matthew's List are put to denote their being inserted from the Genealogies of the Old Testament, and that they really belong to the Places here assigned them. *Cainan*, *Levi*, and *Matthat*, in St. Luke's Genealogy, are rejected by many learned Men, for Reasons which will be given in the Sequel of this Discourse. Why *Pedaiah* and *Abner* are distinguished, will also be seen in due Place; and a Reason will likewise be found for putting *The Legal Line*, and *The Natural*

Line, at the Tops of the Columns. What remains to be done with regard to these Genealogies, is, to examine those Particulars in them which have been look'd upon as Difficulties by the Learned, and for that Reason thought worthy of their nicest Disquisition. This would indeed be a bold Undertaking, after the Subject has been almost given up by some great Men, if we propos'd any more in it, than just to copy the Arguments of others, or, at most, to reason upon Facts which others have alledged, and thrown, as it were, directly into our Way.

X. In determining the Question, *Whether St. Luke gives us the Genealogy of Joseph from Nathan the Son of David, as Matthew had given it from his Brother Solomon, or rather the Genealogy of Mary from her Father Heli*, we ought to observe this Rule: That an Interpretation founded upon the plain Sense of an author's Words, ought in all Respects to be prefer'd to another Interpretation, that puts a manifest Force upon the same Words. Now, if we make St. Luke's Genealogy to belong not to *Joseph*, but to the Virgin *Mary* only, we certainly put such a manifest Force upon what he says; for instead of *Being, as was supposed, the Son of Heli*, we must then read, *Being, as was supposed, the Son of Joseph, but in reality the Son of Mary only, who was the Daughier of Heli*, and so on. If St. Luke, who was an exact *Grecian*, had intended to signify all this to his Readers, can we think he would have done it so obscurely, that the general Consent of Antiquity should appear for the contrary Opinion, as we are assured it does? Add to this, that the *Greek Words*, which are translated, *Being, as was supposed*, might very well have been rendered, *Being, as the Law allows*, or, *in the Sense of the Law, the Son of Joseph*. Now, by the Laws of all Nations the Son of a married Woman should be called the Son of her Husband; and

and in this Sense Jesus was undoubtedly the Son of *Joseph*, as *Joseph* was the Husband of *Mary*; therefore there was no Impropriety in his being called so by the Evangelist *St. Luke*. To the same Effect, and doubtless with the same View, *St. Matthew* after having brought down his Catalogue to *Joseph*, tells us, *That Joseph was the Husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ*, Matt. 1. 26. They neither of them say, that *Jesus* was the Son of *Joseph*, but both of them prove, that in the Sense of the Law, he ought to be reputed so. We may venture to affirm, indeed, that it would have been improper, either in *Matthew* or *Luke*, to have given us any other Genealogy than that of *Joseph* in this Case; for it was taken for granted by all the *Jews*, that *Joseph* was the Father of *Christ*, as truly as that *Mary* was his Mother: And what could be more to the Purpose of the sacred Penmen, than to prove to the *Jews*, that according to their own Apprehensions of *Christ*, he must be the Son of *David*, since they could demonstrate that *Joseph*, his reputed Father, really was so? No other Method was so likely to succeed as this: For the Evangelists knew that the *Jews*, in order to invalidate this Argument, would never assert that *Jesus* was miraculously born of a Virgin, because that must at once have proved him the Son of God, and by undeniable Consequence their Messiah.

XI. But here it will be said, that tho' this Argument might be sufficient with the *Jews*, and what they durst not contradict, yet to us Christians, who believe that *Jesus* was born of *Mary* without the Concurrency of a Man, it proves nothing at all. One of the Evangelists, at least, ought to have given us the Genealogy of *Mary* up to *David*, that so the Descent of our Lord from that Monarch, and the Character of his Messiahship arising from that Descent, might have been clear and intelligible,

without our being obliged to have Recourse to such an Expedient as *the Sense of the Law*, in order to fix that Descent and that Character upon him. This must be acknowledged a very plausible Objection, and it has appeared with so much Force to some, that they have taken Pains to convince themselves and others, that these Genealogies were never designed to prove that *Jesus Christ* was descended from *David* according to the Flesh. But I can see no Reason for giving up this Point; on the contrary, it appears to me very manifest, that this Proof was the principal End for which these Genealogies were composed. *St. Matthew* seems to have been very full of this Design, as was before observed, when in the very Title as it were of his Genealogy, he tells us that *Christ was the Son of David*. Besides, what great Advantage could the Evangelists, especially *St. Luke*, expect from these Catalogues of Names, if they did not intend by them to fix some particular Character of the Messiah upon *Jesus Christ*, that might be acknowledged as such by the Nations to whom they wrote? Now *St. Luke*, it is agreed, wrote his Gospel to the *Gentiles*, who were taught at the same Time, that *Jesus Christ* was the Son of *David*, and that he was born of a Virgin: There is no room therefore to doubt but his Genealogy enabled them to unite these two Characters of the Messiah, in the Idea which it gave them of *Jesus Christ*.

XII. But still this Question remains, How could the Descent of *Mary* be learned from Genealogies in which she is never mention'd, and which have, both of them, been already allow'd to belong to *Joseph* her Husband? To answer this, we must conclude, and we may do it with very good Reason, that the Genealogy of *Joseph* contained in it that of *Mary* also. That *Mary* was of the Family of *David* we have certain Proof in the New Testament; for when the Angel told her, *Luke* 1. 31,

32. That she should bear a Son, and call his Name Jesus, he added, That the Lord should give him the Throne of his Father David. If David could in any Sense at all be call'd the Father of her Son, 'tis plain that she must be a Daughter of David's Family. The Hymn of Zacharias also declares, that God, by giving his Nation this Son of Mary, had raised up for them a Horn of Salvation in the House of his Servant David, Luke 1. 69. Moreover, all the Fathers with one Consent assure us, that Joseph and Mary were of the same Tribe and Family; and the Jews of that Time never contradicted this Assertion, which made so much against them, tho' they must, by their Genealogical Tables, be certain of either the Truth or Falshood of it. The Jews would have been glad to have convicted the Christians of an Error in this important Point; and therefore their Silence in what so nearly concern'd them, sufficiently proves that the Fathers were right in what they advanced, and consequently that the Genealogy of Mary is included in that of Joseph. Now this being granted, nothing farther could be wanting, when the Evangelists had shewn that Joseph was descended from David, to prove that our Lord also was the Son of the same David according to the Flesh: Nor is it to be wonder'd at, that the inspired Writers should give us the Genealogy of Christ in the Name of Joseph, rather than of Mary, if either way they proved the same Thing; because Genealogies among the Jews were never made from the Women, but always from the Men.

XIII. There might be other Considerations urg'd, to prove that Joseph and Mary were of the same Family, if those above were not sufficient for that purpose: For the Daughters of Israel who possess'd any Inheritance, were forbidden by Moses to marry out of the Family of their Fathers (see the last Chapter of Numbers) and

'tis more than probable that this might be the Case of Mary: For Epiphanius, one of the most learned of the Fathers, positively asserts, That Mary was given to Joseph in Marriage, because the Rights of Inheritance which she possess'd oblig'd her to this Union. Nor was this Law peculiar to the Jews; for the Athenians and the Inhabitants of other Grecian Cities, were not permitted to marry with Foreigners, as may be learned from Demosthenes and Diodorus Siculus.

XIV. The allowing that Luke as well as Matthew has given us the Genealogy of Joseph, and not that of Mary in Distinction from his, is attended with another Difficulty, which may seem at first a greater than that which it removes. One Evangelist tells us, that Jacob begat Joseph, the Husband of Mary; and the other calls the same Joseph the Son of Heli. Besides this, their whole Catalogues quite up to David are altogether different, except in the two Names of Salathiel and Zorobabel: And even these two Names are thought by many not to signify the same Persons in both Genealogies. How can these Things be reconciled? Could Joseph be descended from David both by Nathan and Solomon? Could he be the immediate Son both of Heli and Jacob? We shall endeavour to prove that there is no Inconsistency in what we have advanced on this Head; that Joseph might derive his Birth from the two Branches of David's Family above mentioned; that he was the natural Son either of Jacob or Heli, and might properly be call'd the Son of the other also, as he was his immediate Heir and Successor. Here we must proceed upon rational Suppositions, founded on the Customs of the Jewish Nation; and it ought to be admitted as a Maxim in such Enquiries, That where no certain Proof can be procured in a particular Case, we should form our Opinions, and draw natural Conclusions,

sions, from what was usual on the like Occasions.

XV. It was mention'd before, that one Person is frequently called the Son of another in the Bible, who is very far from being strictly so; sometimes a Great Grandson, a remote Descendant, or only an Heir sprung from some collateral Branch of the same Family: In like Manner a Person is said to beget his Grandson, or even his Heir, tho' in a distant Degree of Consanguinity. We have two particular Cases of this kind in St. Matthew's Genealogy now before us. The Evangelist tells us, *That Joram begat Ozias*; whereas 'tis plain from the Old Testament, *That Joram begat Achazias, and Achazias begat Joas, that Joas begat Amasias, and that Amasias begat Ozias*; so that here is an Omission of no less than three Generations. Again, *Josias begat Jechonias and his Brethren, about the Time that they were carried away into Babylon: And after they were brought to Babylon, Jechonias begat Salathiel, and Salathiel begat Zorobabel*. But it appears that between *Jechonias* the Son of *Josias*, and *Salathiel*, there was another *Jechonias* the Son of the former; and this younger *Jechonias* being pronounced Childless by the Lord, he was succeeded by his Uncle *Zedechias*, whose next Heir was *Affir*. *Salathiel* seems not to have been the natural Son of either of these; but of *Neri*, whose Son he is called by St. Luke; and this *Salathiel* succeeding to the Royal Issue, upon the Death of the Relations of *Jechonias*, in him the two Branches of *Solomon* and *Nathan* were united. *Zerubbabel*, called in the New Testament *Zorobabel*, is said in the *Chronicles* to be the Son of *Pedaiah*, one of the Brothers of *Salathiel*, tho' *Pedaiah* be not mentioned by either of the Evangelists. Now in the same Manner as several of these Persons are called the Sons of their immediate Predecessors in the Catalogue, was *Joseph* the Son either of *Jacob* or of *Heli*, that is,

of one or the other of them; [for which was his natural Father has been much disputed.

XVI. 'Tis plain therefore that *Joseph*, in a proper Sense, was the Son of both these Persons; of one of them naturally and of the other legally. Which was his natural Father is next to be enquired. *Africanus*, whom the others have copy'd in this particular, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, and *Jerom*, were all of Opinion, that *Jacob* was the real Father of *Joseph*, and *Heli* his Father only in Construction of Law. A great many Moderns are of the same Opinion, and will have it that our Lord necessarily descended not only from *David*, but from *Solomon*. They deny that the Line of *Solomon* ever fail'd, and therefore are obliged to make the *Salathiel* and *Zorobabel* in St. Luke's Genealogy, to have been different Persons from those mention'd by St. Matthew. This Opinion is grounded upon the Promise made to *David*: *When thou shalt sleep with thy Fathers, said God by his Prophet, I will set up thy Seed after thee. --- He shall build a House for my Name, and I will stablish the Throne of his Kingdom for ever*. But Prophecies are often to be interpreted with more Latitude than is really contain'd in the Expression of them. *Nathan* was *Solomon's* Brother by the Mother as well as the Father, and there seems to have been continual Intermarriages between these two Branches of *David's* Family. Those therefore, who believe that *Joseph* was the natural Son of *Heli*, cannot be said to put a greater Force upon the Promise made to *David*, than the Patrons of the contrary Opinion put upon the Names of *Salathiel* and *Zorobabel*, and upon the Prophecy of *Jeremiah* concerning *Jechonias*, which says expressly, *Write this Man Childless*. The House of *Solomon* never wanted Heirs, because of its close Alliance with the House of *Nathan*: For these two Branches of *David's* Family, according to *Africanus*, were

so blended together, partly by second Marriages, and partly by raising up the Name of the Deceased, as commanded by the Law, *Dent.* 25. 5, 6. that the same Persons might properly enough be called Brethren of both Houses. That this Union continued quite down to the Time of *Christ* is plain; for otherwise *Joseph* could not have been introduced as the Son, or Heir, of both *Jacob* and *Heli*: And that he might be properly introduced as such, upon the Supposition of this Alliance, has, I think, been made apparent.

XVII. From these Considerations, it seems the most proper Way to make *St. Luke's* Genealogy the natural Line of *Joseph*, as *Grotius* and others have made it before; and thus we have put it in the Table: For if *Salathiel*, the Son of *Neri*, became Heir to *Jechonias*, there must have been an Interruption in the Line of *Solomon*, which does not appear in that of *Nathan*; tho' these two Branches, on account of their Intermarriages, might be accounted but as one. Several Schemes of the latter Intermarriages between these two Houses have been drawn up, in which the Authors have each of them follow'd his own particular Fancy, as they had no certain Grounds upon which to proceed. That which we have given in the foregoing Table is as plain as any we have met with, and therefore we shall not trouble the Reader with any thing else of the same kind. If it has been prov'd that the Evangelists may be easily reconcil'd by supposing a long Succession of these Intermarriages, and that they cannot be reconcil'd so easily any other Way, there has been as much done as could reasonably be expected on this difficult Subject; and 'tis not material after this to know in what Manner, and between what Persons, these Intermarriages were made. We should be glad, we confess, to say something particular, if we could do it upon certain Grounds, concerning the Relation be-

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tween *Joseph* and the Blessed Virgin; but we can only produce the common Opinion of the Learned, which is, that they were Cousin-Germans. Indeed there is more than a mere Probability to support this Notion, if it be true what *Epiphanius* says in the Place above quoted, That the Virgin was oblig'd by the Rights of Inheritance to marry *Joseph*; for in that Case he must have been the nearest of all her Male Relations. And we may depend very much upon the Authority of *Epiphanius* in this Point, who had many Opportunities of knowing the Truth, (which must be wanting to all the Moderns,) both by living near the Time, and in the Land of *Judea*.

XVIII. We shall touch but lightly upon the other Difficulties that are found in these Genealogies, as they are of much less Moment than those already consider'd. *St. Matthew* has divided his whole List of Names into three Classes, in each of which are said to be fourteen Generations. To preserve the Number fourteen, this Evangelist has taken the Liberty to pass over several Names, of which we gave two remarkable Instances above. There seems, however, still to be a Defect in his Numbers; for from the Coming out of *Babylon* to *Christ* we read but thirteen Names, beginning with *Salathiel* and including *Christ*. This is rectify'd by an antient *Hebrew* Copy of *St. Matthew's* Gospel, in which the Name of *Abner* is found between *Eliakim* and *Azor*, as we have placed it in the Table. *Robert Stephens* supply'd this Defect another Way, by putting *Jachim* between *Josias* and *Jechonias*, which agrees very well with the Old Testament; for he means by *Jachim* the elder *Jechonias*, who, as was before noted, is called *Jeboiakim*. Either of these Corrections is sufficient to the Purpose; but the latter makes *Jechonias* the First of the last Fourteen, which Place seems most proper for *Salathiel*.

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XIX. The second *Cainan*, who appears between *Arphaxad* and *Sala* in *St. Luke's* Genealogy, is rejected by the best Critics as an Addition to the Text of that Evangelist. The Grounds on which they proceed, are these among others. There is no such Name in the *Hebrew* Bibles, nor in those antient Authors who follow the *Septuagint* Translation into *Greek*; such as *Philo*, *Josephus*, and *Eusebius*; tho' they all give an Account of the Patriarchs. They mention *Arphaxad* as the Father of *Sala*, and call *Abraham* the Tenth from *Noah*; neither of which Particulars can be true if *Cainan* be admitted. This Name, indeed, is now found in the *Septuagint*, but it must have been inserted there since the Time of the Authors above mention'd, or at least it was not in the best Copies in their Time, for if it had it would have been in their Works also. 'Tis not in any *Greek* Version besides the *Septuagint*, neither is it in the *Targums*: In the *Samaritan*, the *Vulgate*, the *Syriac*, and the *Arabic*, 'tis wholly wanting. Some of the Fathers, who wrote expressly on the Subject, prove in their Works that they did not own this *Cainan*, and yet they take no notice of his being mention'd in *St. Luke's* Gospel, which proves that they never saw him there. Add to this, that the Fathers make mention but of seventy-two Generations in *St. Luke's* Genealogy; which gives room for rejecting not only *Cainan*, but also *Matthat* and *Levi*, as we have done in our Table after very learned Authors. Other Difficulties in these Genealogies, if any should be found, may be resolv'd upon the same Principles with those we have mentioned. We conclude therefore, with observing that these Mistakes, committed by ignorant Transcribers, in copying over a List of Names, cannot lessen the Authority of other Parts of the New Testament, which were not liable to such Alterations.

DISSERTATION III.

Of the *Magi*, or Wise Men, who came to worship *Jesus Christ*.

- I. Who the *Magi* were. II. Two Sorts of Idolatry among the Antients. III. That of the *Sabians*. IV. That of the *Magians*. V. The Usurpation of *Smerdis*. VI. *Zoroaster*, when he lived. VII. His Character, Nation, and Design. VIII. His Retirement and Cave, compared with those of *Mahomet* and *Pythagoras*. IX. He goes into *Bactria* and *India*. X. He removes to *Susa*, brings over the King, returns to *Balch*, and is kill'd. XI. His great Reputation, &c. XII. He taught a Supreme Being. XIII. Caused Fire-Temples to be erected. XIV. The Form of his Church Government, and Orders of the *Magian* Clergy. XV. An Account of *Zoroaster's* Book. XVI. Its Agreement with the Old Testament. XVII. Some Account of the Modern *Gaurs*. XVIII. How many of the *Magi* came to *Bethlehem*. XIX. From what Country, and in how long Time. XX. Motives of their Coming; *Zoroaster's* and *Balaam's* Prophecies, and the Dispersion of the Jews. XXI. Enquiries concerning the Star, with the Testimonies of *Chalcidius* and others. XXII. Revelations made to the *Magi*, with other general Remarks.

I. MANY Questions have been started concerning the *Magi*, or Wise Men, who came to *Bethlehem* to adore *Jesus Christ* soon after he was born. 'Tis ask'd who they were? How many there were of them? Whence they came? What was the Motive of their Coming? How long it was after the Birth of *Christ* when they arrived at *Jerusalem*? What was the Star that appeared to them? We shall

shall pursue the best Light that can be obtain'd in this Affair, and consider these Particulars in Order. Several of the Fathers have expressly said they were Kings, and others who have taken up their Opinion have contended very strongly for it; but 'tis now commonly thought that they were Philosophers of the *Magian* Sect, whose chief Study was Astronomy. The Word *Magi*, by which they were distinguish'd, very strongly supports this last Conjecture: For tho' *Magus* was at that Time a sort of common Name for a learned and wise Man, yet as the Sect to whom it properly belonged was then very populous in the East, and the Persons mentioned by the Evangelist are said to come from that Quarter, I see no Reason why we should not understand it in the original Sense. This Opinion is at least as well grounded as any other; I may say much better, because it puts the most obvious Interpretation upon the Words of the Evangelist. Let us therefore see what were the principal Tenets and Characteristics of the *Magians*, or *Magi*, of the East, before we proceed to the other Questions above proposed; and this Enquiry will make the most considerable Part of the following Discourse.

II. All the Idolaters in the World were antiently divided into two Sects; the Worshippers of Images, and the Worshippers of Fire: The First of these were called *Sabians*, and the latter *Magians*. It does not appear, indeed, that these Names were altogether so antient as the Sects to which they belonged; nay, the contrary is evident concerning the *Magians*, and that they had at first some other Name; but as we have at this Time no other Way of distinguishing those People, we shall call them *Magians* from the Original of their Separation. The true Religion, taught by *Noah* to his Posterity, and practis'd by *Abraham*, consisted in worshipping one only God, the Creator

and Governor of all Things, with Hopes in his Mercy thro' a Mediator. Mankind in general were very early convinc'd of that important Truth; and it was from this Conviction that all the Idolatry in the World had its Rise. For being conscious of their own Meanness and Impurity, they could not conceive how it was possible for them of themselves to have access to an All-holy, All-glorious Being, whom they considered as too high and too pure for such a Converse. They therefore concluded that there must be a Mediator, by whose Means alone they could make their Addresses, and by whose Intercession only they could hope to be accepted. But no clear Revelation being then made of the Mediator whom God had appointed, because he had not as yet been manifested, except to particular Persons, the Multitude took upon them to make their Addresses by Mediators of their own chusing. Now their Notions of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, being, that they were the Habitations of Intelligences, which animated these Orbs, as the Soul of Man animates his Body, and also that these Intelligences were of a middle Nature between God and Man, they thought these the properest Beings to be invested with the mediatorial Character. And the Planets being the nearest to them of all the heavenly Bodies, and thought to have the greatest Influence on this Earth, they made choice of them in the first Place for the Objects of divine Worship, that they by their Mediation might procure from God the Mercies and Favours for which they were apply'd to. This was the Beginning of all the false Religion, which has ever since been practis'd in the World.

III. The Division of this Religion into the two general Branches already mention'd, follow'd soon after the true Worship of God was left. The Orbs of the Planets being look'd upon as the Taber-

nacles of the sacred Intelligences, when they worshipp'd any one of these Intelligences, they turned themselves towards the Planet in which they suppos'd him to dwell: But these Orbs being as much under the Horizon as above it, they were at a Loss how to address to them in their Absence. To remedy this, Part of these Idolaters had recourse to the Invention of Images, in which, after their Consecration, they thought the Intelligences to be as much present by their Influence as in the Planets themselves, and that their Addresses might be made as effectually before the one as before the other. Here was the Original of Image Worship: And as the Names of the Planets they represented were given to these Images, hence it is that we find *Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana*, to be first rank'd in the Polytheism of the Antients. After this a Notion prevailing, that good Men departed had also a Power to intercede with God, they deified many whom they thought to be such; and from this arose their *Bacchus*, their *Hercules*, their *Mercury*, and an infinite Number more. The *Chaldeans* Knowledge in Astronomy was the Occasion that this false Religion first obtained among them; and from them it passed into the East, where the Professors of it had the Name of *Sabians*; which Name still subsists, together with the Religion, in those Countries, and is there pretended to have had its Original from *Sabius*, a Son of *Setb*. From the *Chaldeans* Polytheism passed also into *Egypt*, and from thence to the *Grecians*, who propagated it all over the Western Part of the World. It was from this that *Abraham* separated himself, when he came out of *Chaldea*; and the Aversion of that Patriarch to the Worship of Images seems to have been copied by

the opposite Sect, of whom we are now to speak.

IV. This opposite Sect was that of the *Magians*, who had their Original in the Eastern Parts, first in *Persia*, and afterwards in *India*, in both which Countries they remain at the present Time. These abominating all Images, worshipp'd God only by Fire, which they thought the truest Symbol of his Majesty. Their chief Doctrine was, That * there were two Principles, one the Cause of all Evil, the other of all Good; that is to say, God and the Devil. The latter of these was represented by Darkness, as the former by Light and Fire; and of the Composition of Light and Darkness, they held that all the World was made. The good God they named *Tazdan* and also *Ormuzd*, and the evil God *Abraman*. Concerning these two Gods, some of them held that they were both from all Eternity, and others, that the good God only was eternal and the other created: But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual Opposition between these two till the End of the World; and then the good God having overcome the evil one, they thenceforwards shall each have his World to himself, the good God with all good Men, and the evil God with all evil Men. Agreeably to these Notions they always worshipped the good God before Fire, as being the Cause of Light, and especially before the Sun, which being the perfectest Fire caused the perfectest Light. They had Fires perpetually burning on Altars in all their Temples; and before these they offered up all their publick Devotions, as they did their private Devotions before the Fires in their own Houses. Darkness they always hated, as being the Emblem of the evil God, whom they had in so much Detestation, that whenever

* This was the Opinion of the Manichees, founded by the Heretic Manes, who received it from the Persians.

they

they had Occasion to mention his Name in their writings, they wrote it backwards and inverted, as thus, *NYWYHY*. These were the original Tenets of the Sect which were afterwards call'd *Magians*, tho' they did not receive that Name till they fell into Disgrace, upon the following Occasion.

V. *Cambyfes* King of *Persia*, the Son of *Cyrus*, had a Brother whose Name was *Smerdis*; and dreaming one Night, while he was in *Egypt*, that this Brother had usurped the Government, he sent one of his Confidants to put him privately to Death. There was another *Smerdis*, one of the Sect of the *Magians*, who much resembled the King's-Brother, and is thought to have had his Name from that Likeness. This Man, taking Advantage of the Absence of *Cambyfes*, and the Death of his Royal Name-sake, which was not commonly known, got himself proclaim'd King of *Persia* by the Name of the murder'd Prince. *Cambyfes* heard of the Rebellion, and being inform'd that his Brother was actually dead, was hastening to *Persia* with his Army, in order to quell the Usurper; but as he mounted his Horse for the March, he received a Wound in the Thigh from his own Sword, of which he dy'd within a few Days. Through this Accident, the Usurpation continued, till the false *Smerdis* render'd himself suspected by his Reservedness, and the other Steps which he took for his Security: and then the whole Secret was discovered by one of his Wives to her Father. This Usurper's Ears having been formerly cut off by *Cyrus* for some Crime, and *Phedyma*, the Wife we speak of, telling that her Bed-fellow had no Ears, her Father, knowing from that sign that he must be *Smerdis* the *Magian*, took an Opportunity with six more of the Nobility to enter the Palace, and murder him, together with a Brother of his who had contrived the Plot. The Rage of the People, when they were

informed of this Affair, fell upon the whole Sect of this Profession, and they slew all of them that they met with for one whole Day. This Day was afterwards called *Magopbonia*, or the Slaughter-Day of the *Magians*, a Name which signifies *The Cropt-ear'd*, and which from this Time became the Nick-name of the whole Sect. Thus from the Imposture of one of their Ring-leaders, the whole Sect fell into Contempt under which it must utterly have sunk, if it had not been reviv'd again a few Years after by *Zoroaster*, under the Name of a Reformation.

VI. *Darius Hystaspes*, who was elected King of *Persia* after the Death of *Smerdis*, took upon him the Profession of *Sabianism*, together with his whole Court, and the *Magians* had no Hope of ever recovering what they had lost; but just as they were upon the Brink of Ruin started up the Impostor we have mentioned, whom the *Persians* call *Zerdusht*, or *Zaratusht*, and the *Greeks*, *Zoroastres*. The *Greek* and *Latin* Writers differ much in their Accounts of this Man, and some of them make two of the Name, who lived many Ages apart: But the Oriental Writers all agree that there was but one *Zerdusht*, and that he flourish'd in the Reign of *Darius Hystaspes*. We shall therefore place him in that Reign, after the ingenious Dr. *Prindeaux*, who has proved that the Accounts of him cannot suit with any other Time. To this Author we are chiefly oblig'd for what we have said, or shall further say, both concerning the Sect of the *Magians* in general, or concerning *Zoroaster* himself.

VII. He was the greatest Impostor, except *Mabomet*, that ever appeared in the World, and had all the Craft and enterprising Boldness of that *Arab*, but much more Knowledge: For he was excellently skill'd in all the Learning of the East, that was in his Time; whereas the other could neither write or read; and par-

particularly he was thoroughly versed in the *Jewish* Religion, and in the sacred Writings of the Old Testament that were extant, which makes it most likely, that he was as to his Origin a *Jew*. And it is generally said of him, that he was a Servant and Disciple of one of the Prophets of *Israel*, which is a farther Proof that he was of that People, it not being likely that a Prophet of *Israel* should entertain and instruct a Person who was not of the same Nation and Religion, especially since it was the Usage of the *Jews* to separate themselves as much as possible from all others. He is also said to have been a Native of *Palestine*: And all this together amounts to a Proof, that he was at first a *Jew* both by Birth and Religion. The Prophet to whom he was Servant must have been *Ezekiel* or *Daniel*, tho' there is Variety of Opinions on that Head: But all the other Prophets who are mentioned are such as lived either too early or too late. Of these two *Daniel* is the most likely to have been his Master; for he was younger than *Ezekiel*, and in all probability lived many Years after him; for we have no Account of *Ezekiel* after the twenty seventh Year of *Jeboiachin's* Captivity. *Daniel* by being a true Prophet of God, arrived to an extraordinary Height and Dignity in the Empire; and there is no doubt but *Zoroaster's* observing the Success of that great, good, and wise Man, was what set him upon the Design of being a false Prophet, in hopes that by well acting that Part he might obtain the same Advancement; and it must be said, that by his Craft and Dexterity in managing this Pretence, he wonderfully succeeded in what he aim'd at.

VIII. He did not found a new Religion as *Mabomet* afterwards did, but only took upon him to revive and reform that of the *Magians*, which had been for many Ages past the national Religion of the *Medes* as well as the *Persians*. For this

Purpose he artfully made his first Appearance in *Media*, where this Sect had the best Footing, the Disgrace which *Smerdis* had brought on it not having been so fatal there as in *Persia*. Here it was, that in order to gain the greater Reputation to his Pretensions, he retired into a Cave, where he lived a long Time as a Recluse, pretending to be abstracted from all worldly Considerations, and given wholly to Prayer and Meditation: And the more to amuse the People, he dressed up his Caves with several mystical Figures, representing *Mithra*, and other Mysteries of that Religion, from whence it became a Custom afterwards among the *Magians* to chuse such Caves for their Devotions, which being dressed up in the same Manner, were call'd *Mithratic Caves*. While he was in this Retirement he composed the Book wherein his pretended Revelations are contained. *Mabomet* exactly copied his Example in these Things: For he retired to a Cave before he broach'd his Impostures, and there, by the Help of his Accomplices, form'd the *Coran*. *Pythagoras* likewise had his Cave at *Samos*, after his Return from *Babylon*, where he conversed with *Zoroaster*; and the End of his Retirement was the same with that of his Master, merely to get himself the greater Veneration from the People; for this *Greek* Philosopher built upon Imposture as well as the *Persian* Prophet. By the way, we need only compare the Behaviour of these three Men, who were the most successful Impostors that ever lived, with that of our Lord and his Disciples, in order to convince ourselves how much the Truth was on the Side of these latter.

IX. When *Zoroaster* had continued in *Media* long enough to settle all Things there according to his Mind, he removed into *Bactria*, the most Eastern Province of *Persia*, where under the Protection of the Father of *Darius*, who still adhered to the

Magian

Magian Religion, he spread his Imposture throughout that Province also. The common People in general had an Affection for the Religion of their Ancestors, tho' so much discountenanced by the Court: *Zoroaster* therefore saw from the first that the Revival of this was the best Game of Imposture he could play; and the Scheme he thereupon formed, answered his Expectation wheresoever he came. From *Bactria* he went in Person into *India*, and learning Astronomy, Mathematicks, and natural Philosophy, of the *Brachmans*, he brought it back and taught it to the *Magians*, who continued for many Years after above all other skilful in those Sciences, whence a *learned Man* and a *Magian* became equivalent Terms, as we remark'd in the Beginning. And the Name of a *Magian* or *Magician*, has been ever since preserved in all the Nations of the *West*, and apply'd indifferently by the Vulgar, who cannot distinguish these Matters, both to such as practis'd diabolical Arts, and to such as were only learned beyond their Comprehension. Hence we have the Stories of *Friar Bacon*, *Dr. Faustus*, and *Cornelius Agrippa*, who were all of them great Men, but have always been look'd upon by the common People as Conjurers, or Persons actuated by a supernatural Power.

X. This extraordinary Learning was of great Service to *Zoroaster*, whose Reputation increased to that Degree, that he ventured at last to go from the City of *Balch* in *Bactria*, which he had constituted the Place of his Residence, to the Royal Court of *Susa*, where he managed his Pretensions with so much Craft and Address, that he soon got within *Darius* himself, and made him a Profelyte to his new Reformation. The Example of the King drew after it the Courtiers, Nobility, and all the great Men of the Kingdom; so that in spite of all the Opposition of the *Sabians*, which were the contrary Party,

Magianism, as it was reform'd by *Zoroaster*, became again the national Religion of *Persia*, and continued so for many Ages after, till this Imposture was supplanted by that of *Mahomet*. And there is still a Remnant of the *Magians* in *Persia* and *India*, who to this Day observe their old Religion, and retain the same Veneration for *Zoroaster*, and his Book (of which we are to speak a little further) as the *Turks* do for their *Mahomet* and their *Coran*. As for *Zoroaster* himself, he returned to *Balch* after this wonderful Success at Court, and there resided as *Archimagus*, or Head of his Religion, reigning in Spirituals with the same Authority as the King in Temporals, till he was slain by *Argasp*, King of the *Oriental Scythians*, against whom he made an Enterprize, in order to draw him over to his Religion. This happened in the thirty fifth Year of *Darius*, who soon revenged himself upon the *Scythian*, by making a terrible Slaughter of his Army, which was advanced even to *Balch*, and had there destroy'd the patriarchal Temple of *Zoroaster* among many others. All these *Darius* rebuilt, and continued to propagate the new Religion with an Ardor equal to that which the Founder of it had shewn before, taking on himself the Stile of *Archimagus*, and ordering it to be engraven among his other Titles upon his Funeral Monument, as *Porphyry* testifies. After this the Kings of *Persia* were ever look'd upon to be of the sacerdotal Tribe of the *Magians*, and were always initiated into that Order before they took upon them the Government of the Kingdom.

XI. *Dr. Prideaux* has produced a large Number of antient Testimonies, which prove the great Learning of *Zoroaster*, and his prodigious Reputation among both the *Greeks* and *Romans*. They make him a Master of all Knowledge both human and divine; and *Pliny* relates some Presages of his future Learning, which

which were taken notice of at his Birth. All the *Easteris* at this Day, even those who are most averse to his Sect, retain the same Esteem for this Impostor: For both Mahometans and Heathens call him a Wise and Learned Philosopher, and it has been proved from their Writings that they reckon him as the most eminent of all the antient Astronomers. *Pythagoras*, is found to have been a Disciple of *Zoroaster*, and to have learned from him most of that Knowledge which afterwards rendered him so famous over all the *West*. The placing *Zoroaster* in the Reign of *Darius Hystaspes*, agrees very well with the Time of *Pythagoras*; and the Doctrine of this *Grecian* may be a further Proof to confirm what the Antients have said of his being instructed by *Zoroaster* at *Babylon*: For *Pythagoras* was the first of all the *Greeks* who taught the Immortality of the Soul; and that *Zoroaster* taught the same Doctrine is what we have upon Record. But *Pythagoras*, did not carry this Tenet into *Greece* with that Purity in which he received it from his Master; for having corrupted it with a Mixture of the *Indian* Philosophy, he made his Immortality to consist in an eternal Transmigration of the Soul out of one Body into another; whereas *Zoroaster* taught a Resurrection of the Dead, and an immortal State to follow, as he had received it from *Daniel*.

XII. We should now take notice in what the Reformation consisted which *Zoroaster* made, the Form in which he established it, and what was the Book which he composed. The chief Alteration he made was in the first Principle of the *Magian* Religion: For whereas before they held the Being of two first Causes, the good and the evil God, or Light and Darkness, and that of the Mixture of these Two, as they were in a continual Struggle with each other all Things were made, he introduced a Principle superior to them

both, one supreme God, who created both Light and Darkness, and out of these Two, according to the Pleasure of his own Will, made all Things else that are. *Zoroaster* seems to have taken the Hint of mending this great Absurdity in their Theology from the Words of God to *Cyrus*, which certainly have a Reference to the antient Opinion of the *Magians*, of whose Religion *Cyrus* was a Professor. *I am the Lord*, says God, *and there is none else; there is no God besides me; I girded thee, though thou hast not known me, that they may know, from the Rising of the Sun, and from the West, that there is none besides me. I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the Light and create Darkness; I make Peace and create Evil. I the Lord do all these Things.* Agreeable to this Lesson of God to *Cyrus*, *Zoroaster* taught the Doctrine of one Supreme Being; and to avoid making him the Author of Evil, he pretended that God originally created only Light or Good, but that Darkness, or Evil, followed it by Consequence, as the Shadow does the Person. In sum, he taught that the Supreme Being was independent, and self-existing from all Eternity: That under him were two Angels; one of Light, the Author and Director of all Good; and the other of Darkness, the Author and Director of all Evil; and that these two, out of the Mixture of Light and Darkness, made all Things: That they are in a perpetual Struggle with each other, and shall be so to the End of the World, when there shall be a general Resurrection and a Day of Judgment: That afterwards the Angel of Darkness and his Disciples shall go into a World of their own, and there suffer in everlasting Darkness the Punishment of their evil Deeds; and the Angel of Light and his Disciples shall go also into a World of their own, where, in everlasting Light, they shall receive the Reward due to them for their good Deeds. From this it appears, that he

he ascribed the same to these two Principles that all the Sect had done before him, and that he only made them subordinate Beings, whereas they were before look'd upon as having nothing above them. These Particulars are believed, without any Variation, by all the present Remainder of that Sect; and how consonant they are to the Truth is plain enough without a Comment.

XIII. The *Magians* before this Reformation, erected their Altars, on which they kept their sacred Fire, upon the Tops of Hills, and other high Places in the open Air, where the Fires were often extinguish'd by Rains and Storms: To remedy this *Zoroaster* built Fire-Temples wherever he came, over the antient Altars where he found any such, and in other convenient Places. The *Magians* did not worship the Fire when they paid their Devotions before it, but God in the Fire; and *Zoroaster* heighten'd their Veneration for that Element, by feigning that when he was taken up into Heaven, to receive his Instructions, he did not see God there, as *Mahomet* afterwards pretended he did, but only heard him speak out of the midst of a great and very bright Flame of Fire, from which he insinuated that Fire was the truest Residence of the divine Presence. He also pretended, that he brought from Heaven some of that very Fire out of which he heard the Voice of God, and placed it on the Altar of the first Temple which he erected, from whence they say, it was propagated to all the rest. They are so careful in keeping up this Fire, that the Priests watch it Day and Night, and never suffer it to go out. They feed it only with Wood stripped of its Bark, and of that Sort which is thought most clean; and they never blow it, either with their Mouths or Bellows, for fear of polluting it; the Punishment of which was no less than Death, so long as *Magianism* was the

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establish'd Religion in *Persia*, which from *Zoroaster* to the Death of *Yazdegerd*, the last King of that Sect, was about one thousand one hundred and fifty Years. This Superstition went so far, that the Priests themselves never approached the sacred Fire without a Cloth over their Mouths, to prevent their breathing thereon: So that when they read their Liturgies before it, they rather mumbled over their Prayers than spoke them. Tho' indeed, if they were to read them ever so clearly at this Day, they would not be the better understood; for the publick Prayers of the modern *Magians* are in the old *Persian* Language, in which *Zoroaster* first compos'd them about two thousand two hundred Years ago. In which Absurdity the *Romanists* and they are much alike; for the *Latin* was the vulgar Tongue when the *Roman* Liturgy was first made, as the old *Persian* was in the Time of *Zoroaster*, but that either of these Services should be continued in a Tongue which is no more used, is certainly the Effect only of a superstitious Folly. Let us add to this Account of *Zoroaster's* Regard for Fire, that he also ordered them still to direct their principal Worship towards the Sun, as they did before; and that, in Reverence to that Planet, they should always approach their Fires on the West Side, so as to have their Faces towards the East, according to their antient Usage. This *Persian* Custom was just contrary to the Practice of the *Jews*, who enter'd their Temple at the East, and worshipp'd towards the West: In Allusion to which Difference, the Prophet *Ezekiel*, *Ezek. 8. 16.* (who wrote before *Zoroaster's* Reformation) when he saw the Abominations of *Jerusalem* in a Vision, was shewn about five and twenty Men standing between the Porch and the Altar, with their Backs towards the Temple of the Lord, and their Faces towards the East, and they worshipp'd the Sun. The

L. Meaning

Meaning of this Passage is, that they had left the true Worship of God, and were gone over to that of the *Magians*. We may observe here, that when *Zoroaster* differed in any Particular from the *Jews*, 'twas purely out of Respect to some ancient Custom of the *Persians*; for otherwise there is abundant Proof in all his Institutions that he followed the *Jewish* Platform, and copy'd as much as possible from the sacred Writings. His Voice of God out of the Fire is directly the Burning-Bush of *Moses*, and the Voice which the Children of *Israel* heard on Mount *Sinai*. The *Jews* had a sacred Fire which came down from Heaven, and *Nadab* and *Abihu* were punished with Death for offering Incense with other Fire: This is plainly the Original of what *Zoroaster* pretended and enjoin'd concerning the Fire of the *Magians*. We need not produce any more Instances; for whosoever compares the Accounts of *Zoroaster's* Reformation with the Old Testament, will scarce think it probable that he should write after the *Jews* in so many Particulars, if he had not copy'd them with Design, and if he had not been originally of that Nation and Religion.

XIV. The *Magian* Clergy were divided by *Zoroaster* into three Orders: and the Districts they had Charge of, the Revenues they possess'd, the Dignity of the Temples in which they ordinarily officiated, and the Shares they had in the Administration of Ecclesiastical Matters, were all proportion'd to their several Degrees, in like Manner as at this Day among the Christians. The inferior Clergy performed all the common Offices of their divine Worship, in what we may call Parochial Oratories, for they were of the same Nature with our Parish Churches: Those had in them no Fire-Altars, but the Liturgy and other Parts of their sacred Writings were read before a Lamp, which was there kept continually burning. The Fire-Temples, in which Fire was constantly maintain'd upon a sacred Altar,

were somewhat like our Cathedrals, and belong'd to their Clergy of the second Order, who were Superintendants over the inferior Clergy, as Bishops are with us. In these Fire-Temples were entertained also many of the inferior Clergy who took care of the sacred Fire, and performed divine Service under the Superintendant; and their Dignity was equal to that of our Choral Vicars. Over all was the *Archimagus*, or Arch-Priest, who was Head of the whole Religion, in the same Manner as the Pope among the *Romanists*, the Mufti among the *Turks*, and the High-Priest among the *Jews*. The Fire-Temple where the *Archimagus* resided, was held in the same Veneration by the *Magians*, as the Temple of *Mecca* is by the Mahometans; and like these they thought themselves oblig'd to make a Pilgrimage thither once in their Lives. *Zoroaster* settled this Metropolitan Church at *Balch*, where he himself usually resided: But when the Mahometans overran *Persia*, in the seventh Century after Christ, the *Archimagus* was forced to remove it into *Kerman*, a Province on the Southern Ocean towards *India*, where it continues to this Day, and the same Veneration is now paid to it as was formerly to that at *Balch*. This and all the other Fire-Temples, had large Revenues in Hand; but the Parochial Clergy depended solely on the Tythes and Offerings of the People, which were given in the same Proportion as by the *Jews*, from whose Usage the Institution it self was taken.

XV. The Book which we have already mentioned was composed by this Impostor while he lived in his Retirement in the Cave, and therein are contained all his pretended Revelations. When he presented it to *Darius*, it was bound up in twelve Volumes, whereof each consisted of an hundred Skins of Vellum: For it was the Custom of the *Persians* at that Time to write all on Skins. This Book is called *Zendavesta*,

Zendavesta, and by Contraction *Zend*; which originally signifies a *Fire-Kindler*, such as a *Tinder-Box* is with us. The Impostor gave it this fantastical Name, because, as he pretended, all who would read therein, and meditate on what they read, might from thence, as from a *Fire-Kindler*, kindle in their Hearts the Fire of true Love for God, and his holy Religion. We may remark here, that the way of kindling a Fire in the Eastern Countries, is by rubbing two Pieces of Cane one against another till one of them takes Fire; and it was to this Method that *Zoroaster* more peculiarly alluded in the Name of his Book. The first Part of this Work contains their Liturgy which is still used in all their Oratories and Fire-Temples; and the rest treats of all the other Parts of their Religion. They reckon their Actions to be good or evil, as they agree or disagree with the *Zend*; whence in their Language a righteous Action is called, *What the Book Zend allows*, and an evil Action, *What the Book Zend disallows*. *Zoroaster* pretended to have received this Book from Heaven: It is all of it preserved to this Day in the old *Persian* Language and Character, (as we before observed concerning the Liturgy in particular) and there is a Copy of it kept in every Oratory and Fire-Temple, in the same Manner as we have Bibles in all our Parish Churches, out of which they read Portions to the People on stated Times.

XVI. In this Book are a great many Things taken out of the Old Testament, which, being added to the Proofs already alledged, will put it beyond Dispute, that the Author was a *Jew*. He has therein inserted a great Part of the *Psalms* of *David*; he makes *Adam* and *Eve* to be the first Parents of Mankind; and his History of the Creation and Deluge has Resemblance enough to that of *Moses*, to

prove that he borrow'd it from the sacred Text. He speaks also of *Abraham*, *Joseph*, *Moses*, and *Solomon*, in the same Manner as the Scriptures speak of them: And out of a particular Veneration † for *Abraham*, he called his Book the Book of *Abraham*, and his Religion the Religion of *Abraham*; for he pretended that the Reformation he introduced was only to bring the Religion of the *Persians* to that original Purity in which *Abraham* practised it, by purging it from those Innovations which were introduced by the Corruption of After-Times: And to all this *Mahomet* afterwards pretended for his Religion; as the Author of the *Sabian* Sect, whoever he was, had also done for his. For the Name of *Abraham* for many Ages past has been had in great Veneration all over the *East*; the *Jews*, the *Magians*, the *Mahometans*, the *Sabians*, and even the *Indians*, all challenge him to themselves, as the great Patriarch and Founder of their respective Sects, pretending that their Religion is the same which *Abraham* professed. This high Veneration proceeds from the great Fame of his Piety, which was spread in those Parts by the *Israelites*, in their Dispersions over the *East* on the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Captivities. *Zoroaster* moreover commands in his Book the same Observances about Beasts clean and unclean as *Moses* doth, the same Laws concerning Tythes, the same Rules for avoiding all Pollutions, and for cleansing and purifying the Polluted. The Priesthood, according to him, must always be in one Tribe, and one High-Priest must be ordained over all; and in many other Institutions he perfectly agrees with *Moses*. The rest of *Zoroaster's* Book contains an Account of his own Life, Actions, and Prophecies, the several Branches of his reformed Superstition, with Rules and

† We are told that the *Magians* confound *Abraham* with *Zoroaster*: Probably *Zoroaster's* calling the *Zend* the Book of *Abraham* might be the Original of this Mistake, and that the *Zend* is now thought to have been written by that Patriarch.

Exhortations to Morality, in which he is very pressing and sufficiently exact, except only in the Particular of Incest: For he allows a Man to marry not only his Sister or his Daughter, but even his Mother; and among the Priests of his Sect, he that was born of this last and worst kind of Incest, was looked on as best qualified for the sacerdotal Function. This vile Indulgence is thought to have been design'd as a Piece of Flattery to the *Persian* Kings, who were exceedingly given to incestuous Marriages: But *Alexander*, when he conquered *Persia*, put an end to this Abomination, and forbid all such unnatural Copulations for the future.

XVII. Those of the *Magian* Sect who are still remaining in *Persia*, have there the Name of *Gaurs*, which in *Arabic* signifies *Infidels*, and is therefore apply'd to these People by way of Eminency, as if they were the Greatest of all Infidels: So that whosoever speaks of a *Gaur* in *Persia*, he never means any other Person thereby than a *Magian*, it being become as it were the national Name of that People. They have a Suburb at *Ispahan*, the Capital of *Persia*, which is called, *The Town of the Gaurs*, where they are employ'd in the meanest Drudgeries. Others of them are scatter'd abroad over the Country, and made use of in the like Services: But the greatest Bulk of them is in *Kerman*, which being the barrenest Province of all *Persia*, and where others care not to inhabit, the Mahometans permit them to live there with some Freedom, and the full Exercise of their Religion: Every where else they are treated like Dogs; and they bear this Oppression with a wonderful Constancy. Some Ages ago several of them fled into *India*, and settled in the Country about *Surat*, where their Posterity are still remaining: And there is a Colony of them at *Bombay*, where the *English* allow them the free Exercise of their Worship without Molestation. They are a poor harmless

sort of People, zealous in their Superstition, rigorous in their Morals, and exact in their Dealings, professing the Worship of one only God, and holding all the other Tenets which we have described in this Account of their Sect. As for *Zoroaster*, they still have him in the same Degree of Veneration that their Ancestors ever had, looking upon him to be the great Prophet of God, and, in a Word, applying to him much the same Characters as the *Jews* do to *Moses*. Some Authors have pretended that this Impostor was a perfect Idolater, and that the Doctrine of the modern *Gaurs*, concerning the Supreme Being, and the future State, is owing to their Conversation with the Mahometans and Christians. Those who argue thus, support their Opinions with some Traditions of these *Gaurs*, which they tell us are evidently borrow'd from one of the two Religions above-mention'd: And they accuse *Dr. Hyde*, from whom the foregoing System appears to have been originally taken, with not having sufficiently distinguish'd Things in what he has advanced. But we shall avoid this Dispute, as we did that concerning the true Time wherein *Zoroaster* lived, because the Nature of these Controversies is such, that a particular Examination of them could be neither agreeable or instructive, since it must consist chiefly of Quotations, which for the most Part contradict one another from first to last, and at least all of them vary in some particular Circumstances. Whenever this happens to be the Case, if we espouse any one Opinion, it always has been, and always shall be, because such Opinion seems to be more rational than that which we reject, and this is the best way we know of.

XVIII. What was mentioned in a preceding Paragraph, concerning the Knowledge and Learning of the *Magians*, is now to be understood of the whole Sect, as if they were all thus learned, but only of

their Priests, who were called *Magians* by way of Eminency: For they, as the *Jews*, confining the Priesthood to one Tribe, their Learning was by that Means appropriated to the sacred Order, who transmitted it from Father to Son, seldom communicating it to any other, unless to those of the Royal Family, whom they were bound to instruct, in order to fit them for the Government; for which Reason it might be that the Kings of *Persia* are said to have been always reckon'd of the sacerdotal Tribe. Some have thought that the *Magians*, who came to *Bethlehem* at the Time of our Lord's Birth, were Courtiers of the sacerdotal Order, employ'd as Preceptors, Counsellors, or in some other great Offices; and this is the more probable, as there were always many of these Persons about the Palace of the *Persian* Kings. That they were learned Men we need not question, and consequently that they were of the Priestly Tribe, and that they are called *Magi* in the Gospel by way of Eminency, agreeably to what was just now observ'd. We may also suppose the Sciences they were skill'd in to be such as were lawful, and not diabolical Acts of Divination, judicial Astrology, and Enchantments, as some of the Fathers have pretended: For in general these People were the great Mathematicians, Philosophers, and Divines, of the Ages in which they lived, and had no other Knowledge than what they acquired by assiduous Study. This is all we shall venture to say about their Profession: As to their Number, the general Vogue for many Ages past has fixed them to three and no more, tho' this cannot be determined by the Scripture any better than the Article we have last parted with. Some of the antient ecclesiastical Writers are very

positive in this Particular; and later Ages have gone so far as to give them the Names * of *Gaspar*, *Melchior*, and *Balthazar*; but nothing of the whole seems to have any better Foundation than the three kinds of Presents which they offered to *Jesus Christ*. In a Book printed † among the Works of *Bede*, tho' supposed to be of a more modern Author, their Number is not only ascertain'd, but their Persons and Garments are particularly described, it being natural for People, who indulge to their Imaginations, to run very great Lengths before they stop. *Jerome Osorius*, a *Portuguese* Bishop, tells a Story also of these Men, from a pretended *Indian* Tradition; he makes one of them to be a King in *Calecut*, says that being upon a Journey to expiate the Crime of Incest, he met the other two, with whom he went into *Judea* to worship *Jesus*, for which Purpose they were already set out, and when he came home built a Church in honour of the Blessed Virgin. This is too much like many other Stories of the Father Missionaries, who love to find out the Traces of the Christian Religion in every Country where they come. *Osorius* likewise gives the Pictures of his *Magi*, as he pretends, according to the *Indian* Manner of painting them, in which he differs somewhat from the spurious *Bede*. Tho' neither of these Descriptions are worth being inserted, we may just remark, that they have been generally follow'd by Painters and Engravers, and are indeed as good Standards for them as any they could have had, unless supported by more undoubted Authority. In a Word, some Authors have mention'd twelve of these Men, and others only an uncertain Number; but we thought it as good a way as any to follow the most commonly received

* The Greek Names for them are *Apellius*, *galat*, *Saraim*; all of much the same Authority.

† Tis called, *Extracts from the Fathers*.

Amerus, and *Damascus*; the Hebrew one, *Ma-*

Opinion in an Affair of so little Moment. The learned Reader will not wonder that we omit several other Traditions concerning them, particularly concerning the Place of their Internment; in all which they are said to be Kings, and neither more nor less than three; their Royalty having been rejected at the Beginning of this Dissertation, and a determinate Number being here received only as a Matter of Indifference, and perfect Uncertainty.

XIX. We have a little more Authority for guessing at the Country of the Wise Men, tho' indeed what the Evangelist has express'd is only that they came from the East; but even that is enough to confine the Curious to much narrower Limits than they would otherwise have set themselves in such an Enquiry. In the Time of *Lucian* the Nations who professed the *Magian* Religion were the *Parthians*, the *Persians*, the *Bactrians*, the *Chosroesians*, the *Arians*, the *Sacans*, and the *Medes*; and tho' there is no room to question but that the Disciples of *Zoroaster* were as numerous, and prevail'd in as many Countries, at the Time of our Lord's Nativity, as afterwards when *Lucian* wrote, yet the Text of *St. Matthew* obliges us to bring the Wise Men from some Place which might justly be said to be Eastward from *Jerusalem*. This cannot be *Mesopotamia*, as a great many have conjectured, because *Mesopotamia* lies rather to the Northward than the Eastward from *Jerusalem*. *Dr. Whitby* maintains also, that it cannot be *Chaldea*, and his Reason for it is, that *Chaldea* is called the North in the Old Testament, when the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the People of that Country is foretold; whereas *Tacitus* tells us that *Arabia* is the Eastern Boundary of *Jerusalem*, and the *Arabians* are called the Men of the East, in Scripture, *Judg.* 6. 3. *Job* 1. 3. But all other Maps contradict the Consequence of the Doctor's Assertion, which is, that *Chaldea* cannot

be directly East-ward from *Jerusalem*; for tho' *Arabia* be the immediate Eastern Boundary of *Judea*, that does not hinder *Chaldea*, which lies beyond *Arabia*, from being as properly and directly in the East as *Arabia* itself. This does not deny that *Arabia* might be the Country of these Men, for from what Part of the East soever they came, there was a Necessity of their crossing Part of *Arabia*; but only makes an equal Probability on their Side, who argue for their coming from *Chaldea* or *Persia*. Some have thought it necessary to make the Wise Men the Descendants of *Abraham*, and on that Score have contended for their being *Arabians* or *Idumeans*; but we can see little Force in this Argument. There is more to be proved from the Offerings which these Wise Men brought: And if it be true that some of these were the Product of *Arabia* only, as has been asserted, that alone gives room for a strong Supposition that they came from thence. But then, on the other Side, there is no doubt but these precious Odours were purchased and used in other Countries than those where they grew; and if so we need not wonder that the *Magians*, who are represented as Persons of the first Rank, should be possess'd of such Things, especially on so extraordinary an Occasion. After all, we find the learned too much divided on this Head, for us to give our Judgment in a positive Manner. *Persia* was indeed the Country where the *Magian* Religion was first establish'd, and there, and in *Chaldea*, it seems to have flourish'd more than any where else: But then *Pliny* tells us, *lib. 30. cap. 1. That thro' many Ages the Magians prevail'd in most Countries, and in the East even ruled over Kings.* And *Ptolemy* calls *Arabia* in particular *The Receptacle of the Magi*. Thus the Honour of sending these first Ambassadors of the Gentiles to worship the King of Peace, seems to be divided between *Persia*, *Chaldea*, and *Arabia*, which all of them lie

lie to the Eastward of Judea: And this Uncertainty produces another as great concerning the Time spent in their Journey. If they came from the farthest of these Countries, and did not set out till immediately upon the Birth of Christ, they could hardly arrive so soon as on the thirteenth Day after, which our Church supposes them to have done; and from some Parts of *Arabia* they might have come in less than six or seven Days, the Time we express'd in the Chapter, as a Kind of Medium. Other Opinions there are, which we shall here omit; for several Things relating to this Question will fall in our Way hereafter.

XX. The next Thing to be enquired, is, How these Men could guess at the Birth of our Lord, from the Appearance of a Star? *Abul-Pharagius*, an *Arabian* Christian, tells us, that *Zerdusht*, or *Zoroaster*, foretold to his *Magians* the Coming of Christ, and that at the Time of his Birth there should appear a wonderful Star, which should shine by Day as well as by Night; and therefore left it in Command with them, that when that Star should appear, they should follow the Direction of it, and go to the Place where he should be born, and there offer Gifts, and pay their Adoration unto him: In Obedience to which Command, the three Wise Men came from the East, that is from *Persia*, to worship Christ at *Bethlehem*. And so far *Sbaristani*, a Mahometan Writer, agrees with *Abul-Pharagius*, as that he tells us, that *Zoroaster* foretold the Coming of a wonderful Person in the latter Times, who should reform the World both in Religion and Righteousness; that Kings and Princes should be obedient to him, and give him their Assistance in promoting the true Religion, and all the Works thereof. But what these ascribe to *Zoroaster*, others attribute to this Prophecy of *Balaam*, Numb. 24. 17. *There shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Scepter shall arise out*

of Israel, and shall smite through the Princes of Moab, and destroy, or bear Rule over, all the Children of Seth; and Edom shall be a Possession to him. Neither of these Opinions are thought to be well founded: For *Zoroaster* was certainly a grand Impostor, and therefore 'tis unlikely that he should be so well acquainted with the Divine Will, as to prophesy of the Coming of Christ in such clear Terms, and mention a Token of it that is not to be met with in the Writings of the true Prophets: 'Tis therefore suspected, that the *Arabian* Authors took their Account out of the Legendary Writings of the Eastern Christians. And if the *Magians* had received their Information from *Balaam's* Prophecy, they might as well have expected to see a Scepter as a Star; for he affirms the same Thing of them both: Besides, we know of no Record wherein this Prophecy was preserved but the Books of *Moses*, which were not believed by the *Magians*; and if it had been elsewhere preserved, yet, as what *Balaam* there prophesies has so plain a Relation to some future Prince, rather than a real Star, 'tis not likely that any Body should have understood him in this Manner, till after the Birth of Christ, and the Appearance of that extraordinary Phænomenon, had given some Colour for such an Interpretation. Others, who attribute this Knowledge of the *Magians* to some Prophecy of *Daniel's* when he was among them, seem at first View to have more Reason on their Side, especially if *Zoroaster* himself was a Disciple of that Prophet, as we have on very good Grounds supposed him to be. But we have no Prophecy of *Daniel* now extant, which could have given them this particular Information; and 'tis not probable, that such a Prediction was ever deliver'd, and made so publick as to be taken notice of by other Nations, which yet was not preserved by the *Jews* among their sacred Writings. Those who contend.

tend for the *Magians* being Natives of *Arabia*, think it most natural to believe, that they received their Information by the same Means as the *Romans* got many of their *Sybilline* Prophecies; that is, by Conversing with the *Jews*, who were continually discoursing about the Messiah's Appearance. Having thus learned to expect the great King of the *Jews*, they, being much given to Astrology, imagin'd he would not appear without some extraordinary Sign in the Heavens; and perceiving this preternatural Star or Light, either hovering over, or pointing to, the Land of *Judea*, they immediately took this for a Token of the Completion of the *Jewish* Prophecies, and the Birth of their mighty Deliverer. That they should have learned from the *Jews* to expect the Coming of Christ, from what Country soever they came, is indeed natural enough; but we cannot conceive how they should be so certain of his Birth, as to take a long Journey in order to worship him, merely from their own Observations of a preternatural Phænomenon, and without any superiour Impulse.

XXI. *Chalcidius*, * a *Platonick* Philosopher, who wrote a Commentary upon *Plato's Timæus*, mentions the Star of the *Magi*; but he appears to have taken his Account of it out of the Gospel it self, which he calls a *more holy History, and more worthy of Veneration*. It tells us, says he, of the Appearance of a Star, which foretold neither Diseases nor Mortality, but the Descent of God upon Earth, to live among Men, and to heap his Favours on them. *Wise Men of Chaldea, skilful in Astronomy, having perceived this Star in the Night, betook themselves to find out the new-born God; and having found him, they worshipped him, and offered him Presents suitable to so high a Majesty*. What this Star was has been much enquired: For it is evident that it

could not be one of the Heavenly Orbs, because it was design'd to shew the Place of Christ's Nativity, and did actually point out the very House of his Abode; whereas no real Star can be said to hang over any one Country more than another, and much less over a particular Spot of Ground. Some have imagined that it was a kind of Comet, which appeared in the Air after an extraordinary Manner. Others believe it to have been an Angel, cloathed with a luminous Body, in the Likeness of a Star, who by his Motion towards *Judea*, excited in the *Magians* a Curiosity to follow him. *Lightfoot* and *Whitby* conjecture, that it was the same Light that appeared to the Shepherds in the Field, which being exceeding clear and bright, look'd at a great Distance like a Star; or being lifted up into the Air, after it had appeared to the Shepherds, was formed into that Likeness, and so observed by the *Magians*, who from its Situation, took it to signify the Birth of the expected Messiah. *Whitby* says, that after they saw it the second Time, it moved before them in the Air, till coming to *Betlehem*, it sunk so low as to point out the House where the Babe lay. This Part of his Conjecture is very natural; for whether we suppose it to be the same Light that appeared to the Shepherds, or any other inflamed Meteor in the Middle Region of the Air, or whatever else we may imagine concerning the Nature of it, the Motion of it at last must have been such as is here described, because otherwise it could never have answer'd the Purpose for which it was designed. And indeed we are apt to believe that it moved before them in the same Manner from their own Country to *Jerusalem*, where they lost the Sight of it, just as the Pillar of Clouds did before the *Israelites* in the Desert, without being

* 'Tis not well known, when this Philosopher lived; but it seems as if he was a Christian.

seen by other People, though the Wise Men might think that all the neighbouring Nations beheld it as well as themselves: And indeed so they must have done, if 'twere so large a Body of pure Light as to be conspicuous in a remote Country, while it was center'd over *Judea*. But that they did so is very improbable, considering that we have no other Accounts of this Star than what are taken from *St. Matthew*. We might introduce many other Conceits about the Nature and Form of this Star, the Time when it first appeared to the *Magians*, how often it was seen by them, and the like: But none of them would serve to any better Purpose than just to amuse the Reader.

XXII. To conclude, we cannot help repeating it as our Opinion, that it seems necessary that the *Magians* should have had some other Notice of the Intent of this Star, than what they could collect from the extraordinary manner of its Appearance; for from that alone they would rather have predicted the Fate of some Empire, agreeable to the Custom of Astrologers, than the Incarnation of a God. Some will have this Notice to have been given them by inward Inspiration, the Light of the Holy Ghost, and the Solicitations of Grace. But we see no Reason to deny them an extraordinary Revelation on this Occasion, (either by an Angel, or in a Dream, like that which afterwards warned them to avoid the Wrath of *Herod*;) as *Dr. Whitby* has done in his Annotations. His only Reason for it is, that they did not mention any such Revelation when they enquired at *Jerusalem* for the new-born King of the *Jews*, but only declared as the Motive of their Coming, that they had seen his Star in the East. But if we consider the Evangelist's

Account, we shall find, that this was enough for them to declare: The Star was to them the Sign of our Lord's Nativity, and their Guide to the Place of it; and having at *Jerusalem* lost the Sight of this Star, they supposed themselves at the End of their Journey, and thereupon began openly to enquire for the new born King, of whom they imagined every one must have heard; and to speak of the Star, as of a Thing commonly known, not questioning but it had been publicly seen, and the Occasion of its Appearance been understood by all the *Jews*. These being their Sentiments, as it appears they were, they could see no Necessity of telling the *Jews* by what Means they were informed of the Design of this Star, since they imagin'd such a preternatural Information to have been necessary only to themselves, or at least not to the *Jews*, who knew the State of the whole Affair. This is all we shall here say concerning these *Magians*; in speaking of whom the Reader must have observed, that we have all along supposed them to be Persons, to whom the Name of *Magians* properly belonged on Account of their Religion, and not merely that they were learned Men, Students in Astronomy, and the like, to whom that Name was in Process of Time without Distinction given. This has been the general Fault of Commentators, proceeding from the Want of a clear Knowledge of the People who originally bore this Name: And 'tis owing to our late Discoveries and Commerce, together with the Industry of some curious Gentlemen to improve these Advantages, that we have a better Account of them, their Founder, religious Principles, than any of the Ancients, or Moderns who copied from them only, could ever obtain.

CHAP. III.

I. *Law concerning the Presentation of the First-Born, and the Purification of Women.*
 II. *Joseph and Mary go to Jerusalem, where Mary performs the customary Ceremonies.*
 III. *The Character of Simeon; he embraces Jesus, and praises God.* IV. *His Prophecies.* V. *The Character and History of Anna the Prophetess.* VI. *Joseph is warned by an Angel, and departs with Mary and her Child into Egypt.* VII. *Herod destroys the Children in and about Bethlehem.* VIII. *Joseph, upon the Death of Herod, returns out of Egypt, and settles at Nazareth.*

THE Behaviour of Joseph and the blessed Virgin during the Infancy of our Lord, is a continual Lesson of Humility, and Obedience to the Divine Commandments, *Luke 2. 23, 24.* The Circumcision of the Holy Babe according to the Law, was performed at the appointed Time, tho' as he was without Sin, he might justly have pleaded an Exemption in a Matter of Pain and Dishonour; and no less Exactness was afterwards observed with respect to two other Institutions of the same Law, the one concerning Mothers, and the other concerning their First-born Children. It was ordained, *Lev. 12. 2, 5, 19.* that all Jewish Women, upon the Birth of a Male Child, should separate themselves from the publick Congregation forty Days, and at the End of that Term go into the Temple to be purified: And by another Law, *Exod. 13. 2, 15, 19.* that every Male, which first opened the Womb, whether Man or Beast, should be holy to the Lord; that is, the Firstlings of clean Beasts for the Service of the Altar, and the First-Born of Men for the Service of the Tabernacle. The First-Born Sons had been the only Priests, till the Levites were substituted in their Stead by God's particular Direction; for which Reason, that the Footsteps of this antient Law

might remain, they were still presented to the Lord; but were to be restored to their Parents upon the Payment of a certain Sum for their Redemption. Now, tho' there was no Impurity in the Birth of our blessed Lord, no Defilement contracted by his holy Mother, yet inasmuch as for our Sakes he was born under the Law, and she imagined to be in the Condition of all other Women, it was therefore reasonable that they should comply with all the Customs which were observed by others under the same Circumstances. The Mother, upon these Occasions, when she presented her Son, was to pay * five Shekels for his Ransom to the Priest; and offer at the same Time, for her own Purification, a Lamb of the first Year for a Burnt-Offering, and for a Sin-Offering a young Pigeon or Turtle Dove; but in case of Poverty, the whole Oblation consisted only of a Pair of Turtle-Doves, or two young Pigeons.

II. In Obedience to those Institutions therefore, and at the End of the appointed Time, the holy Virgin, accompanied by her Husband, went from *Bethlehem*, where they had hitherto resided since her Delivery, to *Jerusalem*, proposing to go from thence to *Nazareth*, the Place of their Habitation, after the Ceremony was over. Being arrived, the Virgin went up

* About ten Shillings.

to the Temple at the Time of the Morning Sacrifice, carrying her new-born Son into his Father's House, and there humbly waited in the Outer-Court till the two-Turtle-Doves or Pigeons, which according to her mean Condition she had brought for that Purpose, were offered to God by the Priest who at that Time officiated. For it was not necessary that she, who brought in her Arms the Lamb of God, that taketh away the Sins of the World, should offer the customary Sacrifice of a Lamb on this Occasion, in order to make her other Oblations the more acceptable. When the first Part of the Ceremony was over, she was admitted into the second Court of the holy Congregation, where the Priest received the blessed Infant from the Arms of his Mother, and presented him to the Lord, at, or over, the Altar of Burnt-Offerings, according to the usual Form. And now began to be fulfilled the Prophecies of *Haggai* and *Malachi*, wherein it was promised, *Haggai* 2. 7, 9. *Mal.* 3. 1. *That the Desire of all Nations, the Messiah of the New-Covenant, should come to his Temple; and by that Means should make the Glory of the latter House greater than that of the former.*

III. There was at that Time in *Jerusalem* a venerable and religious old Man, whose Name was *Simeon*, supposed by some to be the Son of *Hillel*, a famous Doctor of the *Sanhedrim*. This Man had long waited and earnestly pray'd for the Redemption of *Israel*, had received an express Revelation from the Holy Ghost, that, notwithstanding his very great Age, he should not go down to the Grave before he had seen the Lord's Anointed, the promised Redeemer. And while *Joseph* and *Mary* were in the Temple performing the Institutions of the Law, the same Holy Spirit came upon him, and directed him to repair immediately to the House of God, where he had so often attended, and there he should receive the Accom-

plishment of the Divine Promise, by beholding a small Infant in the Arms of a poor Virgin. The good Man was obedient to the heavenly Instruction; and immediately upon Sight of the blessed Infant, he took him in his Arms, before all the Company then present, and began to bless and glorify the Name of the Lord in the following Expressions: Lord, now lettest thou thy Servant depart in Peace, according to thy Word; for mine Eyes have seen thy Salvation, which thou hast prepared before the Face of all People, a Light to enlighten the *Gentiles*, and the Glory of thy People *Israel*.

IV. While *Joseph* and *Mary* were wondering at the great Things which he spoke concerning *Jesus*, the holy Prophet, foreseeing also the future Sufferings of our Lord, and the Opposition which his Gospel would meet with in the World, turned himself towards them, and blessed them; and then directing his Discourse to *Mary*, he told her, that her Child was born for the Happiness or Destruction of many, according as they should obey or disobey the Revelation he would introduce; and that he should be set a Mark among Mankind, at which the obdurate and disobedient should level all the Darts of their Malice and Fury. The Reason why *Simeon* spoke this in particular to *Mary*, was because she should live to see the persecuted Life and painful Death of her Son, and be herself present at his Crucifixion; which is imply'd in this Part of his Prophecy: Yea a Sword shall pierce through thine own Soul also; intimating that the Sorrow and Anguish which she would feel at that Time, would be equal to the most grievous Tortures that could be inflicted on her own Person. When *Simeon* had ended his Benediction and Prophecy, and received in his own Mind all the Satisfaction he wished for in this Life, he retired joyfully, to wait for his approaching Dissolution, which we may reasonably suppose

suppose came upon him a little while after.

V. At the same Time there dwelt also in *Jerusalem* a Woman who was endued with a prophetick Spirit: Her Name was *Anna*, the Daughter of one *Phanuel*, of the Tribe of *Asher*. She was eighty four Years of Age, and had been a long Time a Widow; having never been marry'd but once, and then living only seven Years with her Husband: She was remarkable for her constant Attendance on the Service of the Temple, from which the Evangelist tells us, she departed not, but served God with Fastings and Prayers Day and Night. What Person could be properer for a second Witness to this first glorious Appearance of *Jesus Christ* in publick? That she might be so, and that the Testimony of both Sexes might be secured, it was communicated to her by the same Inspiration that had before dealt with *Simeon*, that the Saviour of Mankind was present in the Temple: And thereupon coming in where *Mary* and her Child were, at the very Instant when the good old Man had finish'd his Discourse, she immediately acknowledg'd *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, and gave Thanks likewise to God: Nor did she this in private only, or before the Company then present, but to all the religious Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, who expected the Salvation of *Israel*; assuring them that she had actually seen the great Deliverer of their Nation.

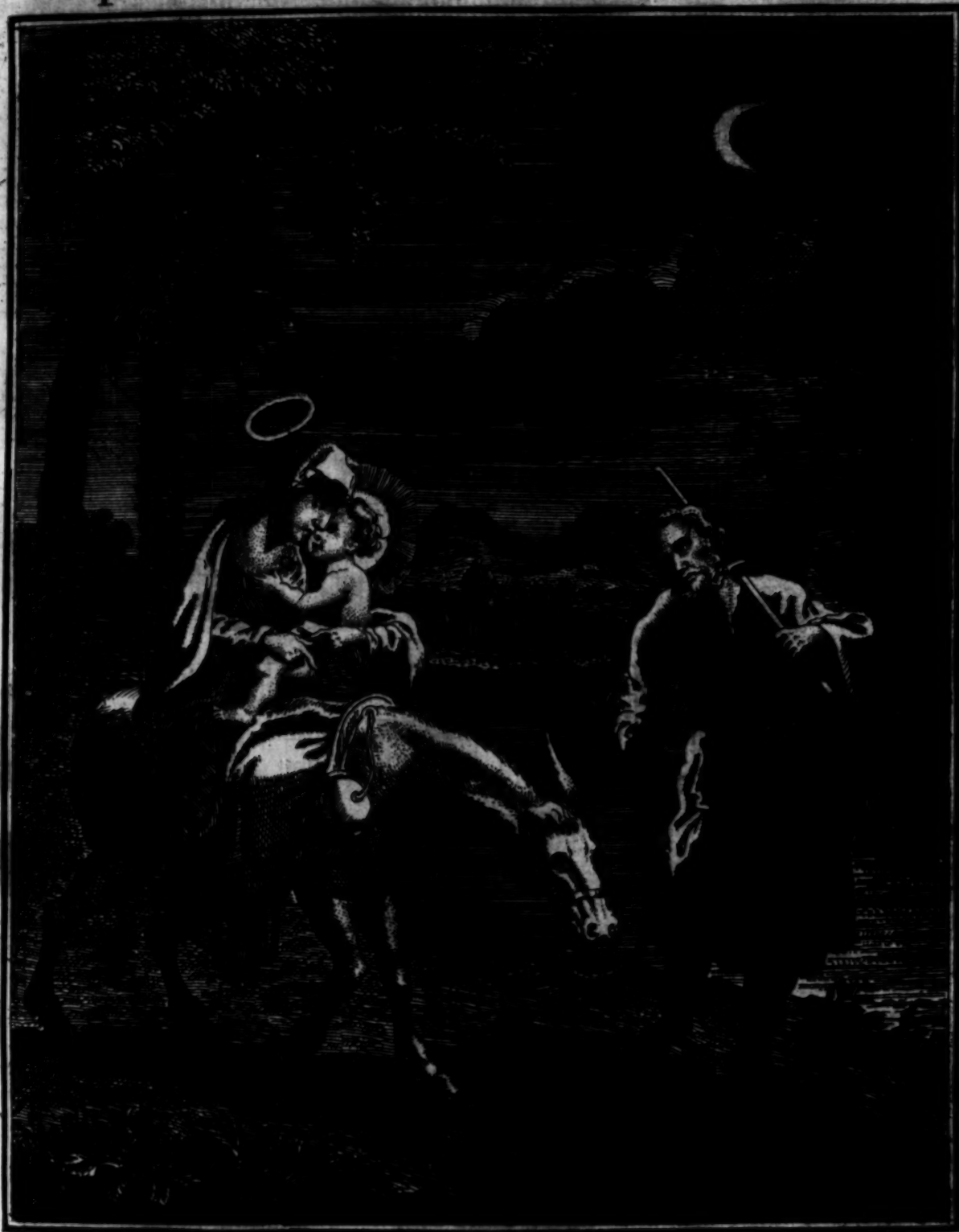
VI. When *Joseph* and *Mary*, with the Child *Jesus*, had performed all Things according to the Law of the Lord, tho' they purposed to return to their former Place of Abode at *Nazareth*, and in reality did so after they came out of *Egypt*, they yet seem to have gone back to *Bethlehem* for the present, either for the taking some little Repose, or the ordering such Affairs as they had engaged in during their short Stay in that City. But they had not

been long returned; before an Angel of the Lord appeared to *Joseph* in a Dream, commanding him without Delay to take the young Child and his Mother, and flee into *Egypt*, and there continue till he received further Notice, because *Herod* was plotting against the Life of *Jesus*, who he imagined might hereafter deprive his Posterity of the Kingdom. *Joseph* instantly obey'd the divine Mandate; and that his Departure might not alarm any Body, and so occasion a Pursuit, he left his Habitation by Night; and after a Journey of about two hundred Miles, they arrived in *Egypt*, where they continued till they were recalled by the Angel after the Death of *Herod*; to which the Evangelist *Matthew* very aptly applies these Words of God concerning the *Hebrew Nation*, which are recorded by *Hosea*, *Out of Egypt have I called my Son*. The Name of the City in which the holy Family are thought to have resided, was *Hermopolis*, where when *Jesus* was carried into a Temple, all the Statues of the Idols are said to have fallen down, to the great Reproach and Confusion of their Worshipers; agreeable to the Prophecy of *Isaiah*, which says, *Behold the Lord shall come into Egypt, and the Idols of Egypt shall be moved at his Presence*. 'Tis reported, that *Jeremiah* threaten'd the *Egyptian* Priests with such a Destruction to their Idols, when a holy Virgin with her Child should come into their Country, and some have imagined, that this was the Reason why the *Egyptians* worshipped an Infant in her Manger, and a Virgin in her Bed.

VII. Tho' *Herod* had now expected the Return of the *Magi* for a considerable Time, yet probably he might not hitherto have been so uneasy at their Delay as to put himself into a violent Rage; for he might imagine, either that they were gone further to see the Country, or that having been baulk'd in their Expectation, they

were

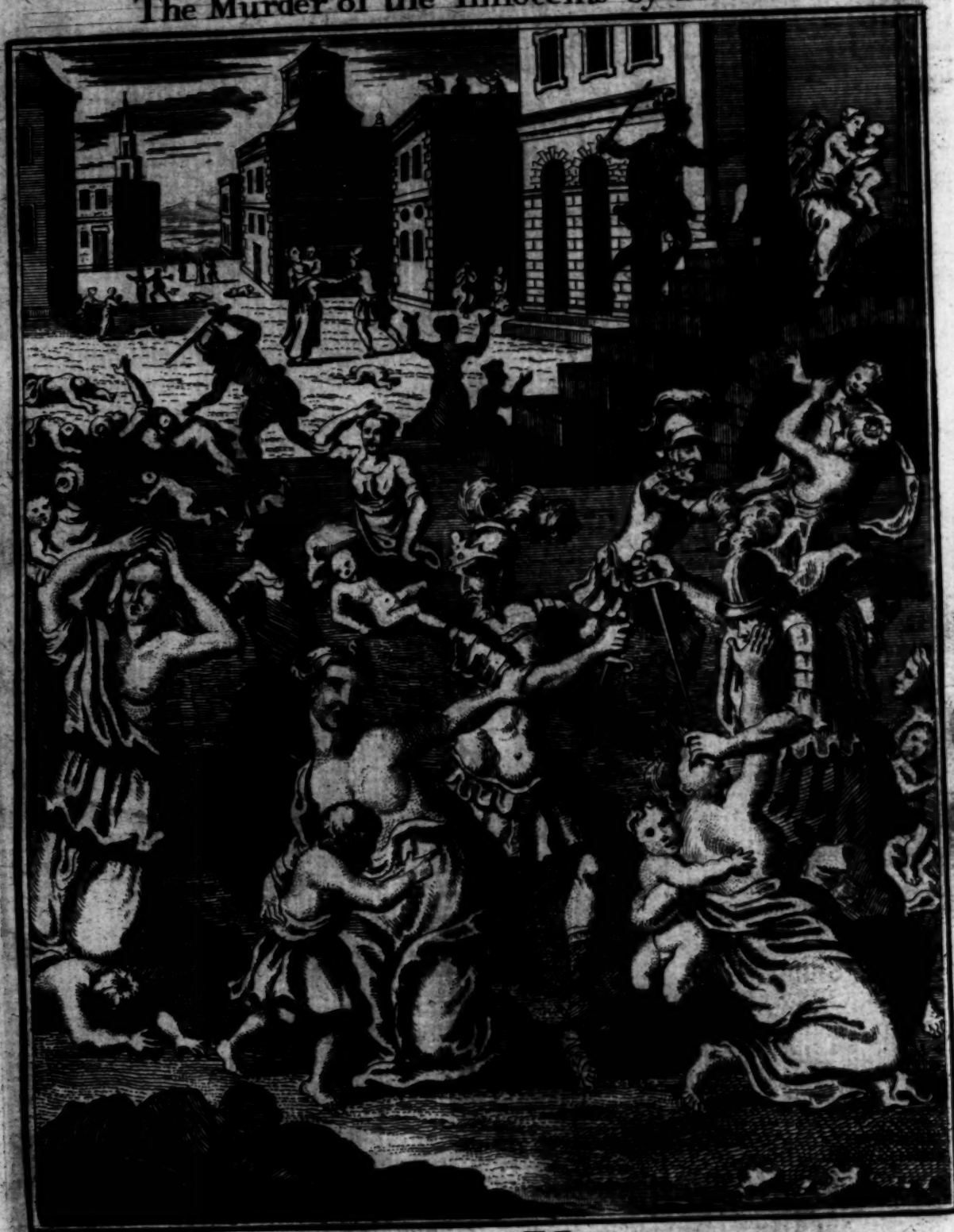
S^T MATTHEW CHAP. II.
Joseph and Mary retire with the Child Jesus into Egypt.



S^T MATTHEW II, VERSE XIV.

*When he arose he took the Young Child and his
Mother by night, and departed into Egypt.*

S^T MATTHEW CHAP. II.
The Murder of the Innocents by Herod.



MATTHEW II, VERSE XVI

Then Herod when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth and slew all the Children, that were in Bethlehem.

were withdrawn secretly to avoid the popular Derision: But the publick Declarations of *Simeon* and *Anna*, in the Temple and elsewhere, had now fill'd him with the utmost Impatience, on Account of the new-born Child, of whom these great Things were spoken. And when he saw that he was mocked of the Wise Men, he was exceeding wroth: For being disappointed by this Means in his Design of privately destroying the Child, his Apprehensions of Danger began to encrease, and he suspected that the Hand of Heaven was in the Affair. Reflecting therefore on the uncertain Tenure of his ill-gotten Kingdom, and fearing from the many Conspiracies which had been formed against him upon less Occasions, that the *Jews* might conceal this Child, and raise an Insurrection in his Favour; without enquiring to what House in *Bethlehem* the *Magi* repaired, or what Family of *David's* Race might give Ground for Suspicion by having a Son newly born, all on a sudden he ordered the Town of *Bethlehem* to be surrounded by a strong Body of armed Men, who, according to his inhuman Orders, massacred all the male Children in that and the adjacent Towns, which had been born in the two last Years, thinking to involve our Blessed Lord in this common Slaughter: For having made diligent Enquiry of the *Magi* about the Time when the Star first appeared, he concluded from their Answer, that whosoever the Child were, his Age must necessarily have been less than two Years; and that therefore he could not fail of his Purpose, if he destroy'd all Male Children in general to the full Extent of that Time.

VIII. This more than brutish Barbarity, and which would almost have surpass'd Belief had not *Herod* been the Contriver of it, was accompanied with such Shrieks of Mothers and Children, that *St. Matthew* applies to it a Prophecy of *Jeremiah*,

Chap. 31. 15. which relates more immediately to the *Babylonish* Captivity, but received the most eminent Completion at this time. *A Voice was heard in Rama, Lamentation and bitter Weeping; Rachel weeping for her Children, refused to be comforted, because they were not.* *Rama* is a Village not far from *Bethlehem*, and the Sepulchre of *Rachel* is in a Field belonging to this Town. Nor did *Herod* stop at *Bethlehem* and *Rama*, but the Malice of this wicked Prince is said to have proceeded also as far as the Hill Country of *Judea*; for having heard great Things of *John* the Son of *Zachary*, as how he was design'd to an eminent Office under the King of the *Jews*, he attempted in him also to rescind the Prophecies, and sent one of his Messengers of Death to dispatch him. But his Mother's Care had prevented the Design, by conveying him away into an obscure Place in the Desert, where he was concealed till the Time of his Manifestation to *Israel*. Nevertheless, as the Children of *Bethlehem* died in the Place of Christ, so did the Father of *the Baptist* for his Son; for *Herod* slew *Zachary* between the Temple and the Altar, because he refused to deliver up his Child into the Hands of that Monster.

IX. We are not told in the Gospel how long our Lord continued in *Egypt*, but only that it was till after the Death of *Herod*. 'Tis worth our Notice here, how God prevented the Cruelty of that Tyrant by this Retirement of the sacred Family, in that whereas *Jesus* was the only Child he sought to kill, it was so ordered that *Jesus* was the only one that escaped his Fury. *Herod* did not long survive this Piece of Cruelty, at most not above a Year; and when he was dead, the Angel of the Lord appeared again to *Joseph* in a Dream, and commanded him to return into the Land of *Israel*, with the Child and his Mother; which he might now do without any Apprehension of Danger, since

since they were dead who sought the Life of the Infant. *Joseph* immediately set out, with his Wife and her Son, in order to return, as he was commanded: But understanding by the way, that *Archelaus*, the Son of *Herod*, reigned in *Judea*, in the room of his Father, and being informed what a bloody Beginning he had made of his Government, in suppressing an Insurrection of the *Jews*, he was afraid to enter the Territories of that Prince, till he was again reminded of his Duty by the Angel; and then he pursued his Journey till he came to *Nazareth*, the City of *Galilee* in which he had formerly lived, and which was now under *Herod Antipas*, one of the Brothers of *Archelaus*, according to the last Will of their Father, and the Decree of *Augustus*. Here the strange Occurrences of our Lord's Birth were hitherto unknown; and by inhabiting in this City he got the Name of a *Nazarene*, according to an antient Prediction concerning the Messiah, which was at that Time current among the *Jews*.

DISSERTATION I.

Of Circumcision, the Redemption of the First-born, and the Purification of Woman.

- I. *Design and Method of this Dissertation.*
- II. *Circumcision, what; its Institution.*
- III. *The Practice of it among the Jews.*
- IV. *The Time of Circumcision.* V. *Preparatory Ceremonies.* VI. *Offices of Circumcisor and Godfather.* VII. *Elijah's great Chair.* VIII. *The Instruments made use of.* IX. *Entry of the Child into the Synagogue.* X. *Ceremonies of the Circumcision.* XI. *Circumcision of Maids.* XII. *Philo, and the Rabbi's, their Reason for the Institution of Circumcision.* XIII. *The Effects attributed to it.* XIV. *Whether Abraham had it*

from the Egyptians. XV. *Other antient Nations that used it.* XVI. *By whom practis'd at this Day.* XVII. *Antient Privileges of the First-born.* XVIII. *Consecration of the First-born to God.* XIX. *Ceremonies of his Redemption.* XX. *The Firstlings of Beasts, and First-Fruits.* XXI. *Ceremonies of Purification.* XXII. *The Purification of the Blessed Virgin.* XXIII. *On our Lord's Submission to the Ceremonies of the Jewish Law.*

I. **W**E mention'd the Circumcision of our Lord in the second Chapter of this Work, and in the third we have been led by our Subject to two other Jewish Rites, the Dedication and Redemption of the First-born, and the Purification of Women after Child-Bearing. These Hebrew Institutions having so near a Dependence, and following one another so closely in the Order of their Celebration, we thought it would be very proper to treat of them all in the same Discourse, especially since the two latter will not require so much to be said of them as may make it any way necessary that they should be treated of separately from Circumcision, concerning which several curious Things may be introduc'd. We shall give the Reason of this Ordinance, the History of it among the *Jews* and other Nations, all the Ceremonies of its Celebration, and the Benefits which the *Israelites* expected from it. And in doing this we shall prove, that the Covenant of God with *Abraham*, and the positive Injunction laid upon that Patriarch, were the Original of all the Circumcision in the World; that the *Egyptians* copied it from the *Israelites*, and that all the Nations besides, among whom the Use of this Rite is commemorated in antient History, took it either immediately from *Abraham*, or at second Hand from the *Egyptians*.

II. The

II. The Word Circumcision is of *Latin* Original, and signifies properly a *Cutting all round*, because the *Jews*, who circumcised their Children, cut off the little Skin after this Manner, that covers the Prepuce. Circumcision is not mentioned in the Bible before the Time of *Abraham*, to whom God enjoin'd the Use of it, as a Testimony to him and his Descendants of the Alliance they had enter'd into with the Lord. *Gen. 17. 10 to 15. This is the Covenant which ye shall keep between me and you, and thy Seed after thee: Every Man-Child among you shall be circumcised. And ye shall circumcise the Flesh of your Foreskin; and it shall be a Token of the Covenant betwixt me and you. And be that is eight Days old shall be circumcised among you; every Man-Child in your Generations, be that is born in thy House, and be that is bought with thy Money, must needs be circumcised; and my Covenant shall be in your Flesh, for an everlasting Covenant. And the uncircumcised Man-Child, whose Flesh of the Foreskin is not circumcised, that Soul shall be cut off from his People: he hath broken my Covenant.* In Obedience to this Command, *Abraham*, who was then Ninety-nine Years old, was circumcised, as was also his Son *Ishmael*, and all the Slaves in his Family.

III. From *Abraham's* Descendants Circumcision passed down to the Inhabitants of *Canaan*; and we have a particular Account of the Imposition of this Ordinance by the Sons of *Jacob* on the *Sichemites*, *Gen. 34.* who submitted to it, that they might resemble the Family of the Patriarch, and that *Shechem* the Son of *Hamor*, Prince of the Country, might marry *Dinah*. We have no Reason, indeed, to think that this Action was of much Advantage in the spreading of Circumcision, because of the Fraud of *Simeon* and *Levi*; but then we cannot doubt but that many of the People thereabouts had before received it, and in particular, that *Abraham*

had communicated it to the *Arabians*, and other Nations, who were his Posterity by *Ishmael*, and the Sons of *Keturah*: For *Mahomet* did not institute Circumcision, as many have supposed, there being no Precept in the *Coran* about it; but having found that very ancient Custom among the *Arabians*, he left them to continue the Practice of it. The *Israelites* descending into *Egypt*, carried the Practice of it thither. *Moses*, while he was in *Midian*, did not circumcise the two Sons, which were born to him there; but God afterwards obliged him to do it, even while he was upon the Road, in his Return to *Egypt*. Some pretend, that the *Israelites* neglected it while they were there under Oppression; but there can be no Ground for such a Supposition, except at one Season, when *Pharoah* prevented them by cutting off all their Male Children before the eighth Day. There is more Reason to believe an Interruption of it in the Wilderness, where it would have cost the Lives of many of their Children, on Account of the Fatigues they were obliged to undergo: And God might dispense with this Ordinance at that Time, as he did with the Celebration of the Passover. *Joshua* was commanded to restore Circumcision, which had been so long interrupted, as soon as the People had passed over *Jordan*, *Josh. 5. 2. The Lord said unto Joshua, Make thee sharp Knives, and circumcise again the Children of Israel a second Time.* Both *Jews* and Christians have been at a Loss for the Meaning of the Expression, *a second Time*; but it can refer only to the renewing of this Ordinance, which had been interrupted in the Wilderness. The first Institution of it was in the Time of *Abraham*; and though the Precept of it had been repeated among the other Laws delivered to *Moses*, yet as the Practice had been hitherto neglected since that Repetition, the Commandment of God to *Joshua* might properly enough be called

called a second Institution. From the Time of *Josua* downwards the *Jews* have religiously observed this Ceremony; and at this Day, some of them even carry it to Superstition, by circumcising after Death, those Male Children that died before the eighth Day, though they are exempted from the Curse of the Law, which God denounced against the Uncircumcised in the Precept to *Abraham*.

IV. The Eighth Day from the Birth was always consecrated to the Observation of this Ordinance: And we need not look any further for the Authority of this, than the Original Institution, in which God says expressly, *That he that is eight Days old shall be circumcised*: nevertheless there are three or four Opinions about the Reason of this Choice. The *Jews* pretend that the Sabbath strengthens their Children, and enables them to undergo the Operation. The Christians sometimes assert, that the eighth Day represents the eternal Life, in which Sin shall be perfectly cut off. Some distinguish themselves by saying, that we do not reckon all Sorts of Creatures in the Number of Animals till the eighth Day, either because we are not assured they live before, or because so many Days are necessary to cleanse them from the Impurity which they brought with them into the World; for which Reason they could not be offered in Sacrifice before that Time. But it is more certain and easy to say, that God had no other Reason in Choice of that Day than his own good Pleasure, which appears in most of the *Jewish* Ceremonies; and therefore People lose their Time in such Enquiries.

V. When a Woman is to be deliver'd, the modern *Jews* take Care to write upon the Doors and Walls of the Chamber, *Adam, or Eve; Lilith, be gone*; which is a Kind of Prayer to God, that he would give them a Son; or, if a Daughter, that she may resemble *Eve*, rather than

Lilith. They pretend that *Lilith* was *Adam's* first Wife, and a very stubborn and wicked Wife they make of her; whereas *Eve* was all Gentleness and Obedience. If a Daughter be born, they express little Joy; and so light do they make of that Sex, that in their usual Prayers the *Jewish* Men Bless the Creator of Heaven and Earth, *that he has not made them Women*: And the Woman daily says, in her Addresses to God, *Blessed be thou, who hast made me as thou pleasest*. All the Ceremony after the Birth of a Daughter is only this: At the End of about six Weeks they get a Parcel of young Children about her Cradle, and then taking her up in her Arms, they give her afterwards a Name, and divert themselves. But when a Son comes into the World their Joy is abundantly greater: Entertainments must be made, and the Gossips must be chosen, between the Birth and the Circumcision. The Night before the Operation is performed, the whole Family is kept awake to guard the Child; and this they call Watching. The Father and Mother are also visited at the same Time by their Male and Female Friends, on which Occasion there is abundance of Joy and Civility express'd between them. But not to dwell on these Things, we now proceed to the Day of Circumcision; and here we shall take notice, in order, of the Persons who assist at it, the Place where, and the Instruments with which, 'tis performed; and lastly, of the Ceremony itself.

VI. All the Synagogues have Officers, who are called *Mobels*, or Circumcisors; and they attribute a great deal of Honour to this Function. But as the Law hath ordain'd nothing concerning either the Minister, the Instrument, or Place, of Circumcision, the Father is at Liberty to act as he pleases in those Particulars. If he is capable, he may circumcise his own Child himself; or he may chuse a Relation, a Surgeon, or whomsoever else he thinks

thinks proper. Those who are Circumcisors by Office, give Money to the Poor to make themselves perfect in their Art by practising on the Children of those People. The Godfather holds the Child while the Ceremony is performed, and the Godmother carries it into the Synagogue, or Room appointed for that Purpose by the Parents.

VII. For they are not obliged to go to the Synagogues on these Occasions; but the Father may have the Sacrament of Circumcision administer'd in his own House. When they have fix'd on the Place, two large Elbow-Chairs are set by each other, and covered with Silk Cushions. In one of these the Godfather seats himself; the other is reserved for *Elias*, whom they always imagine to be present on these Occasions, to remark whether the Ceremony be religiously observed or not. The Reason they give for this, is, That in the Time of *Elias*, the People of *Israel* had renounced Circumcision; and this so mortally afflicted the Prophet, that he could be comforted no other Way than by God's telling him that such a Calamity should never happen again: And 'tis to see whether or no he be deceived, that he ever since assists invisibly at all Circumcisions; and yet not so invisibly neither, but that the Godfather, as they pretend, manifestly sees him take his Place. They leave the Chair of *Elias* three whole Days in its Place, whether out of respect to that Prophet, or from what other Motive, cannot certainly be determined. If he ever fails of his Attendance, 'tis not their Fault, for they always make Proclamation aloud, before the Ceremony begins, that *This is Elias his Place*.

VIII. When *Moses* was commanded to circumcise his Children, we are told, his Wife *Zipporah* took a sharp Stone, and cut off the Foreskin of her Son, *Exod. 4. 25*. Mr. *Basnage* tells us, that this Translation

No. XIII.

is agreeable to the Septuagint; and that in the Text of *Joshua* above-quoted, where we read of *Sharp Knives*, the Word used by the Historian signifies a Stone, and is so rendered by some Interpreters. St. *Austin* has followed this Interpretation, which seems the more just, because the Heathens used Knives of Stone in a more violent Operation. The antient *Galli*, who were the Priests of *Cybele* the Mother of the Gods, are particularly remarked for castrating themselves with Stones, or broken Potsherds, not knowing how to do it otherwise with Safety to their Lives. 'Tis pretended that Knives of this kind are much less dangerous than those of Brass or Iron, and will not cause so great an Inflammation of the Wound; But perhaps a better Reason for the introducing of them at first in these Operations may be this, That many of the Antients were unacquainted with the Use of Instruments of Metal, or at least could not get any of them to use. Be this as it will, the modern *Jews* in their Circumcisions generally employ a Razor, which the Circumcisor brings in a Dish, together with the Astringent Powders, the Linnen Cloth, the Lint, the Oil of Roses, and all other Necessaries. *Basnage* mentions a Plate-full of Sand, and two Vessels fill'd with Red Wine, among Things that are brought in on this Occasion. He says, that all the Implements are borne in separately by Children, who form a little Procession, the first of them carrying a Candlestick, with twelve Candles burning on it, to represent the twelve Tribes of *Israel*. Perhaps this Procession is only for the Children of the richer Sort of People, who are willing to display a more than ordinary Magnificence.

IX. The Circumcisor and Godfather being ready, they, with the rest of the Company present, sing a Hymn, while they wait for the Child. At last the Godmother, attended by a Company of

N

Women,

Women, brings him in her Arms, but no farther than the Door, none of that Sex being permitted to enter where this Ceremony is performed. There she delivers him to the Godfather, at the same Time that these Words are proclaimed aloud, *Blessed be he that comes*: In which Expression, 'tis pretended, are two great Mysteries. First, the *Hebrew* Letters of it are precisely Eight, which denotes the Time of Circumcision to be the eighth Day; and secondly, the same Letters may be made to signify, *Behold Elias comes*, and so have a Reference to the Presence of that Prophet at the Ceremony. The *Jewish* Writers are full of these kinds of Inventions, and we may sometimes rehearse them to give a Taste of their Learning.

X. All things being thus ready, the Godfather sits down in the Chair appointed for him, and settles the Child in a proper Posture between his Knees. Then the *Mobel*, or Circumcisor, opens the Blankets. Some of them make Use of Silver Pincers, to take up so much of the Skin as they design to cut off; but others hold it with their Fingers. Before they proceed any further, the Circumcisor, holding the Razor ready in his Hand, repeats this Form of Words: *Blessed be thou, O Lord, who hast commanded us to use Circumcision*: And then he immediately cuts off the thick Skin of the Prepuce, and casts it into the Sand; tearing off with his Thumb Nails another fine Skin, which remains after the former is taken away. He then sucks the Blood two or three Times, which flows very plentifully on this Occasion, and spits it out into a Cup full of Wine. After this he washes the Wound, and applies to it Coral Powder, Dragon's Blood, and other Things, in order to stop the Bleeding: To which he adds Bolsters and Oil of Roses, and so binds up all very closely. Whilst this is doing, the Father gives Thanks to God,

and prays him to bless the Child: that he may prolong his Days in Prosperity, that he may fulfil the Commands of the Law, that he may see the House of God rebuilt, that his Enemies may be covered with Shame, and that his Name may be among the Righteous and wise. He then cries, *O God, thy Will be done*; to which the Assembly answers, *Cause your Son to enter into the Law, into Marriage, and good Works, as he has entered into the Covenant of Abraham*. In the next Place, the *Mobel* having cleansed his Hands, takes the Cup, into which he had spit the Blood, and blesses that, the Parents, and the Child, to whom he then gives the Name appointed by his Father; at the same time repeating these Words of *Ezekiel's* Prophecy, *I said unto thee when thou wast in thy Blood, Live*; and rubbing the Lips of the Infant with the Blood and Wine. Lastly, he prays for the Congregation, who sing with him the cxxviiith Psalm, which begins, *Blessed is every one that feareth the Lord*. The Ceremony being thus over, the Godfather restores the Child to the Godmother, who carries him back and delivers him to his Mother. All those who are present at a Circumcision, take their Leave of the Father with wishing, that he may be thus present at his Son's Wedding. The Child is commonly cured of his Wound in twenty-four Hours; and they celebrate this his Initiation into the Covenant with a solemn Feast, sometimes with a Sermon. The *Mobel* is obliged to keep a Register of those he has circumcised; and not only the Names of the Child and his Father, but also of the Godfather and Godmother, are inserted in it, the whole being interwoven with several Texts of Scripture.

These are the Ceremonies belonging to Circumcision. The Authors whom we have followed seem to differ in some Particulars of their Accounts; but perhaps not more than the *Jews* themselves

in different Countries may vary the Practice of this Institution. As 'twas impossible for us positively to distinguish these Things, we have been the more circumstantial in our Relation: For which Reason, tho' we cannot say, that every Article here mentioned is punctually observed at all Circumcisions, yet we believe there is nothing here mentioned that is not one Time or other observed in the Administration of that Sacrament; and also that we have omitted nothing material which has been recorded as an Observation on that Occasion.

XI. The Custom of circumcising Women was never received among the *Jews*, tho' it was by the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, and in some Places of *Arabia* and *Persia*. When *St. Ambrose* asserts, that the *Egyptians* circumcised both Men and Women at the Beginning of the eighteenth Year, *Marsham* is angry with him for saying this, and wonders where the Father had such a Notion: But that Author should have remember'd that *Strabo* gives the same Account concerning the *Egyptian* Women of his Time. We have also the Relation of a modern Traveller to prove, that the Women of some particular Countries of *Arabia* and *Persia*, which lie towards the *Red Sea* and the *Persian Gulph*, continue the Use of Circumcision to this Day in common with the Men. The same Thing is affirmed of the *Ethiopians*, and we find several other Instances of it among the Orientals. This Custom seems to have been founded upon natural Reasons, which are not applicable to all the Women of the Countries where 'tis observed; and we do not find that in *Egypt* the Practice of it is universal, or thought to be of any Obligation.

XII. *Philo*, who could not bear to have a Ceremony ridicul'd which had cost his Nation so much Blood, attempts to explain the Reason of its Institution. He believes it was necessary to prevent a

Disease called a Carbuncle, to which the Uncircumcised were very subject; and produces also several other natural Reasons for the Practice. But that ingenious *Jew* was endeavouring to justify Circumcision to some Foreigners who were shock'd at it, and was therefore obliged to urge such Motives as were merely human; otherwise we might justly wonder at what he says. He afterwards adds, agreeably to the Theology of his Nation, that this Sacrament represented the Circumcision of the Heart; and that it was instituted by God to instruct them in their Obligations to retrench all the Pleasures of Sense. 'Tis certain that the natural Motives which *Philo* mentions are of no Weight in themselves; and yet some modern Rabbies have produced Reasons altogether as trifling on the same Subject. They tell us, that God ordain'd it as a Character of Distinction; that the *Jewish* Nation being more excellent than all others, might be discovered among all the People of the Universe. But if this was the Design of God, he would not have suffered it to pass among the *Syrians*, *Arabs*, *Egyptians*, and the Nations of *Canaan*, from whom there was more Necessity of their being distinguish'd by a sensible Mark, than from those that were more remote. It has also been said, that God meant to inspire the *Jews* with a more ardent Charity to one another, by making them all bear the same Seal and Character. 'Tis true, *St. Paul* made Use of Baptism, which was substituted in the room of Circumcision, to bind Christians in stricter Bonds of Unity. But he mentions it only among other Things, and does not say, that the promoting of such Unity was the great End of that Sacrament, of which he has in other Places given another Interpretation. Both Circumcision and Baptism, as they were divine Institutions in the Churches of the Old and New Testament, might properly be mentioned to their respective

spective Subjects in an Exhortation to Unity and Concord, and urged in that Case as Characters of the People of God; but we must not say that the Design of the Supreme Legislator in ordaining them, was immediately the Promotion of such Concord, unless we could prove that they ever, in themselves, were more effectual to that Purpose than any other Institutions.

XIII. But if some of the *Jewish* Divines have endeavoured to fix their Circumcision upon a weak Foundation, others, and that in a great Number, have run into a contrary Extreme, by ascribing the *Support of Heaven and Earth* to their Nation's constant Observance of this Symbol. They don't believe, says *Basnage*, that their Fathers were saved from Death and the Hand of the destroying Angel by the Blood of the Paschal Lamb only; but maintain, that all the Children of the *Israelites* were circumcised on the same Day, and that the Blood of their Foreskins being mixed with that of the Lamb, and sprinkled together with it on the Doorposts, it was by that means that they avoided the Vengeance of God. They place *Abraham* at the Gates of Hell, through which he gives free Admission to all the Uncircumcised, but stops those of his own Nation, and sends them to Heaven, because Circumcision opens the Gates of Paradise, and renders their Souls acceptable to God. This last is a very odd Conceit: But need we wonder that the *Jews* should ascribe all this to Circumcision? People in general are inclin'd to attribute too much to sensible Signs; and might not the *Jews* find almost as extravagant Characters of the Christian Sacraments, in some Books of Devotion especially, as either of these here produced from the Writings of their Doctors? The Truth of the Matter is, we are not to collect the Articles of Faith from all allegorical Expressions, which are used only to raise and

warm the Mind. We do not say, that the Rabinnical Passages above are of this Kind, though it seems very likely that they are; but only give a necessary Caution, which ought always to be observed in judging of other Mens Opinions. It could not be, that we should ascribe such ridiculous Notions to other People as we often do, if we judged of their Principles in the same Manner as we do of our own; for Reason and common Sense have a like Effect upon all Minds, according to the Degrees in which they are found. Prejudice, indeed, and a long Habit of Reasoning from false Principles, have a strong Influence upon us all; and for that Reason we are alike too prone to Error, especially in this Particular, of placing in Modes, and Institutions merely positive, much more than we ought. The Justice of these Reflections will excuse our making them in this Place, though it be acknowledged that the *Jews* are more guilty than many others of this Kind of Superstition. There have been Christians, who have pretended to see the Necessity of Satisfaction in the Blood that flows in the *Jewish* Sacrament which we treat, and the absolute Destruction of Sin in the Abscision of the Foreskin. And is it strange that the *Jews* should carry these Matters to a greater Length? But 'twould surprize one that it should ever have been a Subject of serious Dispute, whether or no Circumcision took away the Guilt of original Sin. The antient Fathers, who lived before St. *Austin*, allow'd it to be only a Mark of Distinction to the *Hebrews*, denoting their Alliance with God: But St. *Austin*, maintain'd, (and after him several others of the Antients,) that Circumcision procured the Remission of original Sin; and his Opinion was founded upon the Text of Scripture, which declares those to be utterly cut off from the People of God, who were not circumcised upon the eighth Day. The Question here started is, What other

other Sin, besides that which is original, could such Children be guilty of? For our own Part, after what has been remark'd above, we content ourselves having barely reported these Particulars; which prove that not only many *Jewish* Doctors, but ancient Fathers of the Christian Church also, have attributed very extraordinary Effects to Circumcision.

XIV. We are now come to an Enquiry of considerable Importance, because it has very much divided the Critics of the last and present Age. 'Tis, Whether *Abraham* borrowed Circumcision of the *Egyptians*, or communicated it to them? It may seem surprizing that such a Question should be started among Christians, when the Scripture plainly founds the Circumcision of that Patriarch upon the divine Command. But 'twas not the Christians who first started it; they have only taken it up after *Julian* the Apostate, and *Celsus*, two very great Enemies of our Religion. That they should lay hold of the Arguments of such Men, to turn them against the Authority of the Bible, is indeed almost as strange, as if they had at first invented them. The two Heathens above-mentioned maintain, that Circumcision really was practis'd among the *Egyptians* before the Time of *Abraham*; and the Chief of those modern Christians who have followed them, are *Marsham* and *Le Clerc*. The Passages of ancient History on which the Controversy depends, are only two; the first in *Herodotus*, and the other in *Diodorus Siculus*; to omit the Testimony of the fictitious *Sanchoniathon*. *Herodotus* says, that the *Egyptians*, the *Ethiopians*, and the Inhabitants of *Colchos*, were the only People who from the Beginning practis'd Circumcision; and that as the two latter Nations carried on a great Trade to *Egypt*, he imagin'd they might both receive it from thence. *Diodorus Siculus*, speaking of the *Troglodytes*, tells us, that they used Circumcision in the same man-

ner as the *Egyptians*. We shall briefly examine the Authority of these two Authors, and consider how far they may be relied on in the present Dispute.

I. *Herodotus* is generally called the Father of Historians; but nevertheless he is well known to have err'd from the Truth, and to have been as faulty in his Descriptions of Times, Nations and Empires, as *Pliny* has been in those of Nature. Such an Author, therefore, cannot deserve Credit upon his bare Word, or rather upon the Word of the *Egyptian* Priests, who imposed upon him with a vain-glorious Relation of their Antiquities and Ceremonies; especially when such a verbal Testimony is to be opposed to the Scriptures, in a Point which they have clearly enough expressed. To what religious End could Circumcision have served among the *Jews*, if it had been borrowed from another People? Could it then have been the Characteristic of God's peculiar People? Would the Supreme Being have required, as a special Testimony of their Obedience, that they should merely submit to a Ceremony, which others had before taken up of their own Choice? We do not find that *Herodotus* had much Knowledge of the *Jewish* Nation, or any at all of the Patriarchs; but *Moses* was a Master of all the ancient History of the Church; and, therefore, if we put these two Writers upon a Level, and consider them only as Historians, we ought to prefer the *Jewish* Legislator in this case, because his Account is much the most positive, and appears to be founded upon the best Authority. How much more should he be recommended by his Character as a sacred Penman, and as the Instrument only of that divine Spirit, who knows all Things, and who cannot deceive? We may add, that tho' *Herodotus*, in speaking of the *Egyptian* Circumcision, has accidentally dropt the Expression *from the Beginning*, he has thereby only

only followed the vulgar Notion of his own Time; for in reality he has not given us the History of that Nation further back than *Abraham*, and not so far without the Mixture of Abundance of Fables. 'Tis also observable, that *Abraham* had already travell'd, and had made some Stay in *Egypt*, before he submitted to Circumcision; which proves that he did it only in Obedience to the Divine Precept, and not to imitate the *Egyptians*; for if he had been influenced by the latter of these Motives, he would certainly have been circumcised while he resided among that People.

2. The Passage of *Diodorus* is yet much less to be regarded than that of *Herodotus*; for he only says, *That the Troglodytes performed Circumcision in the same manner as the Egyptians*; from whom we may very reasonably suppose they at first borrowed it, as *Herodotus* is inclined to think the other Nations whom he mentions, might do; and the Reason he gives for it is very good; for he observes, that this Rite was practised only by those Nations who traded to *Egypt*, and not by those who had Correspondence with the *Greeks* only. If there be not any Proof therefore, that the *Egyptians* had this Ceremony before, and independantly of, the Command of God to *Abraham*, we have no Room to draw any Conclusions in this Enquiry from the Practice of other Nations, who took it only at second Hand from the *Egyptians*.

3. Authors are not agreed whether the *Egyptians* conformed to the Practice of Circumcision while the *Jews* resided among them, or took it up after the Departure of that People. 'Tis certain that the *Jews* were become odious to the *Egyptians* before the Time of *Moses*, and therefore 'tis unlikely that they should in such a Situation bring their Masters to a Compliance with one of their Customs, which was in itself painful. But then

Joseph was highly esteem'd so long as he lived, not only in the Court of *Pharaoh*, but by all the People of that Kingdom, and all the Family of his Father *Jacob* came to him while he was in the Height of his Reputation. *Moses* also insinuates, in the first Chapter of *Exodus*, that many of the Successors of that *Pharaoh* to whom *Joseph* had been Minister of State, preserved the Memory of his Services; and that it was a considerable Time before this great Man was so far forgot, that his Posterity were inhumanly abused, and reduced to extreme Slavery. This had made some conclude, that Circumcision began to be used in *Egypt* soon after the *Israelites* came thither; and a certain Rabbi goes so far as to assert upon this Presumption, that they cancelled this Usage afterwards, that they might have nothing in common with a Nation of Shepherds whom they mortally hated. But others are of Opinion, that they did not practise Circumcision at all till the Time of *Moses*. The *Egyptians* were the most superstitious People in the World, and the most apt to receive any sudden Impressions in religious Matters: From this Temper of theirs, and the astonishing Actions of *Moses* at the Court of *Pharaoh*, the Original of Circumcision among them has been accounted for by some Persons. The Death of their First-born, the Darkness which overspread their Country, the drowning of their Monarch and his Army in the *Red Sea*; these and other Wonders could not fail of striking the Minds of the *Egyptians* with great Terror, and giving the Learned a very high Idea of the Author of such Miracles; the Consequence of which might very well be their embracing some Ceremonies of the *Jewish* Religion, and particularly this of Circumcision, which was its most essential Characteristick.

XV. Thus we have endeavour'd to make it appear, that the *Egyptians* had their Circumcision from the *Israelites*, and that

that they began to practise it either during the Captivity of these latter, or immediately afterwards. The other ancient Nations, who are taken Notice of by *Herodotus* for using it, are thought by the same Author to have brought it from *Egypt*; and we have stronger Reason for believing so than he could possibly have. As for the *Arabians*, there can be no Difficulty in discovering the Original of Circumcision among them; for we have already taken Notice that they were the Descendants of *Abraham* as well as the *Hebrews*. The *Canaanitish* Nations got it either by Imitation of the Patriarchal Family, as in the Case of the *Sichemites*, or learnt it of the *Arabians*, who were also their Neighbours. In this manner we may easily account for the Original of it, in all the Countries where Circumcision was anciently in Use. But we do not find that even the Posterity of *Abraham* universally received it, tho' the Generality of them did. The *Idumeans* were the Descendants both of *Abraham* and *Isaac*, by *Esau* the Son of the latter; and yet they were not circumcised till they were compelled to it by *John Hyrcanus*, who possibly might design to leave a Mark of his Victory on them, rather than a Character of *Judaism*, tho' it so happen'd that they submitted to all the *Mosaical* Institutions at the same time, and became afterwards one People with the *Jews*. And this Difference has always subsisted between the Circumcision of the true *Israelites*, and that of other Nations, that it was never thought to be of general and indispensable Obligation by any of the latter, whereas the *Jews* looked upon a Contempt of this Sacrament as productive of the very worst of Consequences. This is an additional Proof that all Circumcision was derived from *Abraham* and his Posterity; and, indeed, that they were the only People to whom it was a Matter of Conscience and Duty; for if the Hea-

thens had seen as much in it as the *Israelites*, or had practised it in effect of some positive Injunction, whether religious or civil, they would certainly never have treated it as a Matter of indifference. And the *Jews*, though they could not but be informed of the Circumcision of other Nations, were yet so sensible of the peculiar Character imprinted on themselves by this Ceremony, and the powerful Obligations it laid them under, that whenever any of them renounced the Law of *Moses*, they were careful to erase as much as possible this Token of the Covenant, to the end, in all probability, that it might not reproach them for their Rebellion against God.

XVI. We have before observed, that *Mahomet* did not institute Circumcision. He found it among the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who were the Posterity of *Abraham* above-mentioned; and as these were the first People who embraced the Doctrine of that Impostor, and who afterwards communicated it to the bordering Nations, we need not wonder that Circumcision, their antient and favourite Ceremony, was communicated along with it; and, consequently, that 'tis at this Day practised by all the *Mahometans*. From them it was taken, together with some other Parts of their Religion, by the Negroes of *Guinea*, and the bordering Parts of *Africa*, who follow at this Time a Kind of mongrel Superstition, half-*Mahometan*, half-Heathen. The Author who assures us of this particular, says further, That he had himself seen Phylacteries about the Arms and Necks of those People, written in very good *Arabian* Characters, containing certain Invocations out of the *Coran*. This sufficiently proves, that they have embraced the *Mahometan* Religion, how imperfectly soever it may be, and how much soever intermixed with the Ceremonies of their antient Idolatry; so that we need not be in the least at a Loss for the

the Original of Circumcision among them, especially since we have not the least Argument which may engage us to think that they practised it before the Time of *Mabomet*. As for the *Ethiopians*, we have before put it beyond a mere Probability, that they received this Rite at first from the *Egyptians*; and we have Reason to believe further, that having afterwards learn'd from whom the *Egyptians* themselves had it, they set up and carried on a religious Correspondence with the *Jews*, many of them making a publick Profession of the Law of *Moses*, and going regularly to worship at *Jerusalem*. The Eunuch of *Queen Candace* was a Profelyte of this Kind; for the sacred Story informs us, that *having come to Jerusalem for to worship, he was returning, sitting in his Chariot, and reading the Prophet Isaiah, at the Time when Philip, by Direction of the Spirit met him on the Road*. The *Ethiopians*, who have long made Profession of the Christian Religion, have nevertheless continued the Use of Circumcision down to this Time, tho' a certain learned Man has pretended that this Ceremony is now grown peculiar to the *Jews* and *Mabometans*. The Inhabitants also of the Island of *Socotora*, in the Neighbourhood of *Ethiopia*, have preserved this antient Institution. But that none of these People consider it as a Sacrament, or even practise it from natural and necessary Reasons, the Confession of *Claudius King of Ethiopia*, publish'd by Mr. *Ludolf*, is an undeniable Proof. *We have not*, says that Prince, *the same Idea of Circumcision as the Jews; for we have learned from St. Paul, that Circumcision is nothing, and that Faith and the new Creation in Christ Jesus is necessary: We have all the Writings of St. Paul, and we follow his Doctrine concerning Circumcision and Uncircumcision. We observe not ours with respect to the Law of Moses; but in Obedience to a Custom merely human. We circumcise with us as they castrate in Egypt, and bore their*

Ears in the Indies. This Quotation concludes our Account of Circumcision, in which we have introduced as many curious Particulars for the Illustration of that Subject, as could properly have Place in a Work of this Nature.

XVII. We have before taken some Notice of the antient Privileges of the First-born, particularly that of being Priest of the Family, which continued among the Patriarchs, and their Descendants the *Israelites*, till the Priesthood was transferr'd to the Tribe of *Levi*. The Scripture gives room to believe, that there had been a Custom from the Beginning of offering to God the First-born of every Creature; and tho' we know not for certain whether this was communicated to Man as a Part of the Divine Will, or had its Original only from the Suggestions of a grateful Mind, it appears plain, at least, from the Examples of *Cain* and *Abel*, that it was understood to be a Duty in the very Infancy of the World. A Man that could claim the Prerogative of a First-born, must not only be the first Son, but the first Child of his Mother; for if a Woman was deliver'd of a Daughter before a Son, none of her Sons who were born afterwards, had she ever so many, were to be presented to the Lord. But let a Man marry as many Wives as he pleased, the First-born of each, if a Son, was subject to this Dedication. The Excellency attributed by the *Jews* to the First-born, seems to have been the Cause why that Word is sometimes in the Bible applied figuratively to any Thing that is the first, or most distinguished, of its kind. Thus it is said of *Jesus Christ*, that he is the *First-born of every Creature*; and in another Place he is called, *The First-born from the Dead*. Thus also in *Isaiah*, *The First-born of the Poor*, signifies the most miserable of all the Poor; and in *Job*, the *First-born of Death*, is the most terrible of all Deaths. The Character of First-born seems

seems to have been transferred, together with the Priesthood, to every Individual of the Tribe of *Levi*; for *Aaron* was commanded, *Numb. 8. 11. to offer the Levites before the Lord, for an Offering of the Children of Israel, that they might execute the Service of the Lord.* *Moses* has regulated another Particular of this Prerogative of the First-born, in the Case of Polygamy, which was common among the *Jews*. *If a Man have two Wives, one beloved, and another hated, and they have borne him Children, both the Beloved and the Hated, and if the first-born Son be hers that was hated, then shall it be, when he maketh his Sons to inherit that which he hath, that he may not make the Son of the Beloved First-born before the Son of the Hated, which is indeed the First-born, but he shall acknowledge the Son of the Hated for the First-born, by giving him a double Portion of all that he hath.* By this it appears, that besides the Priesthood, the first-born Son was to have a double Portion among his Brethren. Some understand this inheriting a double Portion to signify, that the First-born was to have a full Half of his Father's Inheritance, and that the other Half was to be shared in equal Parts among the rest of the Sons: But the Rabbies inform us, that the First-born only took for his Share twice as much as any one of the others; so that if there were six Sons, the whole Inheritance was divided into seven equal Parts, whereof the eldest had two for his Portion; or if he was dead before his Father, and had left Children, they divided his double Share among them in equal Parts also. This might probably have been a Law, or at least a Custom, before the Time of *Moses*; for he seems only to have confirmed the antient Usages of the *Israelites* in this Matter, as in many others. Thus tho' we find that the First-born, both of Man and Beast, had been sacred to the Lord from the Beginning, yet when God,

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by the Sword of the destroying Angel had killed all the First-born of the *Egyptians*, the Law concerning their Consecration among the *Israelites* was renew'd, or probably was then first committed to Writing, as many other antient Customs were, and incorporated with the Body of the *Mosaical* Institutions. 'Tis likely indeed that the Ceremony of presenting the First-born of Man to the Lord in publick, was not till now introduced; because before this Time there had been no general Place of Worship, like the Tabernacle, which was made in the Wilderness, and the Temple afterwards at *Jerusalem*. And the Tribe of *Levi*, being about the same Time set apart for the priestly Office, on Account of their abstaining from the Idolatry of the Golden Calf, the Redemption of the First-born from the Office of the Ministry, to which they were devoted by their Consecration, became also necessary, there being no longer any Occasion for their Service. This we take to be a sufficient Account of the Privileges of first-born Sons, the Sense of what *Moses* has delivered concerning them, and the Original of those antient *Jewish* Ceremonies of their Dedication and Redemption, which we shall next describe.

XVIII. The Time appointed by the Law for the Presentation of a First-born, seems from the Time prescribed for the Purification of Women, to be the End of forty Days after his Birth, though some tell us, and probably with Reason, now the Custom of Purification is laid aside, that the Child is only required to be full thirty Days old. Be this as it will, the full Time being come, one of the Descendants of *Aaron*, who is most agreeable to the Father, is sent for; and several Persons being met together in the House, the Father brings a Quantity of Gold and Silver in a Cup or Basin. Then the Child is put into the Hands of the Priest, who with an audible Voice asks the Mother,

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ther, *Whether this Boy be hers?* She answers, *Yes.* The Priest then goes on: *Have you never had any other Child, Male or Female; no untimely Birth, or Miscarriage?* To this the Woman replies in the Negative. *If so,* says the Priest, *this Child, as your First-born, belongs to me.* This is the present Form of their dedicating a First-born Son to the Lord, as it is performed in the House of the Father.

XIX. The Priest having thus taking Possession of the Child, he turns himself to the Father, and says, *If you have a Desire to have him, you must redeem him.* The Father answers, *This Gold and Silver is offered to you for that Purpose only. Are you willing then to redeem him?* continues the Priest. *I am,* says the Father. Then the Priest turning to the Assembly, speaks to the following Purpose: *This Child, as a First-born, is mine, according to the Law. And those that are to be redeemed, from a Month old shalt thou redeem, according to thine Estimation, for the Money of five Shekels, after the Shekel of the Sanctuary.--- But I am content with this in Exchange.* At the Conclusion of these Words, he takes two Crowns or thereabouts, out of the Cup, more or less as he pleases; and after that restores the Infant to his Father and Mother. The Day of the Redemption is a Day of Rejoicing in the Family. If the Father be a Priest or a Levite, his Son is not redeemed at all, because he remains devoted to the Service of the Lord.

XX. A clean Beast, such as a Calf, a Lamb, a Kid, was also to be offer'd at the Temple. It was not to be redeem'd, but killed; the Blood of it was to be sprinkled upon the Altar, the Fat to be burnt, and the Flesh was for the Priest. But an Horse, an Ass, a Camel, or any other unclean Beast, was either redeemed, or something else given in exchange for it. And, besides the First-born of Men

and Beasts, which were either offered to the Lord, or redeemed with Money, the First-fruits of Corn and Trees were also to be set apart. The Fruit of a Tree was unclean the three first Years, and in the fourth Year it was the Lord's; so that the Proprietor had no Right to gather any for his own Use till the fifth Year. Concerning the First-fruits of Corn there are many Precepts, according to the several Kinds thereof. We shall not quote any Texts of this Kind, but only refer the Reader to several Passages, in the sacred Writers, which may give a complete Knowledge of these Matters to such as desire it, *Deut.* 22. 17, 18. and 15. 9. *Lev.* 23. 17. *Numb.* 15. 19, 20.

XXI. There were several Kinds of Purification among the *Hebrews*, which had all Relation to the several Impurities that might be contracted. We have before remarked, that when a Woman was delivered of a Boy, she was impure for forty Days. During the first Seven of these, she could not touch any Kind of Thing, but what it became defiled. After this, though her Impurity continued thirty-three Days longer, yet it was such as did not hinder her from the Care of her household Affairs, but only excluded her from the Use and Participation of holy Things. If she brought forth a Girl, the Time of her Impurity was twice as long as at the Birth of a Boy; for she was to continue fourteen Days in the first State of Impurity, and sixty-six in the Second, before she went to the Temple. The Words of the Law, both concerning the Time of Uncleanness, and the Ceremony of Purification, are as follows: *If a Woman have conceived Seed, and borne a Man-Child, then she shall be unclean seven Days; according to the Days of her Separation for her Infirmary shall she be unclean.--- And she shall then continue in the Blood of her purifying three and thirty Days: She shall touch no hallowed Thing, nor come into the San-*

Sanctuary, untill the Days of her purifying be fulfilled. But if she bear a Maid-Child, then she shall be unclean two Weeks, as in her Separation; and she shall continue in the Blood of her purifying threescore and six Days. And when the Days of her purifying are fulfilled, for a Son or a Daughter, she shall bring a Lamb of the first Year for a Burnt-offering, and a young Pigeon, or a Turtle Dove, for a Sin-offering, unto the Door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, unto the Priest: who shall offer it before the Lord, and make an Attonement for her; and she shall be cleansed from the Issue of her Blood. ---- And if she be not able to bring a Lamb, then shall she bring two Turtles, or two young Pigeons, the one for a Burnt-Offering, and the other for a Sin-offering; and the Priest shall make Attonement for her, and she shall be clean. ---- This is the Law for her that bath borne a Male or a Female.

XXII. That the Blessed Virgin was entirely free from the Obligation of this Law, may be easily proved from the first Words of it, which contain the Condition by which a Woman was become subject thereto; a Condition which reaches all the Mothers that ever were, except the Mother of our Lord, whose Conception was by the Power of the Most High. This was the Doctrine of the Fathers, as may be seen in the Places referred to; and the Church has always look'd upon it as an Example of the profoundest Humility and Submission, that she went thro' a Ceremony, to which she was not at all obliged by the Law. To preserve the Memory of this Humility; and to wear out the Remains of profane Sacrifices, which the Pagans used to make in the Month of February, the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin was solemnly instituted by the Emperor Justinian, about the Middle of the sixth Century, though it is thought to have been celebrated in some Places before that Time. The

Vulgar Name of the Day, and the Candles borne in this Festival by the Roman Church, were introduced, as 'tis pretended, in allusion to Simeon's calling our Lord, *The Light of the Gentiles, and the Glory of his People Israel*; Though the best-grounded Reason for the Use of these Candles, is, that they were to take Place of the Torches which the Pagans carried in their *Lupercalia*; it being certain, that when Christianity was substituted by Law, in the room of Paganism, the Emperors converted several Heathen Usages, which were innocent in themselves, into Ceremonies of the Christian Church, the better to engage the Attention of the common People, who are generally very much taken with Pomp and Show, and exceedingly tenacious of their antient Customs.

XXIII. But if it was a Token of great Submission in the Blessed Virgin, that she condescended to perform all the Ceremonies of her Religion, though not under any Necessity of so doing, how much more is the Obedience of her heavenly Son to be admired, who, though as God was above the Law, and as Man was impeccable and perfect, did nevertheless chuse a Life of strict Obedience to all those established Forms, which were only Symbols of the Privileges, Graces, and Virtues, that were to be granted and taught under his own new Dispensation! We think it better to make such a Reflection as this, upon the Occasion of our Lord's Circumcision and Presentation in the Temple, than to enter into a nice Enquiry concerning the particular Motives which made him submit to those Ordinances. Origen and Tertullian refine too much upon this Matter, when treating of our Lord's Presentation, they understand the Words of Moses, *Every Male that opens the Womb*, to be merely prophetic, and that strictly taken they have a Regard to Jesus Christ only. Their Reason for this Conceit, in our Opinion, is altogether

ther trifling, or worse, and very unworthy of such great Men; for *Moses* certainly knew himself what he meant, and if he had not design'd every First-born among the *Israelites* by these Words, he would neither have put it among the other Laws which he gave to that People, nor have suffer'd the Practice of presenting the First-born to God to have become general, as we have no room to think but it did even in his Time. If a Reason must be found for our Lord's exact Obedience to the whole Ceremonial Law, we think it the best Way to content ourselves with such an one as this: All the Precepts of that Law were positive Institutions of God, and for a Time to stand as it were in the Place of those moral Duties which corrupt human Nature could not perfectly perform; for these Reasons it was absolutely necessary that the *Jews*, to whom these Precepts were given, should be very regular and exact in observing every Thing they enjoined, otherwise their Obedience was still imperfect, and they were in the Sense of this Law under the same Curse as they were originally under for their Infringement of the Law of Nature. Now if we consider what a Burden the Ceremonial Law must have been to that People, we have little Reason to think that any of them, and we may be certain that not many of them, could render such an Obedience as was there required; and therefore it was necessary that the Mediator, who was to restore the antient Union between God and his Creatures, should see that all the Terms of that Union were observed, of which Terms an exact Obedience to the Ceremonial Law, so long as that Law continued in Force, was undoubtedly one, it so became necessary that *Jesus Christ*, as Mediator, should exactly perform all the Injunctions of that Law, as well as obey all the Dictates of the eternal Law of Nature; the latter for Mankind in general, and the former for the

Jews, and those who submitted to the *Jewish* Institutions, in particular. These are our present Sentiments, which we do not require any one else to receive without Examination. This, however, we may offer, as a certain Truth: That whatever Virtue or Merit it pleased God to find in the *Jews* Obedience to their Ceremonial Law, and whatever Benefits he conferred on them for it; the whole, some Way or other, was entirely founded on, and owing to, the Merits and Satisfaction of *Jesus Christ*, the only Mediator between God and Man, there being nothing in those Ceremonies themselves, at least in the greatest Part of them, of eternal Obligation; and therefore the Observance of them could not be naturally meritorious.

DISSERTATION II

Critical, Historical, and Geographical.

- I. *The Jews long expected Christ.* II. *Stories about Simeon.* III. *Said to have been President of the Sanhedrim.* IV. *That Opinion refuted.* V, VI. *Order of some Occurrences mentioned by St. Matthew and St. Luke.* VII. *Why Herod slew Children of two Years old.* VIII. *Another Opinion concerning it.* IX. *A Conjecture on some Words of Matthew.* X. *Slaughter of the Innocents not mentioned by Josephus.* XI. *The Prophecy of Jeremiah, quoted by Matthew, considered.* XII. *Rama, and Rachel's Tomb.* XIII, XIV, XV. *The Time of our Lord's Continuance in Egypt, and the Year of Herod's Death.* XVI. *At what Place in Egypt Christ resided.* XVII, XVIII, XIX. *Onias, the Temple of Helipolis, and the Egyptian Jews.* XX. *Of our Lord's being called a Nazarene.* XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV. *The Life, Actions, Power, Death, Character and Posterity of Herod the Great.*

I. THE

I. THE inspired Authors have said so little of *Simeon* and *Anna*, (the Persons who first acknowledged *Jesus Christ* in the Temple, as the Messiah whom their Nation had long expected) that we cannot with Certainty add any Thing concerning them, to what has been said in the historical Part of this Work. This in general, however, may be deduced from the Evangelical Account of them, (and we have made the Observation before) that the *Jewish* Nation at that Time were convinced that the Day of the Messiah's Appearance was at hand: For 'tis particularly remarked of *Simeon*, *That he waited for the Consolation of Israel*; and that *Anna* was full of the same Expectation, may also be collected from her Story. 'Tis said, that this Woman departed not from the Temple Day nor Night, which must be understood, says Dr. *Prideaux*, that she constantly attended the Morning and Evening Sacrifice, (which were the most solemn Times of Worship) and then with great Devotion offered up her Prayers to God. The Evangelist intimates, that this had always been her Custom, at least since she had been a Widow, which was a long time, even if we understand the fourscore and four Years, mentioned by St. *Luke*, which some interpret of her Widowhood, to be meant of her whole Life; and if this Attendance was occasion'd by her Expectation of the Messiah, as the ingenious Author abovementioned takes it, we are thereby assured, that such an Expectation was of a long Standing among the *Jews*: For she had either received it from other People, or, as a Prophetess was taught it immediately from Heaven. If the former was the Case, the Notion must have got Ground at least as soon as it came to her; if the latter, we cannot suppose that she

would have kept so important a Revelation in her own Breast, at least without an express Command so to do, which we have no Reason to think she ever had.

II. The Author * of an ancient Preface to a Book which is now lost, informs us, that *Simeon* was blind, and that upon taking *Jesus Christ* into his Arms, he immediately recovered his Sight, and gave Testimony to the Saviour of Mankind in the Presence of all the People. Some think, that *Simeon* was the officiating Priest; and that as such he took our Saviour into his Arms, as a First-born which belonged to the Lord, returning him again to his Parents when they had redeemed him according to the Law. And, indeed, several of the Antients maintain, that he was a Priest; but others again deny it with better Reason, for the Silence of the Scripture alone in this particular, is a sufficient Argument on the Side of the latter, it being unlikely that the sacred Writers would have omitted mentioning such a Circumstance. The Reader may possibly be pleased to hear more of these Stories, there being many of them concerning this Man; for though we have already declared, that we cannot with Certainty add to the Scripture Account of him, yet such Relations may serve to shew the Temper of the Persons who have deliver'd them down. *Leo Allatius*, in a Dissertation upon the Writings of the *Simeons*, relates from Tradition several Particulars that happened when *Simeon* came into the Temple to see the Messiah. Among the other Mothers that brought their Children into the Temple, he observed the Holy Virgin shining with Rays of Light; and immediately thereupon putting aside the Multitude, he went directly to her, gave her his Blessing, took the Child *Jesus* into his Arms, and with a divine Enthusiasm pronounced the Can-

* His Name was *Celsus*. This Preface is preserved among the Works of St. *Cyprian*.

ticle recorded by St. *Luke*. *Nicephorus* tells us, that the good old Man died as soon as ever he had returned the Child into the Arms of his Mother.

III. We have before said, that the *Simeon* in the Gospel, is supposed by some to have been *Simeon* the Son of *Hillel*. This *Hillel* was the greatest of all the ancient *Mishnaical* Doctors; that is, of those Doctors who taught the *Jews* their Traditions, and whose Succession continued from the Time of *Simeon the Just*, till the *Mishna* was composed. He was descended by the Mother's Side from *David*, and not only sat himself in the first Seat of Justice over the *Jewish* Nation, as President of the *Sanhedrim*, for forty Years together, but the same Honour continued to his Posterity thro' ten Generations. *Simeon*, the Son of *Hillel*, succeeded his Father, and after *Simeon*, his Son *Gamaliel*, who presided when *Peter* and the other Apostles were called before that Council, and was the same at whose Feet *Paul* was bred up in the Sect and Learning of the *Pharisees*. Concerning the Question above, Whether this *Simeon*, the Son of *Hillel*, and the *Simeon* of St. *Luke*, may be justly thought the same Man, we shall here give our Opinion.

IV. The great Learning and Reputation of *Simeon*, the Son of *Hillel*, and the Circumstance of his living at the proper Time; these, together with the Fondness of some Persons for introducing of Great Men among the first Believers, seem to have been the only Reasons why he is said to be the same with *Simeon* in the Gospel. If it be unlikely that this latter was so much as a common Priest, because no such Circumstance is mentioned, how improbable is it that he should be so great a Man as he is here represented? Would our Lord have said in the Time of his publick Ministry, *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, that thou hast hid these Things from the Wise and Prudent,*

if a Person of the highest Rank, both for Wisdom and Authority, had been the First that received him in the Character of the Messiah? Would the *Jews* have continued in that high Station of President of the *Sanhedrim*, a Man who acknowledged the Object of their Contempt for the Son of God? Or rather, could the President of the *Sanhedrim* have made such an Acknowledgment concerning *Jesus* at his Birth, and yet that same *Jesus* have lived thirty Years afterwards in Obscurity, and not be at all known when he made his publick Appearance?

V. St. *Matthew* having related the History of the Wisemen, proceeds immediately to tell us, that *when they were departed, an Angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a Dream*, and warned him to flee into *Egypt*. This Evangelist says nothing either of the Circumcision or Presentation, which are related by St. *Luke* only, who, on the other hand, omits the Coming of the Wise-men. We have followed the general Opinion of Commentators, supported by the Authority of the Church, that *Jesus* was circumcised before the Arrival of the *Magi* at *Bethlehem*, and that his Presentation was almost thirty Days after they were departed home. We also conclude the holy Family not to have gone to *Navareth*, till after their Return out of *Egypt*, and consequently, that they went back to *Bethlehem* as soon as the Ceremonies at *Jerusalem* were over, from whence they fled into *Egypt* at the divine Command. There are some Difficulties, however, that attend this Opinion, which we shall now endeavour to remove.

VI. St. *Luke* immediately passes from the Account of what happened in the Temple to their Departure into *Galilee*: *And when they had performed all Things according to the Law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own City Nazareth*: But we have supposed a Return from *Jerusalem* to *Bethlehem*, a Retreat from

from thence into *Egypt*, and a Continuance of some Time in that Kingdom, and all before they went to their own City *Nazareth*: How can this be reconciled with the Words of *Luke*? The Answer to this is only, That it may be done in the same Manner as *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke* are made to agree with one another in other Parts of the Gospels. Neither the one nor the other of the Evangelists so much as hints at any Occurrences that happened between those of which he himself gives an Account, and yet these two, particularly in our Lord's Infancy, relate different Things that must necessarily have happened about the same Time; and therefore this proves that the Accounts of one ought certainly to be inserted between those of the other. Thus though the Evangelist *Matthew* informs us, that when the *Magi* were departed, an Angel appeared to *Joseph*, we have nevertheless supposed, and we ought so to do, that all what *St. Luke* relates concerning the Going to *Jerusalem*, came to pass between the Departure of the *Magi* and the Appearance of the Angel, because the Circumstances of these Actions convince us that this is their proper Place: And so also in the Text before us, where *Luke* says, when they had performed all Things according to the Law, they returned into *Galilee*, it seems apparent, that between their performing these Things, and their Return to *Galilee*, their Flight into *Egypt* must have happened, because we cannot place it any where else, with so much Probability. Add to this, that *St. Matthew* himself mentions their Going to *Nazareth*, and settling there, after they came out of *Egypt*, in such a Manner as leaves little room to believe they had been there before since the Birth of *Jesus*. The Word *When*, used by both these Evangelists in their Transitions, should be there taken indefinitely, not so as to signify immediately, but some Time after; without determining how

long. No two Historians that ever wrote of the same Time, or Occurrence, have given so exactly the same Account, as that neither has omitted a Circumstance which the other has related: And yet two Writers upon the same historical Subject, who are both sufficiently exact, and perhaps of equal Authority, may be easily found; nor will any Imperfection or Omission be discover'd in either, but by comparing them together. A judicious Person, who should read two such Authors, in order to reconcile them with each other, and deduce a regular Series of Facts from them both, would he not pursue the same Method, that we, and that all Commentators and Harmonists, have pursued with respect to the Evangelists?

VII. There seems to be some Obscurity in the Words of *St. Matthew*, which relate the Murder of the Children at *Bethlehem*. Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the Wise-men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the Children that were in *Bethlehem*, and in all the Coasts thereof; from two Years old and under, according to the Time which he had diligently enquired of the Wise-men. The chief Difficulty is, to find a Reason for Herod's slaying Children of two Years old, in order to involve our Lord in the common Carnage, who, according to the Opinion of most, could not be any thing near that Age at the Time of this Massacre. In order to get over this, some are willing to imagine, that the Wise-men saw the Star above a Year before they came to *Jerusalem*; that Token of the Messiah's Birth being sent them so early, on Account of the Distance of their Country, that they might be present to see the Blessed Infant whilst lying in a Manger. Now *St. Matthew* informs us, that Herod enquired diligently, at what Time the Star appeared; and afterwards, that he slew the Children according to the Time that he had enquired of the Wisemen; that is, according-

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ing to the Time at which they told him the Star first appeared, which might then be near two Years ago: This would be an easy Way of solving the Difficulty, could there be any Thing brought to support the principal Fact, the Appearance of the Star so long before our Lord's Nativity.

VII. Others believe, that the Wise-men did not come to *Jerusalem*, till above a Year after our Lord's Birth, and after they had first seen the Star. This will put the Slaughter of the Innocents a Year lower than 'tis thought to have been, and within a very little of the Time when *Herod* died; for that Tyrant, according to the largest Conjectures, did not survive the Birth of *Jesus Christ* so much as two full Years. Agreeably to this Opinion, it has been maintain'd, that these Children were put to Death while *Herod* was raging mad in his last Sickness, and even no more than five Days before he died. The Reasons upon which this is believed, are these: *Josephus* tells us, that *Herod* was exasperated to the utmost Degree of Wrath in his last Sickness, and that only five Days before his Death he had his own Son *Antipater* executed: And *Macrobius*, an Author of the fifth Century, mentions a Child of *Herod's*, that was slain among the other Children at *Bethlehem*. But these Things cannot be made to hang well together: For *Antipater* was so far from being a Child, that he was a Man in Years; neither was he executed at *Bethlehem*: Besides, *Josephus*, who gives an Account of *Antipater's* Death, says nothing of these Children, which he would certainly have done, had they been put to Death at the same Time. Others have pretended, that the Child of *Herod*, which was murdered in this Massacre, was only an Infant at Nurse: But neither is there any Ground to affirm this. *Macrobius* adds, that the Cruelty of *Herod* coming to the Ears of *Augustus*, that Emperor made the following sarcastical Reflection upon it:

'Tis better to be *Herod's Hog* than his Son. The Point of this turns, in a great Measure, upon the *Jews* Abstinence from Swine's Flesh; for which Reason they killed no Hogs: It was therefore better to be a Hog than a Man, at the Mercy of such People.

IX. But we may still keep to the old Opinion, and allow the *Magi* to have come within forty Days after the Birth of *Christ*; for, according to Dr. *Whitby*, we need not have recourse to any of the Suppositions above, in order to account for this Passage of St. *Matthew*. That Author says, We are not certain from the original Words, that the Evangelist means all the Children of two Years old and under. To prove this he instances in two Greek Authors, who express a Thing that lives one whole Year, by the same Word that is here translated two Years old. *Aristotle* also has a Verb from the same Root, when speaking of certain Wasps, he tells us they live not a whole Year, but die in the Winter. If these Testimonies will hold good, 'tis plain that the Words of St. *Matthew* may be render'd, from one Year old and under; which Interpretation makes that Evangelist appear perfectly consistent with himself, and removes the Perplexity that attends this Part of the Gospel History: For indeed it appears somewhat strange that such a Prince as *Herod*, when he was disappointed by the *Magi* in the Manner St. *Matthew* relates, should stay afterwards at least above a Year before he executed his bloody Purpose. But taking the Words of the Gospel in the Sense here given them, the Time between the Coming of the *Magi* and the Massacre at *Bethlehem* is reduced to half; and we cannot tell how much under one Year the Age of *Christ* might be at the Time of this Massacre; for as *Herod* was willing to make sure Work, there is no doubt but he carried his Cruelty beyond the Information he had received.

are sure he did so with regard to Place; for he slew not only the Children of *Bethlehem*, where the Chief Priests and Scribes informed him *Christ* was to be born, but he also shed the Blood of all the innocent Babes in the Coasts of that City: And why might he not go backwards three or four Months, or more, in respect of Time, to prevent his being deceived? There might be a great deal more introduced upon this Head; but we have met with nothing that seems more to the Purpose.

X. The Greek, *Moscovite*, and *Ethiopian* Christians, affirm, that the Number of Children massacred at this Time, in *Bethlehem* and the neighbouring Villages, amounted to fourteen thousand; an Article not at all credible, considering that *Josephus*, who gives a very large Account of *Herod's* Actions, takes not the least Notice of this Affair. It is indeed surprizing to many, that this Historian, who relates *Herod's* Murder of some Youths when he was only Governor of *Galilee*, and the Cry of their Mothers for Justice against him for it, should be altogether silent in regard to an Action of the same Prince, which appears to us, with much more Horror; especially as it was perpetrated so many Years after the other, and when he was possess'd of regal Authority. *Whitby* says, That *Josephus* being born in the first Year of *Caius*, and the Thirty-eighth of *Christ*, and writing his History of the *Jewish* Wars, in the Fifty-sixth Year of his Age, which was the Ninety-fourth of *Christ*, it is not so much Wonder that he should at that Distance of Time make no mention of a Fact, which was not likely to be preserved in the *Jewish* Records. But why was it not likely to be preserved there, as well as the other Actions of *Herod*? There must certainly have been some particular Reason for this; for the *Jews* had so little Respect to the Memory of *Herod*, that they would not voluntarily have neglected to record an

No. XV.

Action so much to his Disadvantage: And if *Dr. Whitby* knew this particular Reason, he ought to have given it, or not have apologiz'd for *Josephus* at all. He says, 'tis sufficient that this History is preserved by *Macrobius*; yet afterwards he calls the Testimony of *Macrobius* in question, in order to refute *Mr. Whiston*. For our own Part, we content ourselves with *St. Matthew's* Account of this Affair, without looking for concurrent Testimonies of it, or enquiring what were the Reasons that prevented our having any such: For if *Matthew* had asserted a Falshood, he would certainly have been corrected by the *Jews* of his Time; many of whom could remember *Herod*, which was more than could be said when *Josephus* wrote. The most that may be gathered from the Silence of this latter, is only, that the Number of these Children was not very great and considerable. But even this is far from being certain; for when we consider the Character of *Herod*, there seems to have been nothing so extravagantly bloody and inhuman, that he was incapable of acting it; and the Application of a Passage of *Jeremiah* to this Slaughter, which is made by *St. Matthew*, is enough to make us think it was very great and terrible, tho' short of what the Christians above-mentioned have pretended.

XI. The Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, which the Evangelist quotes, relates more immediately to the Captivity of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, who were descended from *Rachel*. That beloved Wife of *Jacob* died at *Rama*, in Child-birth, as she was upon the Road with her Husband, who buried her in the same Place, and erected over her a Monument which remained for many Ages. The Prophet therefore, by a very beautiful Figure, introduces her as lamenting in the Place of her Death, for the Captivity of her Children: In *Rama* was a Voice heard, Lamentation and bitter Weeping, *Rachel*

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weeping for her Children. That this was the Prophet's Meaning, appears plain from the following Words, which can refer only to the future Return of her Children from their Captivity and Dispersion. *Thus saith the Lord, Refrain thy Voice from Weeping, and thine Eyes from Tears; for thy Work shall be rewarded, saith the Lord, and they shall return again from the Land of the Enemy: and there is Hope in thine End, saith the Lord, that thy Children shall come into their own Border.* But tho' the Application of this Prophecy by St. Matthew cannot be said to give the literal and historical Sense thereof, yet the Providence of God foreseeing this future and greater Occasion for Rachel to weep, the Holy Spirit might have a Reference to that as well as to the Captivity of Israel, in the Words of the Prophet. And 'tis remarkable that Matthew, in applying this Text, does not say as in other Places, *This was done that it might be fulfilled,* (which would have made the Slaughter of the Innocents the immediate Object of the Prophecy,) but only, *Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the Prophet Jeremiah; that is, then was performed that which gave a more full Completion to the Words of Jeremiah, than they had before received by the Captivity of Israel.*

XII. The City, or, as it was in the Time of St. Jerom, the Village of Rama, was situated within the Coasts or Neighbourhood of Bethlehem, tho' not in the same Tribe. It was in the Inheritance of Benjamin, the younger Son of Jacob, at whose Birth Rachel died; and within six or seven Miles of Jerusalem. 'Tis mentioned by Josephus, under the Name of Ramathan; and in the Old Testament 'tis called Rama, Ramab, and Ramathaim. There were other Places of the same Name in the Land of Israel. The Tomb of Rachel, which we called a Turkish Structure in a preceding Dissertation, upon the Au-

thority of Mr. Maundrell, is thus described by M. Le Burn, who took a Draught of it on the Place. 'Tis cut in the Cavity of a Rock, and covered with a Dome, supported by four Pillars, or Fragments of a Wall, which open to the Sepulchre. The Work is rude enough, and without any Ornament, but as entire as when first made; which confirms Mr. Maundrell's Conjecture, that it cannot be the Monument which Jacob erected. Another Author tells us, that the four Pillars of this Dome are square, and form as many Arches; and that it is surrounded by a Wall of three Foot high, through which there is a little Entrance by three Steps. The Tomb it self rises six Foot above the Ground; is seven Foot long, and three and a half broad: The upper Part of it is round.

XIII. The Time of our Lord's Continuance in Egypt is very uncertain: For some make it to be almost two Years, and others not above two Months. This Question depends very much upon two others: First, When the Wisemen came to Jerusalem; And, Secondly, How long Herod lived after the Murder of the Holy Innocents. The first of these we have already examined, and concluded that those Easterns came to Jerusalem, and from thence to Bethlehem, whilst our Lord was under forty Days old, and before he was presented in the Temple. With regard to the Second, it has been the Opinion of some, that Herod lived not above five Days after that horrid Piece of Barbarity. These are the Persons who imagine, upon the Authority of Macrobius, that the Death of the Innocents and that of Antipater happened at the same Time; for Josephus assures them that Antipater was put to death only five Days before Herod himself died, as we before remarked. Others have pretended that the Massacre at Bethlehem was only six Weeks before Antipater's Execution; and that the New

of both these bloody Businesſes coming at the ſame Time to the Ear of *Augustus*, might be the Occaſion of his uttering the Expreſſion recited by *Macrobius*. Thoſe who argue for ſo ſhort a Time between the Slaughter of the Innocents and the Death of *Herod*, muſt either make the Coming of the *Magi* to be long after the Birth of *Chriſt*, or they muſt ſuppoſe that *Herod* died very ſoon after *Chriſt* was born. The firſt of theſe Opinions being already rejected, we ſhall take no further notice of it; but Mr. *Whiſton* has maintained the latter, and affirm'd that there was only a Month between our Lord's Nativity and *Herod's* Death. We ſhall rehearſe the principal Arguments that are brought againſt the Hypotheſis of this learned Man, and then give our own Opinion, according as the Evidence appears.

XIV. We muſt here firſt collect from *Joſephus*, how long *Herod* reigned, and in what Year he died; and then compare it with the Year of our Lord's Nativity, as it has been fixed by very learned Men. The *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian, ſpeaking of *Herod's* being declared King of *Judea* at *Rome*, has Words to this Effect: *So he took the Kingdom, which he obtained in the one hundred-forty-eighth Olympiad, during the Conſulate of C. Aſinius Pollio, and C. Domitius Calvinus, who was that Year ſecond Time Conſul.* This was in the Year from the Building of the City ſeven hundred and fourteen. And the ſame Author, relating the Siege of *Jeruſalem* by *Herod*, tells us, *that it was in the third Year after he was declared King at Rome, in the hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad, M. Agrippa and Canidius Gallus being Conſuls.* He took *Jeruſalem* about the End of the third Year of his Regn, as M. *Le Clerc* has proved. Theſe Paſſages ſettle the twofold Beginning of *Herod's* Regn (from his being proclaimed at *Rome*, and from his becoming Maſter of *Jeruſalem*) beyond all Diſpute: Let us now ſee in what Year he

died; which we may alſo learn from the ſame Hiſtorian. *He died in the Thirty-fourth Year of his Regn after he had cut off Antigonus, but the Thirty-feventh after his being declared King at Rome.* The Death of *Antigonus* was not long after the taking of *Jeruſalem*; for *Herod* did not think himſelf ſafe ſo long as there was any Remainder of the antient Royal Family, and therefore never left ſoliciting *Anthony*, whoſe Priſoner *Antigonus* was made, till he obtained the Death of that unfortunate Prince by the Hands of a common Executioner. This Expreſſion therefore, *after he had cut off Antigonus*, is much the ſame as if *Joſephus* had ſaid, *from the Taking of Jeruſalem.* Now if to the Year ſeven hundred and thirteen from the Building of *Rome*, you add thirty-ſeven, taking in the Year ſeven hundred and fourteen, in which *Herod* began to reign, you fall upon the Number ſeven hundred and fifty, which was therefore the Year of *Rome* in which *Herod* died. The ſame Number ariſes from the Addition of thirty four to ſeven hundred and ſixteen, at the End of which *Antigonus* was cut off in Favour of *Herod*, who alone from that Time could be called King of the *Jews*. Beſides this, *Joſephus* marks out another Way of finding the true Year of *Herod's* Death; for he ſays there was an Eclipse of the Moon in that Year; which Eclipse, according to the Calculation of Aſtronomers, happened at *Jeruſalem* on the Thirteenth of *March*, in the Year ſeven hundred and fifty from the Building of *Rome*. We ſhall here omit what has been ſaid about the Time of the Year at which the Regn of *Herod* began and ended; but only obſerve in general, that he appears to have died at the Beginning of the thirty-ſeventh Year of his Regn, which makes it neceſſary to include the Year ſeven hundred and fourteen in calculating the Year of his Death by the Length of his Regn, as we have done above.

XV. Having thus settled the Year of *Herod's* Death, our next Enquiry is, How long the Birth of *Christ* preceded the Death of *Herod*. We have already placed the Nativity of our Lord in the Thirty-third Year of *Herod*, reckoning from the taking of *Jerusalem*, and we shall find no Reason to alter this upon the most impartial Examination. Concerning the particular Number of Months, indeed, between the Nativity of *Christ* and the Death of *Herod*, there can be nothing said; but this we may lay down for Truth, that *Christ* was born in the seven hundred and forty-ninth Year of *Rome*; and that for the two following Reasons.

1. First, *St. Luke* tells us, chap. 3. 1, 2, 3. that *John* began to baptize in *Jordan* in the fifteenth Year of *Tiberius*; and that many flocking to him from all Parts, *Jesus* himself also came and was baptiz'd by him. He adds, that then *Jesus* began to be about thirty Years of Age. The Question here is, when *Tiberius* began to reign? And by finding that, we shall easily know in what Year *Jesus* was born. Now there is a twofold Beginning attributed to the Reign of this Emperor; the first in the eleventh Year of the Vulgar Æra, that is, the fifteenth from the true Time of our Lord's Nativity, according to the Chronology of *Usher*, when *Tiberius* was taken in as a Colleague by *Augustus*; and the second about three Years after, when *Augustus* died, and his Partner came into the sole Possession of the Empire. It must be from the first of these Beginnings that the Evangelist dates the Years of *Tiberius*, which falling in with the fifteenth Year of our Lord's real Age, it follows, that some time in the fifth Year of *Tiberius* he must be thirty Years old. Now this 15th year of *Tiberius* answersto the Year of *Rome* 779. from which subtracting thirty Years, it appears that our Lord was born in the Year of *Rome* 749. one Year at least before the Death of *Herod*. To prove this, 'tis necessary to make one Re-

mark here, that was before past over; which is, that *Herod* dy'd towards the End of the Year of *Rome* 750. which was the Beginning of his thirty-seventh; and this agrees with what was before said.

2. The other Mark of the Time when our Lord was born, is taken from the Gospel of *St. John*. That Evangelist, whilst he is treating of the first Year of our Lord's Ministry, introduces the *Jews*, as saying to *Christ* *Forty and six Years was this Temple in Building*, *John* 2. 20. By which Words they mean, that the Temple began to be built forty-six Years before, and afterwards till that Time received continually some additional Ornaments, though the main Body was finished by *Herod* in nine Years and a Half. Thus *Pliny*, speaking of the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, says, *it was two hundred and twenty Years in building by all Asia*; by which he can mean no more, than that the adorning and beautifying of it was so long carried on. Thus also we might now attribute a very long time to the building of *St. Paul's* in *London*, the beautifying of which has been continually carrying on since the outward Structure was finished. Now *Josephus* tells us, that *Herod* began to rebuild the Temple at *Jerusalem* in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, dating the Beginning of it from the taking of that City. This eighteenth Year of *Herod's* Reign answers partly to the twenty-sixth *Julian* Year, and partly to the twenty-seventh; so that reckoning from the twenty-sixth to the seventy-first of the same Æra, (which was the twenty-fifth of the vulgar Christian Æra, the fifteenth of the Reign of *Tiberius*, the first of our Lord's Ministry, and the thirteenth of his Life,) we shall find forty-six whole Years, as seems necessary in the present Case, without taking Notice of the odd Months. And if Thirty, the Year of our Lord's Age, be subtracted from Seventy-one, the Year of the *Julian* Æra at that Time,

we

we shall find that he was born in the forty-first Year of that same *Æra*, which answers to the 749th from the building of *Rome*, and the 23d of *Herod's* Reign, reckoning from his becoming Master of *Jerusalem*, and the Death of *Antigonus*.

3. Those who require a more exact Calculation of these Times, may find it in such Works as are written expressly on the Subject: But we believe that what has been here said, will be thought sufficient for our Purpose, which is only to prove that the Birth of our Lord, and the Death of *Herod*, could not happen so near together as some have imagined; and consequently, that the Time of our Lord's Abode in *Egypt*, from before the Slaughter of the Innocents till after *Herod's* Death, must have been longer than a few Weeks, and even than a very small Number of Months. If therefore the Birth of our Lord was in *October*, as many have conjectured, and the Death of *Herod* on the 25th of *November*, as is generally agreed, we may justly conclude, that the latter of these was a full Year and a Month after the former; whence it will follow, that the Time of our Lord's Abode in *Egypt*, must be about a Year; for he was carried thither immediately after his Presentation in the Temple, and not brought back again till *Herod* was dead. But if the Nativity of *Jesus Christ* was at another Time of the Year than in the Month of *October*, as we are not at all sure but it was, then that Nativity and *Herod's* Death might as well be futher apart, and the Time of the Holy Family's Recess into *Egypt*, might be longer than we have here put them. This is all we shall say, concerning these Matters, and we are afraid this is more than many of our Readers might desire, upon so dry a Subject as a Chronological Question.

XVI. *Egypt* is known to be the North-east Part of *Africa*, according to the present Division of the Quarters; tho' the antient Geographers counted so much of it to be in *Asia*, as lies Eastward from the *Nile*. It contain'd formerly a * prodigious Number of Towns, and an incredible Multitude of Inhabitants, within a very narrow Compass. The *Nile* runs from South to North, through the whole Country, which is two hundred Leagues in Length, bounded on the North by the *Mediterranean Sea*, on the East by the *Red-Sea* and the *Isthmus* of *Suez*, on the South by *Ethiopia*, and on the West by *Libya*. It is inclosed on each Side by a Ridge of Mountains, which very often leave, between their Foot and the *Nile*, a Space of not above sixteen *English* Miles, and sometimes less; but on the West Side this Plain extends in some Places to twenty-five or thirty Leagues. The greatest Breadth of *Egypt* is in the North, from *Alexandria* to *Damiata*, being about fifty Leagues. This Country is often mentioned in Scripture by the Name of *Misraim*, from a Son of *Ham* so called, and is particularly celebrated for the Captivity which the *Israelites* there suffered, and the Wonders wrought by *Moses* at the Delivery of that People. It was antiently divided into three Parts, *Upper*, *Middle*, and *Lower Egypt*, which were all united under the great King *Sesostris*. Through a long Course of Years it was governed by Monarchs of its own, and afterwards by the Successors of *Ptolemy Lagus*, one of *Alexander's* Captains, till it was reduced to a *Roman* Province by *Augustus*, a few Years before the Birth of Christ. We must not pretend to run into a particular Description of this County, which was so famous in antient History, for we should be obliged to say more than would be proper, in the present Work. Every one has heard

* Herodotus says 18000 Towns, and 7000000 of Inhabitants. l. ii. c. 177.

of its Cities, its Pyramids, its Obelisks, and the over-flowing of the *Nile*, which have separately been the Admiration of all Ages. It was hither that our Blessed Lord was carried in his Infancy, for Security from the Rage of *Herod*; and here we suppose him to have resided a Year or more, though in what Town or City is not certainly known. There are three places mentioned on this Occasion, *Babana*, *Matbaræa*, and *Hermopolis*; but the best Authors who speak of this Matter, conclude in favour of *Hermopolis*, and for that Reason we have placed him there in our History. This City is not once mentioned in the Canonical Books of the Scripture; but Geographers inform us, that it was situated in *Upper Egypt*, or *Thebais*, at a very great Distance from *Judea*. Whether or no *Joseph* and *Mary* would chuse such a remote part of the Country, when they might have been as safe nearer Home, we leave the Reader to determine: This however we may beg Leave to remark, in favour of the Antients who fix our Lord's Residence at this City, that if they had been guided by Fancy only in the Choice of a Place, it seems likely that they should rather have thought of *Alexandria*, where there were Abundance of *Jews*; or *Heliopolis*, where there was a *Jewish* Temple, like that at *Jerusalem*, than of this *Hermopolis*, where we hear of nothing particular to invite them thither. But perhaps it will be said, that the *Jews* who worshipped at *Heliopolis*, were looked upon as Hereticks and Schismatics by their Brethren; and therefore we ought not to think that our Lord would associate with such People. It may be so: We have only offered a Conjecture, and shall not insist upon it at all: But it may be worth while in this Place to give some Account of the Temple, which has been thus occasionally mentioned.

XVII. *Onias*, the Son of *Onias III.* High Priest of the *Jews*, being disap-

pointed of the Pontifical Dignity upon the Death of his Uncle *Menelaus*, fled into *Egypt*; and there so ingratiated himself with King *Ptolemy Philometor*, and *Cleopatra* his Queen, that he gained the Chief of their Confidence in all their Affairs. And having obtained this great Power and Interest, he made Use of it to procure a License to build a Temple for the *Jews* in *Egypt*, and a Grant for him and his Descendants to be always High-Priests thereof. To accomplish this, he represented to the King, that the building of such a Temple would be for the Interest of his Crown: For there being Enmity between the Kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*, and *Jerusalem* being within the Territories of the latter, *Onias* told *Ptolemy*, that the going of the *Egyptian Jews* to worship at *Jerusalem*, might give Occasion for the seducing of them to the *Syrian* Interest; which would not only be effectually prevented by the building of a Temple in *Egypt*, but such a Temple, he said, might also draw many other *Jews* out of *Judea*, for the better peopling and strengthening of his Kingdom. By such Arguments as these he gained over the King, who was willing to oblige the Man he so much respected; and indeed *Onias* deserved his Favour; for he was both a great Soldier, and a consummate Politician. But the great Difficulty was to reconcile the *Jews* to this new Invention, their constant Notion hitherto having been, that *Jerusalem* was the only Place which God had chosen for his Worship, and that it was a Sin to sacrifice to him upon any Altar elsewhere. To satisfy them as to this, he produced the Prophecy of *Isaiab*, where it is said, *In that Day shall five Cities in the Land of Egypt speak the Language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts. One shall be called the City of Destruction. In that Day shall there be an Altar unto the Lord in the Midst of the Land of Egypt, and a Pillar at the Border thereof unto the Lord, Isaiab*

19. 18, 19. And having interpreted this Place of Scripture, which truly related to the future State of the Gospel in that Country, as if it respected the then present Times, he prevailed with all of his own Nation in the Land of *Egypt* to understand it so too, and by that Means served his purpose.

XVIII. The Place which he chose for the Execution of his Project, was a Plot of Ground within the *Nomos* or Præfecture of *Heliopolis*, at the Distance of about twenty-four Miles from *Memphis*, where had formerly stood an old Temple of *Bubastis*, or *Isis*, which was then wholly neglected and demolished. The Rubbish of these Ruins being cleared away, he there built upon the very same Spot his new *Jewish* Temple. He made it exactly after the Pattern of that at *Jerusalem* (though not altogether so high, nor so sumptuous) and placed therein an Altar for Burnt-offerings, an Altar of Incense, a Shew-bread Table, and all other Instruments and Utensils necessary for the *Jewish* Service, in the same Manner as in the Temple at *Jerusalem*, save only that he had not a Golden Candlestick of seven Branches in the Sanctuary, but instead of it, one great Lamp was hung there in its Place by a golden Chain from the Roof of the House.

Scaliger thinks, that *Onias* was led to the Choice of this place by the same Prophecy of *Isaiah* above recited: For the Words rendered, *One shall be called the City of Destruction*, by the Change of only one Letter for another much like it, would signify, *One shall be called the City of the Sun*, which is the true Meaning of the Greek Word *Heliopolis*, the Name of the Præfecture where this Temple was erected. And *Dr. Prideaux* says, that in the Time of *Jonatban Ben-Uzziel*, Author of the *Targum* on the Prophets, who lived about a hundred Years after the Building of this Temple, there was a

Doubt, whether *Haberes*, *Destruction*, or *Hacheres*, *the Sun*, was the true Reading. But another Reason has been assigned for the building of this Temple, which *Prideaux* believes the true one; and that is, that *Onias* having the Government of this Præfecture under the King, had built a City there, and called it after his own Name *Onion*; which City, and the Territory round it, being peopled with *Jews*, he could find no place more advantageous and convenient. Others seem to confine the Name *Onion* to the Temple only, and take no notice of any other City here than that of *Heliopolis*, which gave Name to the District, and was so called from a Temple therein dedicated to the Sun, in which was a Looking-Glass disposed in such a Manner, that it reflected the Rays of that Luminary all Day long. This City is called *On* in Scripture; and it was here that *Potiphar* was Priest, who married his Daughter to *Joseph*.

But to continue our Description: When *Onias* had thus built his Temple, he surrounded the Æra in which it stood with a high Brick Wall, and placed Priests and Levites to officiate in it. For he found, it seems, many of these as little scrupulous as himself; tho' their Brethren at *Jerusalem* could not see this Temple without Concern, and it was always a Subject of Division between the *Jews* of *Egypt* and those of *Palestine*. But whatever Disputes might arise, divine Service was here continually carried on in the same Manner as at *Jerusalem*, from the Time of its building, about the Year of the World 3854, before the vulgar Æra one hundred and fifty Years, till it was put a Stop to by the Command of *Vespasian*, about two hundred and twenty-three Years after, that is, in the Year of *Christ* 173. For the Temple at *Jerusalem* having been just before demolished by the *Romans*, there was Reason to fear that the *Jews* of *Palestine*, being driven out of their Country, might retire

retire into *Egypt*, and assembling together in this Temple, take Occasion for another Revolt. To prevent this, Orders were sent to *Lupus*, Governor of *Alexandria*, and Prefect of *Egypt*, to level it with the Ground: But *Lupus* contented himself with only shutting it up; and *Paulinus*, who succeeded him, with stripping it of all the Ornaments and Riches that were contained in it, and continuing to prohibit all Manner of Religious Exercises therein. Dr. *Prideaux* says, it was afterwards wholly demolished, together with the City *Onion*, in which it stood: But others mention a Tower to be seen there, like that of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, which probably might have been the Sanctuary of the Place. 'Tis a Structure of about sixty Cubits high, built with very large Stones, and having in it an Altar, which is also like that of the Temple at *Jerusalem*.

XIX. 'Tis not very difficult to trace the Original of the *Jews* in *Egypt*: For, notwithstanding the antient Enmity between them and the *Egyptians*, we find that these two Nations were often obliged to unite their Forces, to resist the Kings of *Affyria*, who would gladly have conquered them both. This opened a Communication between them, and doubtless gave Occasion for many *Jews* to go and settle in *Egypt*. But besides this, *Psammetichus* King of *Egypt* having taken *Ashdod*, or *Azotus*, a Town inhabited by *Jews*, he carried the People of it away with him, according to the Custom of those Times. After this, upon the first Destruction of *Jerusalem*, when *Gedaliah* Governour of *Judea* was murdered, the sacred Story informs us, that *Johanan* the Son of *Kereab*, with the People that were left, fled into *Egypt* for Refuge from the King of *Babylon*, carrying with them *Jeremiah* the Prophet, and *Baruch* the Son of *Neriah*: And tho' many of these Refugees, together with a-bundance of *Egyptians*, were afterwards

carried Captives to *Babylon* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, there yet remained in *Egypt* several Families of *Jews*, who increased continually. The Number of these were vastly augmented by *Alexander the Great*, who resolving to fill his new City *Alexandria*, sent thither a Colony of *Jews*, and granted them the same Privileges as the *Macedonians*. And *Ptolemy Lagus*, the Successor of *Alexander* in *Egypt*, making Incurfions into *Judea*, carried away with him at Times about a hundred thousand of these People, who were all sold for Slaves to the *Egyptians*, but set at Liberty in the next Reign by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*.

This Prince is said to have procured a Translation of the Books of the *Old Testament* into *Greek*, and to have employ'd therein at a prodigious Expence seventy-two of the most learned *Jews*, who all agreed to a Miracle in the Version they made. And from the Number of these Men, that Translation has ever since been called the *Translation of the Septuagint*, or more briefly the *Septuagint* only, the Word *Septuaginta* in *Latin* signifying the Number Seventy. There is a pretended History of this Translation in *Greek*, said to have been written by one *Aristeas*; but the Learned of this Age reject its Authority, and look upon it as a Heap of Fables. It is certain, however, that a Version of the Bible into *Greek* was actually made at some Time during the Empire of the *Ptolemys*, that this Version is what we now have under the Name of the *Septuagint*, and that the same was used by the Authors of the *New-Testament* in the Quotations which they made from the *Old*; for most of those Quotations are Word for Word the same as in the *Septuagint Greek Bibles* of this Day.

Thus have you the Origin of the *Jews* in *Egypt*, and an Abstract of their History in that Country to the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, under whose indulgent Reign

Reign they could not but multiply vastly. After his Death they continued quietly enough for near thirty Years, till the Reign of *Ptolemy Philopator* his Grandson. This Prince, who was a Monster of Cruelty and Debauchery, having obtained the Provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, from *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, and being returned to *Alexandria* from ravaging the Land of *Judea*, where he was hinder'd by the High-Priest from entering the Holy Temple, took it into his Head to destroy all the *Jews* in *Egypt*, in Revenge for the Affront which was put upon him at *Jerusalem*. To accomplish this, he ordered them to be sent to *Alexandria* from all Parts of the Kingdom in Chains, and as fast as they arrived, he had them shut up in the * *Hippodrome*, purposing there to expose them for a Spectacle, and have them destroy'd by his Elephants. But when the People were met on the Day appointed, and the Elephants brought forth, they were disappointed by the King's Absence, who having been drunk the Night before, and sleeping late that Morning, the Show was put off till another Day. A second Fit of Drunkenness caused another Reprieve, during which the *Jews* continued to lift up their Voices to God for Deliverance; and on the third Day, when the Tyrant came, the Hand of Providence evidently appeared for these unhappy innocent People: For the Elephants being brought forth, and made drunk with Wine and Frankincense to increase their Fury, instead of falling on the *Jews*, they turned upon the Spectators, and destroy'd great Numbers of them. *Philopator* was so terrify'd at this Sight, that he gave the *Jews* their Liberty, revok'd all his Decrees against them, and loaded them with Gifts and Favours, in

order to appease the Divine Vengeance; The Third + Book of the *Maccabees*, contains the History of this Affair.

Ptolemy Philometor, in the thirty-second Year of whose Reign *Onias* built the Temple of *Heliopolis*, was the second in Succession after *Philopator*. The *Jews* had hitherto continued in Obedience to the *Egyptian* Kings; so that even in Defence of *Philopator* against his rebellious Subjects, no less than forty thousand of them were slain, the very Year after he had contrived their utter Destruction in the Manner above related. And fifty Years after the Building of the Temple by *Onias*, the Children of that Priest saw themselves at the Head of *Cleopatra's* Army, when she Disputed the Sovereignty with her Son *Lathyrus*. Prophane Historians give an honourable Testimony of the *Jews* Fidelity that Time, in that they always fought for the Queen, when most of the *Egyptians* had deserted her. Besides the Temple at *Heliopolis*, they had now a beautiful Synagogue, and several Oratories, at *Alexandria*, for the Exercise of their Religion in that City; and we read no more of any considerable Trouble that they met with for a long Time after, even not till the Reign of *Caligula*, which was many Years after *Augustus* had reduced *Egypt* to a *Roman* Province by the *Actian* Victory.

Flaccus was Governor of *Egypt* under *Caligula*. This Man being willing to ingratiate himself with the Natives of his Province, encouraged them to treat the *Jews* with Contempt, as being Foreigners in that Country, and having no Right to defend themselves. They were now driven from Place to Place, and every where obliged to separate from the *Egyptians*, and live together in particular

* A large Place without the City, where the People used to assemble to see Horse-Races and other Shews.

+ This Book is not among the Apocryphal Books of our Old English Bibles, nor in the Latin Version from which that was taken; but 'tis in the Version of Tremellius and Junius.

Quarters of *Alexandria*. In a Word, the Persecution was violent, and they could meet with no Redress; for a Journal of the Proceedings against them being sent to *Caligula*, that Emperor only laugh'd at it. Upon this, *Philo* and four others were sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, in behalf of the whole Community; but their Deputation had no Effect, for *Caligula* required to be worshipped as a God, and have Sacrifices offered up to him, which the *Jews* would never consent to. During the Reign of *Claudius* these People had some Respite; but from that Time their Interests and Numbers continued greatly to decrease; so that of a Million of *Jews*, which were supposed to be in *Egypt*, far the greatest Part miserably perished, partly through their own seditious and rebellious Tempers, and partly by the just Judgments of God, which now began to fall heavily upon the whole Nation. 'Tis true they were still thought Citizens of *Alexandria*, and as such might come into publick Offices; and they had besides a King or supreme Magistrate of their own, whom they called *Alibarch*: But all this could not support them against the Scorn and Indignity with which they were every where treated. In fine, though upon the Destruction of *Jerusalem* great Numbers of them repaired into *Egypt*, as *Vespasian* had apprehended, yet the putting a Stop to their publick Worship there, by shutting the Temple at *Heliopolis*, prevented their making any considerable Figure in that Country; and the most that we hear of them after this, in *Egypt* as well as in other Places, is only a Series of Insurrections, Impostures, Persecutions, and Dispersions.

XX. This brief Account of the *Jewish* Affairs in *Egypt*, how much soever like a Digression it may seem, was not at all improper; for we shall have Occasion hereafter to refer to several Things therein mentioned. Concerning the Abode of the Holy Family in this Country, the sacred

Historian says no more than that they were there untill the Death of Herod, *Mat. 2. 15.* But when Herod was dead, behold an Angel of the Lord appeared in a Dream to Joseph in *Egypt*, saying, Arise, and take the young Child and his Mother, and go into the Land of Israel. --- And he came and dwelt in a City called Nazareth; That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene. These last Words have occasion'd many Conjectures; for it is nowhere said in any of the prophetic Books of the Old Testament, That the Messiah should be called a Nazarene: 'Tis certainly a Matter of great Importance to find the Meaning of the Holy Spirit in this Passage, and others of the like Kind, from which the *Jews* and Scepticks have taken Occasion to charge false Quotations upon the sacred Penmen. We shall put down, in order, several Interpretations of these Words of St. Matthew, together with some Remarks upon each.

1. *Jacob*, in the last Blessing which he gave to his beloved Son Joseph, *Gen. 49. 6.* has these Words: *The Blessings of thy Father have prevailed above the Blessings of my Progenitors: Unto the utmost Bounds of the everlasting Hills they shall be on the Head of Joseph, and on the Crown of the Head of him that was the Nazir of his Brethren.* Our Translators have explained the Nazir of his Brethren, by Him that was separate from his Brethren. The Nazarites among the *Jews* were such as separated themselves from other People by a Vow of Abstinence and Purity; and agreeably to this the Latin Version of these Words, is, *The Nazarite of his Brethren*; which amounts to the same Thing as the English *separate*. Now as Joseph was an eminent Type of Christ, some think it not improbable that the Evangelist might allude to these Words of *Jacob* and *Moses*, according to the Interpretation of them which is here introduced. Others take notice that the same

same Word *Nazir* signifies also a Crown, or one that is crowned, distinguished, honoured, chosen: In which Sense likewise the Allusion from *Joseph* to Christ is sufficiently clear. They tell us, that *Nazir* was a Name of Dignity in the Eastern Courts; and that at this Day the *Nazir* in *Persia* is Superintendant-general of the King's Household, first Officer of the Crown, Steward of the Revenues and Treasures; that he inspects all the other Officers of the Royal Table, Guards, and Pensions. Both these Interpretations may be just, and the Allusion according to either might be sufficiently strong, if we were at liberty to use it: But the Words of St. *Matthew* will by no means permit the Application of these Texts, as will be seen a little lower.

2. We read the following remarkable Prophecy in the Book of *Isaiab*, which has always been apply'd to the Messiah by the *Jews* as well as Christians. *And there shall come forth a Rod out of the Stem of Jesse, and a Branch (in Hebrew Nezer) shall grow out of his Roots, Isa. 11. 1.* St. *Jerom* was of Opinion, that the Evangelist had a Regard to the original Word of *Isaiab* in this Place, when he mentions the Prophets; and Dr. *Hammond* looks upon this as a commodious and satisfactory Interpretation of St. *Matthew's* Words. Indeed as the Prophecy of *Isaiab* is directed to *Jesus Christ*, and therefore there is no Transition from Person to Person in the Application of it, this Interpretation is in that respect more commodious than the former: But how much more satisfactory it may be, after the following Objection has been consider'd, we will not pretend to determine.

That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophets, and that *Jesus Christ* might be called a Nazarene, the Evangelist tells us, *He went and dwelt in a City called Nazareth.* Can any Thing be plainer than this? Why did he dwell in

Nazareth that he might be called a *Nazarene*, if he was afterwards called so upon any other Account? If he had this Name because he was a distinguished Person, set apart, or separated from other Men, because he was the Branch of the Root of *Jesse*, or, in a Word, if this Name was occasion'd by any thing but the Place of his Habitation, he might have assumed it at *Bethlehem*, in *Egypt*, at *Jerusalem*, or any where else in the whole World, altogether as well as at the City of *Nazareth* itself. This Objection is too strong to be eluded; and it holds good not only against the two Glosses above-mentioned, but against all others of the same Kind. The Force of it was confessed by Dr. *Hammond*, and he has endeavoured to answer it by another Invention, which indeed shews his Learning, but cannot support his Argument.

3. *Whitby* finds the same Fault as we have here done with those who deduce the *Nazarene* of St. *Matthew*, from the *Nezer* or *Branch* of the Prophet *Isaiab*, because none of them give an Account how this was fulfilled by Christ's being at *Nazareth*. But that Author seems not to have observed, that the strongest Part of the Objection against these Interpretations lies in this, That they make the Evangelist guilty of playing with Words, and founding the Name of our Lord upon a Witicism of the lowest Kind, to express which the Reader will easily find a proper Term. If *Whitby* had taken notice of this, he would never have fallen into the same Error; and that he has done so, besides being guilty of other Inconsistencies, will be seen in what follows. The *Nazarite*, says he, was a Name of Infamy put upon Christ and Christians, both by the unbelieving *Jews* and *Gentiles*. There was among the *Jews* a celebrated Thief, called *Ben Nezer*, and in Allusion to him they gave this Name to Christ. So *Abarbinel* saith, the little Horn mentioned by *Daniel*

Daniel, Dan. 7. 8. is *Ben Nezer*, that is, *Jesus of Nazareth*. And this Title of *Nazarene*, both the *Jews*, and the Enemies of Christianity, gave always by way of Contempt to our *Jesus*, and that because he was supposed to come out of this very City; yea his very going to dwell there was one Occasion of his being contemned, despised, and rejected by the *Jews*. The Doctor then quotes two Texts of the New Testament (*John* 1. 4. 7. and 7. 52) to prove that our Lord was despised because he was of *Nazareth*: After which he goes on to tell us, that most of the Prophets speak of Christ as of a Person that was to be reputed vile and abject, despised, and rejected of Men. Of this he also gives us two Instances, (*Psal.* 69. 9, 10. *Isa.* 53. 3.) and concludes thus: Here then is a plain Sense of these Words of *Matthew*. The Angel sent *Jesus* to this contemptible Place, that he might thence have a Name of Infamy, according to the frequent Intimations of the Prophets. To support this Interpretation, he had before observed, That as *St. Matthew* doth not cite any particular Prophet, but only the Prophets in general, it shews he took not the Words from the Prophets, but the Sense only.

For our own Part, we are not able to discover any Connection that the End of this Commentary has with the Beginning of it; the Reason why our Lord was called a *Nazarene* being altogether changed within the Compass of a few Lines. By deriving that Name from *Ben Nezer*, the Doctor has eviently taken up that very Method of Interpretation, which he had the Minute before rejected: For what has the City of *Nazareth* to do with *Ben Nezer* the Thief, any more than it had with *Nezer* the Branch? But his latter Etymology has a better Appearance; let us now examine whether 'tis more perfect, and may deserve to be called a plain Sense.

Matthew, says this learned Author,

had understood from the Prophets, that *Jesus* was to be despised; and therefore he tells us, that the Angel sent him to *Nazareth*, a contemptible Place, that he might thence have a Name of Infamy. But does *Matthew* in reality tell us this? His Words are only, He --- dwelt at *Nazareth*, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken --- He shall be called a *Nazarene*. The Evangelist has not a Syllable of this Contempt and Infamy. Are they then contained in the Word *Nazarene*? If they are, would this Evangelist, who elsewhere interprets the Word he alludes to, when it was not otherwise likely to be understood, have left them to be found out by the Reader, without giving them the least Hint for his Direction, either here or in any other part of his Gospel? 'Tis *St. John* that mentions the Contempt which the *Jews* put upon the City of *Nazareth*, and not *St. Matthew*, who had more Occasion to do it, if that Contempt was really the Reason of his telling us that *Jesus* dwelt at *Nazareth*. In short, this Interpretation, at the best, preserves much of that low kind of Allusion for which the former were rejected both by *Dr. Whitby* and ourselves, and which, in our Opinion, ought by no means to be charged on the sacred Penmen.

Perhaps we have been longer on this Piece of Criticism than may be agreeable to some Persons, who will therefore require a better Exposition of this Text than those which have been rejected. We see no Reason to think the Evangelist had any other View, than to allude to some Prediction concerning the Messiah, at that Time current among the *Jews*, which mentioned his being called a *Nazarene*, according to the natural Acceptation of the Word, as apply'd to an Inhabitant of the City of *Nazareth*: Whether this Prediction was only traditional, or recorded in some Book that is now lost, cannot with any certainty be said. There may be enough

enough offer'd in behalf of either of these Opinions to recommend them to a reasonable Person; for we know that the *Jews* had many things delivered down by oral Tradition only; and we know also that there are Writings referred to in the New Testament, which are not to be at all found in the present Canon of the Old. We should not have ventured to say thus, if we had not learnt that many of the antient Christians, who take notice of this Passage of Holy Writ, are of Opinion that the Apostle refers to some Writings of the Prophets that were then extant, but are since lost; and that some learn'd Moderns have thought they threw no Discredit on the inspired Penman, in believing he might even appeal to a current Opinion of that Time concerning the Messiah, which was delivered down by oral Tradition only.

But let the Origin of the Word *Nazarene*, as applied to our Blessed Saviour, have been what it will, we are certain that it afterwards became a common Name of the Apostles and first Christians, which was given them in Derision by the Enemies of their Religion. The Word had then nothing in it that was odious among Christians themselves, who had learned of their Master to bear all Manner of Reproach for the sake of him, and that new Revelation of which he had made them Partakers. The Fathers frequently mention the Gospel of the *Nazarenes*, which differ'd not at all from that of St. Matthew, 'till 'twas in Proceſs of Time corrupted by the *Ebionites*. Some of these *Nazarenes*, who preserved the Gospel in its primitive Purity, were in being so long as till the Time of St. Jerom, who has not reproached them with any Errors. Those of them who were called Hereticks, were Christians converted from *Judaism*, who continued to be zealous Observers of the Law of *Moses*: And the principal Error of which they were accused, was

that of defending the Necessity or Expediency of the Works of the Law, and an obstinate adhering to the Practice of the *Jewish* Ceremonies, that were abrogated by that New Religion, which they had thought fit to embrace.

Before we entirely part with the *Nazarenes*, 'twill be proper to speak a Word or two more concerning the *Nazarites* among the *Jews*, of whom St. John Baptist was one; the rather because these two Words are liable to be confounded, or mistaken the one for the other. The *Nazarites* were Men and Women who engaged themselves by a Vow, to abstain from Wine and all intoxicating Liquors, to let their Hair grow without cutting or shaving, not to enter any House that was polluted by having a dead Corpse in it, nor to be present at any Funeral. The Ceremonies of Consecration to the *Nazariteship* were many, and took up a considerable Time; yet if any one happened to die in the Presence of a *Nazarite*, that Devotee was obliged to repeat the whole Formality of his Initiation. Some of these were perpetual *Nazarites*, being consecrated by their Parents, and obliged to keep the Vows of Abstinence and Separation all the Days of their Lives. Of this kind were *Sampson* and *John the Baptist*, as may be collected from their Histories. Others were only voluntary Devotees for a determinate Time, at the End of which being released from their Vow by the Priest, they might again drink Wine, and live without Reserve, as before they took the Obligation upon them. We find that St. Paul had put himself under such a temporary Vow, at the Expiration of which he had his Hair cut at *Cenchrea*, a Port of *Corinth*, leaving the other Forms of his Release till his Arrival at *Jerusalem*, as was usual with Persons who travelled while they were bound by a Vow of *Nazariteship*. It was meritorious in those who were not in a Condition to put themselves

selves under such Obligations, if they contributed to the Expence of the Sacrifices and Offerings of those who had made and fulfilled Vows of this Kind: And *Josephus*, in order to magnify the Zeal and Devotion of King *Herod Agrippa*; takes notice of his having caused several *Nazarites* to be shaven, that is, paid the accustomed Charges of their Tonsure, and the Disengagement from their Vows. Here is enough to distinguish those *Nazarites* from the *Nazarene* Christians. The Word *Nazarene*, as well as a few other Particulars in the present Dissertation, may possibly have been treated of somewhat too diffusely: But 'tis difficult to part with Subjects of Controversy, upon which a great many Things have been said.

XXI. *Herod the Great*, King of the *Jews*, died whilst our Lord, with his Mother and her Husband, were in *Egypt*. He had three Brothers, whose Names were *Phasael*, *Joseph*, and *Pheroras*, who all died before him, and a Sister called *Salome*, who survived him, and had always a principal Share, in his Confidence and Favour. *Phasael* was made Governor of *Jerusalem*, by his Father *Antipater*, and *Herod of Galilee*, (both by the Consent of *Hyrchanus*, High-Priest and King of the *Jews*, to whom *Antipater* was Chief Minister,) when *Herod* was only twenty-five Years of Age. *Herod* behaved with so much Prudence and Valour in his Charge, that he restored the Peace of his Province, which had been disturbed by Abundance of Robbers. He took *Ezekiab*, the Captain of the Banditti, and thereby procured the Friendship of *Sextus Caesar*, Governor of *Syria*. But People of the first Rank growing jealous of *Antipater's* Family, made their Complaints to *Hyrchanus*, who summoned *Herod*, and come to justify his Conduct at *Jerusalem*. Thither *Herod* came, but so arm'd and attended that he terrify'd the Judges, all but one *Sameas*, who boldly charged *He-*

rod's Misconduct upon the King and Council, for that they had trusted him with too much Authority. But *Hyrchanus* being willing to save young *Herod*, and observing that the Judges, after this Speech of *Sameas*, were disposed to condemn him, he deferred Judgment till the next Day, and in the mean time advised him to make his Escape by Night. *Herod* took the Council of *Hyrchanus*, retired to *Sextus Caesar*, and was by him made Governor of *Cæle-Syria*; from whence marching with an Army to take revenge on those who occasion'd his being cited to *Jerusalem*, he was met in the Way by *Antipater* and *Phasael*, who prevailed with him to return peaceably. *Cassius* and *Brutus* again made him Governor of *Cæle-Syria* after the Murder of *Julius Caesar*, and promised him the Kingdom of *Judea* at the End of the War, which they were carrying on against *Mark Anthony* and *Octavianus Caesar*. About the same time *Antipater* was poisoned at *Jerusalem* by one *Malichus*; but *Herod* revenged the Death of his Father by that of the Murderer, whom he put to Death at *Tyre*. And about two Years after, *Brutus* and *Cassius* being dead, a hundred *Jews* of the first Rank accusing *Herod* and *Phasael* to *Mark Anthony*, that Roman demanded of *Hyrchanus* (who was then present, and who had promised his Grand-daughter *Mariamne* to *Herod* in Marriage) Whether *Herod* and *Phasael*, or their Accusers, were fittest to govern the State? *Hyrchanus* answer'd, The two Brothers. Whereupon *Anthony* immediately entrusted the Government of all *Judea* into their Hands, and imprisoned fifteen of the most mutinous against them, whom he had certainly put to Death, if *Herod* himself had not interceded in their Behalf.

XXII. The next Year *Herod* was declared King of the *Jews* by the Roman Senate: For *Antigonus*, the Son of *Aristobulus*, younger Brother of King *Hyrchanus*, having,

having, by the Help of the *Parthians*, dispossessed his Uncle *Hyrchanus*, and made him and *Phasaël* Prisoners, *Herod* was obliged to retire for his own Security: Whereupon coming to *Rome*, and informing *Anthony* and *Octavianus* of what had happened in *Judea*, they both, partly out of Respect to him, and partly, out of Hatred to *Antigonus* whom they looked upon as disaffected to the *Roman* People, united their Interest to get the said Declaration in *Herod's* Favour, which they effectually procured, and got *Antigonus* pronounced an Enemy to the Commonwealth at the same Time. With this new Title *Herod* returned to *Judea*, and carried on a War with *Antigonus*, in Conjunction with *Silo* and *Sofius*, two *Roman* Generals, till in the End they took *Jerusalem*, sent his Rival Prisoner to *Anthony*, and he became sole Master of *Palestine*. Just before the Siege of *Jerusalem*, *Herod* married his beloved *Mariamne*, the Daughter of *Hyrchanus*, at the City of *Samaria*: And in the preceding Year, while he was gone to visit *Anthony* in *Syria*, his Brother *Joseph*, whom he left to command in his Absence, venturing to engage the Enemy without Order, was unfortunately slain; but *Herod* revenged his Death upon *Pappus*, General of *Antigonus*, whom he slew in Battle, together with the greatest part of his Army. As for *Phasaël*, when he was taken Prisoner, knowing his Death to be determined, he beat out his Brains against the Prison Wall, to prevent the Executioner. *Hyrchanus* had his Life spared; but *Antigonus* cut off his Ears, to incapacitate him for being any longer High-Priest; for according to the Law, no Person was to enjoy that Dignity, who was not perfectly whole in all the Members of his Body. *Antigonus* then deliver'd him to the *Parthians*, to be carried by them into the East, where they afterwards suffered him to live peaceably among the *Babylonian Jews*, till he was secured and

put to Death by *Herod* about ten Years after, at above eighty Years of Age, under the sham Pretence of a Plot. And in him was cut off the last of the *Asmonean* Race: For *Aristobulus*, the Brother of *Mariamne*, having been made High-Priest in the 3d Year after the taking of *Jerusalem*, *Herod* soon took Care to have him murdered, in a Manner as crafty as it was cruel, purely because he appeared to be the Darling of the People. The young Prince, being invited to an Entertainment by *Herod*, was persuaded to bathe after Dinner, in Company with several others, who, by *Herod's* Appointment, ducked him under Water in a Shew of Pastime, till they drowned him in earnest. This Affair had like to have been fatal to *Herod*: For *Alexandra*, the Mother of *Aristobulus*, made great Complaints to *Cleopatra*, who so wrought upon *Anthony*, that he sent for *Herod* to come to justify himself; but the artful Tyrant managed it so well, with Presents and fine Words, that *Anthony* dropt the Prosecution. Soon after this, *Herod* had an Opportunity of shewing his Gratitude to *Anthony*; for the Civil War between him and *Octavianus* breaking out, *Herod* espoused the Cause of his Benefactor. *Anthony* being overcome, *Herod* was again in Danger from the Resentment of the Victor: To prevent this Storm, he met *Octavianus* at *Rhodes*, appeared before him in Royal Robes, and spoke with such Constancy and seeming Greatness of Soul, of the Reasons why he stood for *Anthony*, and of his Readiness to do the same for *Octavianus* himself, that he perfectly recovered the Esteem of that Prince, to whom, and to his Friends, he made large Presents, and afterwards entertained him and his whole Army in *Palestine*, on their Way to *Egypt*, with all Manner of Provisions.

XXIII. *Octavianus* being returned to *Rome*, the Senate complimented him with the

the Name of *Augustus*, and entrusted the whole *Roman* Empire in his Hands. In the mean Time *Herod*, who seemed to be in full Possession of all that he could wish, was disturbed by domestick Divisions, and Misfortunes of different Kinds; which, in the Midst of the greatest Prosperity, made him one of the most unhappy Princes of his Age. And from this Time to the End of his Life, though his Wars were successful, and his Dominions almost continually enlarged; though in the sumptuous Buildings he erected, and the Magnificence of every thing he did, he excelled any King of the *Jews* that ever was, *Solomon* only excepted; notwithstanding all this, the greatest Part of his History contains only a Series of Jealousies, Plots, Cruelties, Murders, and every Thing else that is horrible and shocking to human Nature.

When *Herod* was summoned before *Anthony*, to answer for the Death of *Aristobulus*, he left the Government of *Judea* to his Uncle *Joseph*, charging him particularly, in case himself was put to Death by *Anthony*, not to let *Mariamne* survive him, but immediately to cut her off, that no-body after him might enjoy so rare a Beauty, and especially *Anthony*, who he was informed had a Passion for her. *Joseph* during *Herod's* Absence frequently waited on *Mariamne*, and at last blabb'd out the whole Secret to her, in order to convince her how excessively she was beloved. This Story so touched the Queen, that when *Herod* came Home she upbraided him with it; the Consequences of which were, the Death of *Joseph*, and a Suspicion of *Mariamne's* Fidelity; for the Tyrant imagined that such a Secret would never have been told but in a criminal Conversation. Some Time after an Order of the same Kind was given to *Sobemus*,

one of *Herod's* Confidants, who had the Care of Affairs while the King waited upon *Octavianus*, after the Defeat of *Anthony*; and this also was told to *Mariamne*, but she kept it from the King, out of Respect to *Sobemus*. This instance of his Cruelty, added to the former, so alienated her Affections from *Herod*, that she could not but discover some new Resentment at his Return; and *Herod* upon her Coldness was apt to be as violently jealous of her, as at other Times he was passionately fond, tho' he did not as yet believe that *Sobemus* had told the Secret. Now the Mother and Sister of *Herod* having a Quarrel with *Mariamne*, upon some foolish Point of Honour, they lost no Opportunities of irritating him against her, till at last they found an Occasion to work the utter Destruction of that virtuous and innocent Queen.

The Murder of her || Father, * Grandfather, † Brother, and †† Uncle, all put to Death by *Herod's* Procurement, and the utter Ruin of her Family through his Means, were reviv'd in *Mariamne's* Breast, by the cruel Orders against herself; and a continual Meditation on these Things had wrought in her such an Antipathy towards her Husband, that she shew'd it to all his Relations, and particularly to *Cyprus* and *Salome*, his Mother and Sister above-mentioned. But *Herod* had in reality so great a Passion for this beautiful Princess, that all her ill Treatment of him, and his own Jealousy, could never abate it, till upon sending for her one Day into his Chamber, and offering her his Embraces, she not only turned from him with Scorn, but provoked him so far with bitter Reproaches for the Death of her Relations, that he could scarce forbear to lay violent Hands upon her immediately. *Salome* took the Advantage of this Fit of

|| Alexander the Son of Aristobulus.

†† Antigonus

* Hyrcanus.

† Aristobulus the High Priest

Rage, by sending in his Butler, whom she had suborned for that Purpose, to accuse *Marianne* of tempting him to administer to him a poisonous Draught. This adding to *Herod's* Rage, he ordered the Queen's Favourite Eunuch, without whose Privy she did nothing, to be immediately tortured; but all that could be extorted from him was, that Something which *Sobemus* had told the Queen had put her into so ill a Humour. This Something was quickly judged by the King to be the Secret above-mentioned; whereupon *Sobemus* was immediately put to Death upon the same Suspicion that *Joseph* had suffer'd before, and a Bench of Judges were pack'd to try *Marianne*, of whom he was now more jealous than ever he had been before. These Judges were all Creatures of the King; and perceiving by the Vehemency with which he himself in Person accused her, that nothing but a Sentence of Death would give Satisfaction, they accordingly pass'd it upon her. *Herod* did not intend to precipitate her Execution; but the Malice of his Mother and Sister soon procur'd what his Passion for her might otherwise have prevented; for they telling him continually, that if she was kept alive the People would rise in her Behalf, their Suggestions terrify'd him into a Compliance. *Marianne* died as she had lived, great, firm, and intrepid to the last. This virtuous and generous Princess, in the Charms and Graces of her Person, excelled all the Women of her Time, and would have been a Lady without Exception, if she could have carried it with a better Temper towards her Husband. But considering that he built his Fortune upon the Destruction of her Family, and had twice ordered her own Death, 'tis a Question whether the most prudent Woman in the World could have acted towards him with greater Complaisance than she did.

Herod's Rage being quenched with *Marianne's* Blood, his Love to her again re-

vived; whereupon followed such a bitter Scene of late Repentance, as is scarce any where else to be met with. Agonies of Sorrow, Regret, and tormenting Remorse for what he had done, fill'd his Mind, which would not suffer him to rest either Day or Night. Wheresoever he went, the Thoughts of *Marianne* followed him, and caus'd bitter Reflections in his Breast. These he endeavour'd to stifle, by Wine, Company, Feasting, and other Divertisements; but none of them effecting his Relief, he at length fell into downright Distraction, in the Fits of which he would often call for *Marianne*, and order his Servants to bring her to him, as if she were still alive. Hereupon also followed a grievous Pestilence, which every Body look'd upon as a Judgment from God for the Death of the Queen. This so added to *Herod's* Disorder, that he threw up the Care of all Business, retir'd to *Samaria*, and there fell into a violent Sickness, under which he languish'd for some time. And though with Difficulty he at last got rid of his Distemper, and return'd to *Jerusalem*, yet he never again recover'd his former Temper, but was observ'd to act with greater Rigour and Cruelty from this Time to the End of his Life, than ever he had done before. *Alexandra*, the Mother of *Marianne*, was the next after her Daughter that felt his Fury. When *Herod* was sick at *Samaria*, this Princess, imagining he would die, treated with the Governors of two Castles, which commanded all *Judea*, to have them deliver'd into her Hands, under Pretence of securing the Succession to *Herod's* Sons by *Marianne*. But the Governors, liking neither her nor her Designs, sent an Account of the Affair to *Herod*, who immediately gave Orders for her being put to Death. *Alexandra* had a strong and active Genius, which could never be at rest: But in Virtue she was far behind her Daughter, at whose

whose Death she had acted a very scandalous and infamous Part, in order to save her own Life; for as that unfortunate Princess was led to Execution, *Alexandra* railed at her publicly, and reproached her with being ungrateful towards a kind Husband, all which *Mariamne* took without answering a Word. We have been more particular in this Account of *Mariamne's* Death, and the immediate Consequences of it, than we shall be in speaking of any other Part of *Herod's* Life; and that because we think it gives a very lively Picture of the Tyrant's Mind.

XXIV. *Salome* was much of her Brother's Temper. Her second Husband was one *Costobarus*, an *Idumean*. Being weary of this Man, she sent him a Bill of Divorce, contrary to the Laws of the *Jews*, which permitted the Husband to divorce the Wife, but not the Wife the Husband. And the better to make her court to *Herod*, she sham'd a Plot upon the innocent Man, joining with him *Lysimachus*, *Antipater*, and *Dositheus*, all Men of Note in the same Country. These were sacrificed to the Pique of *Salome*, and with them the Sons of *Babas*, who were Sticklers for the *Asmonæan* Party, but had hitherto been concealed from *Herod's* Resentment by *Costobarus*, which was the only real Crime that appeared against him. And now all the Favourers of the ancient Royal Family, as well as the Family itself, being cut off, *Herod*, thinking himself secure, began to deviate from the *Jewish* Customs, and to introduce Foreign and Pagan Rites. He built at *Jerusalem* a Theatre and an Amphitheatre, like those at *Rome*, and exhibited in them Games and Shows in Honour of *Augustus*, which were much disliked by the Generality of

the *Jews*. But nothing offended them more at first, than certain † Trophies, which he set up round the Theatre; for they took them to be Images, till they were convinced to the contrary. All these Innovations were the Occasion of a Conspiracy against him; in which about ten Persons were concerned. They were to assassinate him with Daggers in the Theatre, whither they went for that Purpose. But one of *Herod's* Spies having gotten a Hint of their Design, discovered it to the King just as he entered the Theatre, when the Plot was ready to have been executed; whereupon the Conspirators were all seiz'd, and put to Death by the most exquisite Torments. The Person who made this Discovery was torn to Pieces by the People, which plainly shew'd how much they wished to have the Tyrant cut off: But *Herod* found out the Actors in this Affair also, and put them every one to Death. In the same Year that this Conspiracy was defeated *Herod*, rebuilt *Samaria*, which had been destroyed by *John Hyrcanus*, and called it *Sebastæ*, * in Honour of *Augustus*. He also melted down the Plate of his Palace to buy Corn for the People, who suffered under a grievous Famine. And this Action had the desired Success; for it reconciled to him the Affections of his People, and made his Name famous in foreign Nations. But he could not long sustain the Character of a good Prince; for his Tyrannical Administration continuing, after this vain-glorious Deed, he very soon lost all its happy Effects at Home, and became again the Object of his People's Odium as much as ever.

The next Year *Herod* began to build him a stately Palace on Mount *Sion*, the Magnificence of which, when finished,

† A Trophy was a Suit of Armour, with the Head-piece put upon the Stem of a Tree.

* *Sebastos* is Greek for *Augustus*.

was such, that in some Respects it exceeded even the Temple itself. This Palace was especially famous for two sumptuous Apartments therein; one of which was called *Cesareum*, in Honour of *Augustus Caesar*, and the other *Agrippæum*, in Honour of *Agrippa*, the principal Favourite of *Augustus*. And the same Year he furnished *Augustus* with 500 Men out of his Guards towards an Expedition against the southern *Arabs*, in which *Ælius Gallus*, the Roman General, lost above Half his Army, and returned without Success. From this Time till the Building of the Temple was proposed, *Herod* was chiefly employed in raising other magnificent Structures, quelling the Free-booters in his Neighbourhood, and defending himself against his Enemies, who accused him to *Augustus*. Among the Buildings, || *Herodium* was erected about seven Miles from *Jerusalem*, in a Place where he had formerly defeated the *Parthians*, and the *Jews* of the *Asmonæan* Party, when he fled from *Antigonus*. *Cæsarea* was another City, which he built in Honour of *Augustus*, after he had finished *Sebastæ*. It stood upon the Sea-Coast of *Palestine*, at a Place before called *Straton's-Tower*; and he not only made it a magnificent City, but the most commodious Port in all the Coasts of *Phœnicia*; so that when *Judea* was reduced to a Roman Province, this City was the usual Residence of the Governor. *Herod* also married about this Time another *Mariamne*, the Daughter of one *Simon*, an ordinary Priest at *Jerusalem*, whom he thereupon advanced to the High-priest-hood. *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, his Sons by the former *Mariamne*, he sent to *Rome* for their Education, where they had Apartments in the Palace of *Augustus*, who moreover gave *Herod* full Liberty to leave his Kingdom to which of his Sons he should think fit, adding at the

same time to his Territories, several Districts, which lay beyond the Sea of *Gallilee*. *Herod* also waited upon *Agrippa* and *Augustus* in Person, when they severally came into the East, and built a Temple to the latter, in a remote Part of his Dominions, as an Acknowledgment for all the Favours of that Emperor. By this idolatrous Flattery, and other Compliances with heathen Usages, he farther alienated from him the Hearts of all those *Jews*, who were zealous for the Religion of their Forefathers. *Herod* saw this, and endeavoured to excuse himself, by alledging the Necessity he was under of pleasing *Augustus* and the *Romans*. But still the Discontent encreased; to prevent the ill effects of which he prohibited all Meetings at Feasts and Clubs, and would at the same time have imposed an Oath of Fidelity on all his Subjects; but was so vigorously opposed therein by *Hillel* and *Shammai*, the President and Vice-president of the *Sanhedrim*, that he was obliged to drop his Design.

When *Herod* had reign'd eighteen Years, had finished his Buildings at *Sebastæ*, and far advanced those at *Cæsarea*, perceiving himself in the full Enjoyment of Peace and Plenty, he formed a Design of new building the Temple at *Jerusalem*, thinking thereby not only to regain the Affections of the *Jews*, but also to erect a Monument of lasting Honour to his own Name. The Temple built after the Return of the *Jews* from *Babylon*, fell much short of that of *Solomon* in Height, Magnificence, and other Particulars; and five hundred Years being elapsed since its Erection, several Decays had happened to it, both by Length of Time, and the Injuries of War. For the amending of all these Defects and Decays, *Herod* proposed in a general Assembly of the People, his Intention of Building the whole a-new.

|| A Palace, so called from his own Name.

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The People were startled at the Proposal, apprehending that when he had pulled down the old Temple, he would neither have Ability nor Inclination to perform his Promise. But the King perceiving this, assured them, that he would not take down the old Structure, till he had gotten Materials ready for immediately erecting a new one; and this in some Measure delivered them from their Fears. Accordingly he forthwith began the Preparations, employing therein a thousand Waggon for carrying of Stones and Timber, ten thousand Artificers to fit Things for the Work, and a thousand Priests, skill'd in Architecture, to supervise the whole. In two Years time the Materials were all prepar'd, and in nine Years and a Half after that the new Temple was made fit for Divine Service, tho' a great Number of Workmen were still employ'd about it in the Time of our Lord's publick Ministry. Eighteen thousand of these were afterwards discharged at one Time, when *Gessius Florus* was Governor of *Judea*, and their Mutinies for Want of Work were the Beginning of those Seditions, which afterwards ended in the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the Temple with it.

While the Work of the Temple was carrying on, *Herod* made a Voyage to *Italy*, in order to visit his two Sons, and pay his Respects to *Augustus*. In his Way thither he stopp'd in *Greece*, to see the *Olympick Games*, giving a large Sum for the restoring of them to their former Solemnity; in return for which he had the Honour of being chosen President of those Games during Life. He was received at *Rome* with great Kindness by *Augustus*, from whom having desired back his Sons, now fully instructed in all the *Roman Exercises* and Literature, he returned with them into *Judea*, where by the Comeliness of their Persons, the Agreeableness of their Behaviour, and other laudible Qua-

lifications, they drew to them the Love and Esteem of all the *Jews*; except *Salome*, and her Accomplices in procuring the Death of *Mariamne*, who fearing the Revenge of the young Men, were never at rest till they had accomplished their Destruction also. In the mean time they were married by their Father, *Alexander* to *Glaphyra* the Daughter of *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, and *Aristobulus* to *Berenice* the Daughter of *Salome*.

The two following Years were spent by *Herod* in entertaining of *Agrippa*, in assisting him against the *Cimmerian Bosphorans*, and in procuring from him a Confirmation of Privileges to the *Asiatick Jews*. But after his two Sons by *Mariamne* had lived with him about three Years, they fell grievously under his Displeasure. They let fall many rash Words, which expressed their Resentments for the Death of their Mother, with Threats upon the Authors of it; at which *Salome* and *Pheroras* being alarmed, they took Care to represent all those indiscreet Sallies to *Herod*, as if they included Threats against himself. And the more to ensnare the young Men, frequent Occasions were taken to provoke them, and make them speak out all the Anger and Indignation of their Minds; which being carried to *Herod*, with malicious Glosses and Aggravations, had all the Effect that was intended, in exciting him to be jealous of his two Sons. The Consequence of this was, that whereas they had hitherto held the first Place among his Children, and were designed his Successors in the Kingdom, they were now obliged to give way to *Antipater*, another of his Sons, by *Doris* his first Wife, who was called to Court, and placed over their Heads. This he did in order to humble the two Brothers, whom probably he intended to have received again to Favour upon their Submission; but it working the quite contrary Way, in provoking them to more intemperate Language, he was still

still further exasperated against them. *Antipater* was very crafty as well as malicious, and knew how to make his Advantage of these Things. He got his Mother restored to the Favour of the King, from whom she had been formerly divorced to make Way for *Mariamne*, the Mother of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*. The Destruction of these Princes was now the principal Point in View, and all Things at Court seemed to hasten it forwards: For the Breach between *Herod* and them growing wider and wider, at the End of about two Years after it first began, being no longer able to bear his Apprehensions concerning them, he took them with him to *Italy*, and there in Person accused them before *Augustus*. The Charge was, that they carried themselves insolently and undutifully towards him, and had formed Designs to take away his Life by Poison. But *Augustus* quitted them of the main Point; of which nothing appeared but groundless Suspicions; and having reconciled their Father to them, sent them all back in Friendship. *Herod*, upon his Return to *Jerusalem*, related publicly the Event of his Journey, and, according to the Power given him by *Augustus*, named *Antipater* to succeed him first in the Kingdom, and after him the Sons of *Mariamne*. While this Peace continued in his Family, he perfected some of the great Buildings before undertaken, and added to them several other new Cities, three of which he called *Antipatris*, *Cypron*, and *Phasaelis*, in honour of his Father, his Mother, and his elder Brother. But *Salome*, *Pheroras*, and *Antipater*, still pursuing their Plot against the two Brothers, the former Jealousies were again revived, and in about two Years more were carried as high as ever; so that the young Men had certainly been sacrificed to the present Resentment of their Father, if the Breach had not been once more made up by *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, the Fa-

ther-in-Law of *Alexander*, who came to *Jerusalem* for that Purpose.

Herod about this time paid another Visit to *Augustus*; and at his Return dedicated the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and destroy'd a great Number of the *Trachonite* Thieves. In this last Affair he was accused to *Augustus*, as if he had invaded *Arabia* with a great Army; and continued under the Emperor's Displeasure till a just Account of the whole Expedition restored him again to Favour. This Perplexity was immediately followed, or rather accompanied, by another Domestick one; for his Quarrel with the Sons of *Mariamne* was again revived, and this was their last and fatal Breach. The old King was now so thoroughly possessed with the Notion of their being in a conspiracy against his Life, that though nothing was proved against them but a Design to make their Escape into some other Country, he was yet resolved on their Destruction, and wrote to *Augustus* for Leave to proceed against them. The Emperor in a kind Answer condoled his Misfortunes, advised him to call a Council at *Berytus*, and there, with the Assistance of the Neighbouring Princes and Governors of Provinces, examine and determine the whole Matter; after which he might inflict on them such Punishment as their Crimes should deserve. *Herod* proceeded accordingly, and Sentence of Condemnation was pronounced against them, which he was to execute as he thought fit: Whereupon sending them to *Sebastie*, he caused them there to be both strangled. The Death of these unfortunate Princes happen'd in the Year wherein the Angel appeared in the Temple to *Zacharias*, the Father of *John the Baptist*, as he there officiated in his Course. And at the Beginning of the next Year, about the Time that the same Angel brought the blessed News of our Lord's Conception to the Virgin *Mary*, a Plot of *Antipater's* against

gainst his Father was detected, into which he had also drawn *Pheroras*, the old King's only surviving Brother. For the Sons of *Mariamme* being dead, nothing now stood between *Antipater* and the Crown, but the Life of *Herod*, which they had therefore determined to take away by Poison. The Cause of *Pheroras*'s engaging in this Affair, was a Quarrel which he had just before with *Herod*, about a Marriage Story, which went so high that *Pheroras* was forbid the Court. He thereupon returned to his own Tetrarchy, and *Antipater* got himself called to *Rome*, that they both might be out of the Way when their Plot was executed. The Poison was procured by *Pheroras*, who gave it to his Wife to lay up, till there should be an Opportunity of getting it administered to *Herod*. But *Pheroras* falling sick, and dying immediately after, his Wife confessed the whole Design, which was also made out by other clear Evidence. *Herod* now saw too late the Wickedness of *Antipater*, and was convinced that he had procured the Death of his Brothers with the same View that he had designed that of his Father. It was but Justice that such a Wretch should suffer, and it so happened that the Discovery was not communicated to him at *Rome*, or upon the Way back, time enough to prevent his returning into *Herod*'s Power. The Birth of our Lord happened during this Absence of *Antipater*, and was immediately followed by the Arrival of the Wisemen, and the Death of the Holy Innocents, of all which Particulars we have already treated. In fine, *Antipater* being returned from *Rome* into *Judea*, was there convicted of treasonable Designs against his Father before *Quintilius Varus*, President of *Syria*, and Sentence of Condemnation passed upon him; which Sentence being confirmed by *Augustus*, he was accordingly put to Death: And five Days after died *Herod* himself.

XXV. Knowing how much he was hated by the *Jews*, *Herod* concluded rightly, that there would be no Lamentation at his Death, but rather Gladness and Rejoicing for it all the Country over. To prevent this, he framed a Project and Resolution in his Mind, which perhaps was one of the most horrid and wicked that ever entered into the Heart of Man. For having issued out a Summons, to all the principal and most eminent of the *Jews* of his Kingdom, commanding their Appearance at *Jericho*, where he then lay, on pain of Death at a Day appointed, on their Arrival he shut them all up in the *Circus*, and then sending to *Salome*, and *Alexas* her Husband, commanded them, that as soon as he was dead, they should send in the Soldiers upon them, and put them all to the Sword. For this, said he, will provide Mourners for my Funeral all over the Land, and make the *Jews* in every Family thereof lament at my Death, whether they will or no; and when he had adjured them hereto, some Hours after he gave up the Ghost. But *Salome* and *Alexas*, not being quite wicked enough to do what they had been made solemnly to promise, or else being afraid to engage in so dangerous a Project, rather chose to break their Obligation than make themselves the Executioners of this bloody and horrid Design; and therefore, as soon as *Herod* was dead, they opened the *Circus*, and permitted all that were shut up in it to return again every Man to his own Home, without any Wrong done to any of them. This History of this his most wicked Design (says the learned Author whose Words we here transcribe) take off all Objection against the Truth of his murdering the Innocents, which may be made from the Incredibility of so barbarous and horrid an Act. For this thoroughly shews, that there can nothing be imagined so cruel, barbarous, and horrid, which this Man was not capable of doing.

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In most of his Actions may be seen the Character of a bloody, cruel, and wicked Tyrant; but in none more than in these two: And the Disease of which he died, and the Misery which he suffered under it, plainly shew, that the Hand of God was then in a very signal Manner upon him for the Punishment of them. The Account which *Josephus*, and from him *Eusebius*, gives us of it, is as followeth: "Herod's Disease grew yet more and more bitterly violent, God exacting his Vengeance upon him, for the Punishment of the many great Enormities he had been guilty of. He had a slow Fever, not shewing itself to the outward Touch and Feeling, as more grievously burning him within: Moreover he had a strong canine Appetite for Meat, which nothing could satisfy. His Bowels were ulcerated, especially the Colon Gut, from whence he suffered grievous Pains. His Feet being swollen, from thence issued forth a Phlegmatick and shining Humour. Moreover the Disease had seized the lower Part of his Belly, and an Ulcer broke out in his Genitals breeding Worms and Lice. Besides, he had a Shortness of Breath, and that very stinking and unsavory: And he had also a troublesome Flux of Rheum with it, and an asthmatick Difficulty of breathing. And the Patient not having Strength to bear all this, there followed a Convulsion of all the Parts of his Body." This is the Account of *Josephus* and *Eusebius*. And thus died this wicked Man in horrible Pain and Torment, smitten of God in this signal and grievous Manner, for his many enormous Iniquities. That most others of the great Persecutors of God's People have died the like Manner of Death, is well known to those who have been to any considerable Degree conversant in Ecclesiastical History.

Basnage tells us, that *Herod* was brave,

vigilant, skilful, magnificent, and a good Politician. This is certainly a very just Character of him; but here ends the Catalogue of every thing in him that was praise-worthy. The Inhabitants of *Judea*, says the same Author, hated him mortally, notwithstanding he rebuilt their Temple, and distributed a prodigious Quantity of Corn among them, in the Time of a very hard Famine. If this Nation suspended their Hatred whilst their Wants and his Charity lasted, it was as inveterate as ever when the Dearth was over. Almost all the Passages of his Life that have been here related, prove that he was most excessively cruel. Those whom he loved best fell a Sacrifice to his Passion, and he could murder the Person for whom he was even distracted. His Jealousy of the *Jews*, and particularly of the *Asmonean* Family, made him careful to remove out of the Way every one whom he had but the least Ground to suspect. His Religion, if he may be said to have had any, was very much leaning towards Paganism, though it cannot be denied that he was a *Jew*. So far was he from submitting to the Clergy in any Thing of Consequence, that he put two High-Priests to Death, and deposed four. No doubt, but the Fathers have charged upon him some particular Instances of Cruelty, of which he was not guilty; for this they were to blame, there being no need to heap imaginary Barbarities upon a Man, who had so many real ones to answer for. His Sister *Salome*, a Person as wicked as himself, by her crafty and malicious Intrigues, caused a great many of the Mischiefs with which the Reign of *Herod* is so filled. This Woman died about twelve Years after her Brother, living long enough to see a *Roman* Governor presiding in *Judea*, and to hear of the Banishment of *Archelaus*.

Herod had nine Wives, and by them many Children. We have mentioned three

three of his Sons whom he put to Death. Of the rest of his Posterity, 'Tis not necessary to take notice of any but such as are named in the New Testament, and they are these following: By *Malibace*, one of his Wives, he had † *Archelaus*, and * *Herod Antipas*; by *Cleopatra*, another of his Wives, he had † *Philip*; and by the last *Mariamne*, the Daughter of *Simon*, he had †† *Herod Phillip*. *Aristobulus*, whom *Herod* put to Death, had by *Berenice* his Wife, King ** *Agrippa*, who slew *James* the Brother of *John*, and afterwards was † smitten at *Casarea*; and also † *Herodias* his Sister, who first married *Herod Phillip* her Uncle, and afterwards eloped from him to marry *Herod Antipas*. By her first Husband she had * *Salome*, who danced off the Head of *John the Baptist*, because he reproved *Herod Antipas* for his incestuous Adultery with her Mother. Of King *Agrippa* the First was born King † *Agrippa* the Second, before whom *Paul* pleaded his Cause, and his two Sisters *Drusilla* and *Berenice*, the first of which was Wife to *Felix*, the Procurator of *Judea*, and the other was present with her Brother at *Casarea*, when *Paul's* Cause

was there heard before him. *Herod* was King of all *Judea*, and of all those other Provinces over which his Sons afterwards reigned. 'Tis however plain from his whole Story, that he was not altogether an independant Sovereign, but enjoyed his Kingdom as a Vassal or Subject of the *Roman Empire*. This has been clearly proved, as we could here shew, if it was at all necessary to enter into such a Controversy. *Jacob's* Oracle drew towards its Accomplishment, and the Scepter was by Degrees removed from *Judah*, till it was wholly taken away upon the Deposition of *Archelaus*, of which we shall say somewhat more hereafter. 'Tis sufficient to take notice here, that immediately after the Death of *Herod*, his Kingdom was divided between *Archelaus*, *Herod Antipas*, and *Philip*, three of the Sons before-mentioned. *Archelaus* † had *Judea*, *Idumea*, and *Samaria*; *Philip* had *Auronitis*, *Trachonitis*, *Panæas*, and *Batanea*; and *Herod Antipas* had *Galilee* and *Perea*. This was according to the Will of their Father, which was confirmed by *Augustus*.

- † Matth. ii. 22. * Matth. xiv. 1. 3. 6. Mark vi. Luke iii. viii. ix. xiii. xxiii. Acts iv. 27.
 † Luke iii. 1. †† Matth. xiv. 3. Mark iv. 17. ** Acts xii. 1. 2.
 †† Acts xii. 20. 23. † Matth. xiv. 3. Mark vi. 17. * Matth. xiv. 6. 11.
 Mark vi. 21. 28. † Acts xxiv. xxv. xxvi.
 † Joseph. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 13. See also Matth. ii. 22. and Luke iii.



CHAP. IV.

- I. *Little known of our Lord's Infancy and Youth.* II. *He goes to Jerusalem with his Parents, and stays behind them there.* III. *They find him in the Temple, disputing with the Doctors.* IV. *Conjectures on the Subject and Manner of this Conference.* V. *Discourse between our Lord and his Mother.* VI. *Our Lord's Diligence in his Office, and Respect to his earthly Parents.* VII. *Whether he actually encreased in Wisdom.* VIII. *His Manner of Conversation collected from the Evangelists.* IX. *That he followed the Trade of his reputed Father.* X. *Instances of his Humility and Wisdom.*

THE Scripture leaves us very much in the Dark concerning the Manner in which our Lord spent his Childhood and Youth, and indeed how he was employ'd from his Infancy till he was thirty Years of Age, which includes far the greatest Part of his Life. Little or nothing of these Things is to be found in any authentick History; and St. Luke, who is more particular in his Account of our Lord's Nonage than any other of the Evangelists, says no more of it, than that *the Child grew, and waxed strong in Spirit, filled with Wisdom; and the Grace of God was upon him,* Luke 2. 40. And afterwards, speaking of his Life at Nazareth, he only tells us, that *he was subject to his Parents, that he encreased in Wisdom and Stature, and in Favour with both God and Man,* Luke 2. 51, 52. The Silence of the Holy Spirit with regard to the many Particulars that must have passed in such a long Course of Time, may afford Variety of useful Reflections, which the well-disposed Reader will easily make. Thus much may reasonably be concluded from what is left on Record, that our Lord was not subject to those Infirmities of Mind, which are common to other Children; but that on the contrary, he was all Seriousness, Modesty, and Sweetness; ever well pleased, observant, and obliging: Nor can we doubt but that he was much employ'd in Prayers,

No. XVIII.

Meditations, and spiritual Converse with his heavenly Father. From this general Mark we proceed to take notice of that single History relating to our Lord's Youth, which is left on Record, the Account of his going up to Jerusalem, with his Mother and Joseph, when he was only twelve Years of Age, and his Conversation there with the Doctors in the Temple.

II. Before this, as we may learn from the Words of St. Luke above quoted, the Favour of God towards him was very remarkable, so that the Divine Spirit, with which he was filled, began to appear even in his very Infancy. The wonderful Progress he made in Wisdom, the visible Stedfastness of his Mind, and a Composure of Countenance beyond what was ever before seen in one so young, were so many early Testimonies of his Divinity. While more and more of this kind was every Year discovered, his Parents continued their pious Custom, which was indeed the Custom of the Jews in general, of going up to Jerusalem at the Feast of the Passover. Whether or no Jesus ever went with them before he was twelve Years of Age, is not said; but it seems likely that this was the first Time of his appearing in publick. When he was twelve Years old therefore, having been with them seven Days in the Course of their Attendance at the Temple, as they

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were

were upon their Return homewards, he privately withdrew himself from them, and tarried behind in *Jerusalem*. In the mean time *Joseph* and *Mary*, supposing him to be somewhere in the Company of their Friends and Acquaintance, who had been at the Holy City, on the same Errand with themselves, went forwards one whole Days Journey in their Way home, enquiring for him of such Persons as they thought the most likely to give them Satisfaction.

III. But having sought him all Day in this Manner without Success, and being now convinced that he was not with any of their Relations and Friends, they turned back again to the City, enquiring of every one they met with no small Concern, and looking every where for him as they passed along. At last, after three Days spent in the Search, they found him in the Outer-Court of the Temple, seated in the midst of the Doctors, both hearing them, and asking them Questions. For the better understanding of this, 'tis necessary to observe, that about the Outer Court of the Temple, commonly called the Court of the People, were certain Porches, or Chambers, called also *Gazophylaria*, from the Goods and Treasures of the Temple repositied in them. These Rooms belonged to the Priests, and in these the Doctors of the Law, assembling at certain Hours of the Day, expounded the Mosaical Institutions to the People, debating the Difficulties that occurred with one another. Hither also they admitted such Youth as applied themselves to Learning, and gave them necessary Instructions, the same as in their other Schools, erected for that Purpose only.

IV. 'Twas in this Assembly of the Doctors, that *Jesus* presented himself, and not only gave Attention to their Disputes, as probably others of his Age might do at the same Time, but likewise propounded difficult Questions unto them; and,

what was yet more, when the Doctors could not solve them, he explained them himself, and that so much to the Satisfaction of the Auditors, and the Confusion of the Doctors, that all present were astonished at the great Wisdom conspicuous in him, and wondered to hear a Child excel in Understanding not only Men, but such Men as were reputed the most knowing and learned among them. Certainly there was something very extraordinary and divine in this his Appearance: And since he himself guided the Discourse, as he did afterwards in the Synagogue at *Nazareth*, where he opened the Book at a Place that spoke of himself, we may very well imagine the Subject disputed of with the Doctors to have been some Prophecy concerning the *Messiah*. The Admiration which he raised might have produced further Enquiry after him, had not the coming in of such mean People as *Joseph* and *Mary*, who appeared to be his Parents, abated their Esteem of him, and drawn a Veil over the Eyes of such lazy Searchers after Truth, or envious Rivals of his surprising Knowledge, as we may suppose these Doctors and their Hearers to have been.

V. *Joseph* and *Mary* beheld in this Situation with Wonder and Surprise, equal to that of his other Auditors, or to their own Apprehensions and Concern, when they first perceived him missing. There is no doubt but our Lord, upon beholding his Parents, arose dutifully out of his Place and came to them, taking this Occasion to withdraw himself from that admiring Assembly. His Mother, in whom this Sight had made greater Impressions of Reverence towards him, asked him gently, *Why he had left them in this manner?* Which she said rather to learn the Reason of his Action, than to blame his Conduct, being convinced that he was under a divine Guidance. *Thy Father and I*, she added, *have been extremely concern-*

ed for thee, and have sought thee these three Days with great Anxiety and Grief. Our Lord replied; by informing her, That they had no Cause to be thus solicitous about him, for they ought to have known the Occasion of his leaving them, and that the Time would shortly come when he must be wholly employ'd in the publick Business of his Father. But they could not comprehend the full Meaning of this Answer, either not knowing that he talked to them of his heavenly Father, or not understanding what he meant by his Father's Business. Nevertheless his Mother, as she had hitherto done upon every remarkable Occasion, laid up in her Heart the Words which he now spoke, keeping them there as precious Treasure, until the Time that they should be explained by his future Ministry.

VI. The early Fervour of our Lord, for yielding in all Things exact Obedience to the Will of his heavenly Father, may bring to our Minds what he said afterwards upon like Occasions. When his Disciples asked him, at the Time of his Conference with the Samaritan Woman, whether any Man had brought him ought to eat, his Answer was, *My Meat is, to do the Will of him that sent me; and to finish his Work.* So in another Place he tells them, thus, *I must work the Work of him that sent me,* John 9. 4. And again, *As the Father gave me Commandment, even so do I,* John 14. 31. Add to these, his Answer to Pilate, who had demanded of him Whether he was a King? *To this End, says he, was I born, and for this Cause came I into the World, that I should bear Witness unto the Truth,* John 18. 37. In Conformity to this constant Rule of his Actions and Words, we find him in the Midst of the Doctors at twelve Years of Age, manifesting to them their *Messiah*, and giving evident Signs of the Holy Spirit and Wisdom with which he was replenished. This was doing the Business of his heavenly Father: And having given

such an early Testimony of his Diligence and Obedience in the Work wherein he was afterwards to be wholly employ'd, he immediately added an Instance of his Duty to his Mother and reputed Father, under whose Direction he was to live till that Time: For he returned with them to *Nazareth*, and was subject to them, as before. Mean while he grew up in Stature, and made wonderful Improvements in Wisdom and Understanding, being favoured by God in a visible and extraordinary Manner, and highly extolled and revered by all that knew him.

VII. Those who delight in hard Questions, are apt to dispute about some of the last Words of this History, which tell us that *Jesus* increased in Wisdom. They make it a Question, Whether he truly did so, or in Appearance only. For being the eternal Wisdom of the Father, personally united to the Word, they conclude, that a Plenitude of Wisdom was as natural to the whole Person, as to the divine Nature. But others grounding their Opinion upon the Words of the History, which affirm Christ to have increased in Favour with God as well as with Man, and in Wisdom as well as in Stature, apprehend no Inconvenience in believing it to have been agreeable to *Christ's* human Nature, that he should have Degrees of Understanding as well as of other Perfections. And though the Humanity of *Christ* made up the same Person with the Divinity, yet they think the Divinity still to be free, even in those Communications which were imparted to his inferior Nature; and that the Godhead might as well suspend for a Time the Effusion of all Wisdom upon the Humanity, as he did the beatifick Vision, which most certainly was not imparted in the Height of our Saviour's Passion. But whether it were truly or in Appearance only that he increased in Wisdom, whether in Habit of Mind or only in Experience and Exercise, of

of this we may be sure, that the Advancements of the Holy Child were great, admirable, full of Wonder and Sanctity, sufficient to entertain the Hopes and Expectations of *Israel*, and dispose Mankind to receive the more full Manifestations of him in his publick Ministry.

VIII. Though there be nothing expressly recorded concerning our Lord's Life and Conversation, from twelve Years of Age to thirty, yet from some Passages of Scripture several Things relating hereto may rationally be collected. From his Parents seeking him among their Kinsfolk and Acquaintance, when he staid behind at *Jerusalem*, we may learn, that his Conversation was free and common with all Sorts and Conditions of Men, and that he lived in peculiar Familiarity with his Relations and Neighbours: Nor needed he, who was in no Danger of Sin, to live a Life of absolute Solitude and Severity. On the other hand, 'tis also plain, that though the Doctors and People in the Temple were astonished at his Understanding and Answers, and though afterwards, before his Mother and some particular Friends, he continually sent forth many Rays of his infinite Prudence and Sanctity, he nevertheless cast such a Veil over these his Divine Excellencies, and was so reserved before the Generality of Mankind, with whom he always talked within the Compass of their own Knowledge, that no great Fame or Reputation of him was spread abroad, not even in his own City, where he was afterwards reproached with the Meanness of his Extraction, and his illiterate Education, *Matt. 13. 54, 55, 56.*

IX. It furthermore sufficiently appears, that after our Lord was of a competent Growth, he assisted the Necessities of his Parents with his own Labour, and wrought at the Trade of his reputed Father, who is called a Carpenter by the

Evangelists. Some of the Antients have pretended to inform us, what was the Species of Carpentry at which *Joseph* wrought; and *Justin Martyr*, in particular, says, it was making Ploughs, Yokes, and other Instruments of Husbandry for his Neighbours. A certain Author also observes, that such a private Branch of Trade was more suitable to the Piety and Devotion of so good a Man as *Joseph*, and better accommodated to the retired Education of our blessed Lord, than seeking of Work here and there in other Mens Houses would have been. The Decease of *Joseph* is thought to have happened before *John* began to baptize, because he is never after mentioned in the Evangelical History; and 'tis very probable that our Lord followed his Trade for some Time after, which might be the Reason why *St. Mark* has not made the *Jews* call him The Carpenter's Son, as *Matthew* has, but simply, The Carpenter, the Son of *Mary*.

X. Among the many Hardships and Mortifications, which our Lord suffered during his Minority, this was none of the least, that he, who was the Word and Wisdom of God, should have a Law of Silence so long imposed on him, when the Sins and Follies of Mankind afforded him so many Opportunities of discovering his supreme Holiness and Sagacity. On the Sabbath Days especially, when People frequented the Synagogue to hear the Law and the Prophets, where among others his devout Parents and himself were constantly present, was it not wonderful that he, the Lawgiver of *Israel*, should privately stand there as a mean Artificer, to hear the erroneous Expositions of others? And this too after his fore-mentioned Dispute with the Doctors, and when he was now arrived at Man's Estate? Herein appears the most profound Humility and consummate Wisdom of our Lord, in that he so long concealed his stupendous

stupendous Virtues, when he might have gained to himself the Admiration and Applause of all Men; suffering his Divinity to blaze out all at once, that his Knowledge and Works might be confessedly the Effects of a supernatural Power.

DISSERTATION I.

Of Herod's Sons, and the Departure of the Sceptre from Judah, according to Jacob's Prophecy.

- I. Archelaus succeeds his Father, and is deposed by Augustus. II. Judea reduced to a Roman Province by Cyrenius, and the Commotions that followed thereupon. III. Our Lord's going up to Jerusalem: The Oracle of Jacob referr'd to this Time. IV. Basnage's Manner of applying it. V. What was meant by Shiloh. VI. The Nature of Judah's Authority. VII. How it was preserv'd by that Tribe. VIII. At what Time it was utterly lost. IX. Objections against the Oracle of Jacob considered. X. Prideaux's Manner of understanding it. XI. What was meant by Judah, and when the Sceptre departed from him. XII. How far these two Interpretations may serve to the same Purpose. XIII. Some Account of Herod Antipas; his Power, and the Extent of his Territories. XIV. The Apostles and Josephus reconciled concerning Philip the Tetrarch, with some Account of that Prince. XV. The perpetual Subjection of the Jews to the Roman Empire from the Time of Pompey.

HEROD the Great once intended to leave his whole Kingdom to his Son Herod Antipas, in order to keep up the Grandeur of his Family; but he altered his Resolution, and divided it between him, Archelaus, and Philip, as before noted. The first Will

was preferred by the Jews, because Antipas was of a somewhat milder Disposition than his Brother Archelaus, who inherited the Cruelty of his Father. This was manifest from the bloody Beginning he made; for having assumed the Government without Orders from Rome, he cut off great Numbers of People, who thought to have regained their antient Liberty at the Juncture of Herod's Death. While the Brothers therefore were soliciting their Cause before Augustus, it was alledg'd by Antipas and his Party, that Archelaus had anticipated the Emperor's Decision, by thus taking upon him an Authority over the Jews. Archelaus was so frightened at these Remonstrances, that he fell down at Augustus's Feet, and in that humble Posture begg'd his Protection. His Submission moved the Emperor, who told him, That he was worthy to reign; and that Saying was taken for a Sentence in his Behalf. However fifty Deputies from the Jews thought to prevail upon the Emperor to alter his Resolution, by telling him that they had rather be under the Government of Syria than of Herod's Family. But Augustus confirmed the Will of Herod his Friend, by giving Archelaus the Provinces of Judea, Idumea, and Samaria, with the Title of Ethnarch, or Prince of the People, and a Promise to change it into King, if he made himself worthy thereof by his Virtue. There was therefore no King of Judea at the Time when our Lord returned out of Egypt, nor did Archelaus ever after enjoy that Title: For having committed many great and tyrannical Male-Administrations, Ambassadors came to Rome, both from the Jews and Samaritans, to accuse him thereof before Augustus. This was in the tenth Year of his Reign; and he was immediately summon'd to come and answer for himself before the Emperor. On his appearing at Rome, not being able to justify his Conduct, but being found guilty of all that

that was charged upon him, he was deposed from his Principality, and all his Goods condemned to be confiscated, and he himself was banished to *Vienna in Galilee*, where he died.

II. *Augustus* hereupon sent *Publius Sulpitius Quirinus*, whom he had appointed President of *Syria*, to seize the Country which *Archelaus* had hitherto reigned over, and reduce it to the Form of a *Roman Province*; and *Coponius*, a *Roman* of the *Equestrian Order*, was sent with him, to take on him the Government of it, under the Title of Procurator of *Judea*. On their Arrival at *Jerusalem*, they seiz'd all *Archelaus's* Goods, according to the Sentence of Confiscation, and having in a great Part abolished the *Jewish* Polity, established the *Roman* in its Stead. *Coponius* took on him the Administration in the Name of *Augustus*, but still in Subordination to the President of *Syria*, *Judea* being made a Part of that Province. After this the Power of Life and Death was taken wholly out of the Hands of the *Jews*, and placed in the *Roman* Procurator, and his subordinate Officers; and Taxes were thenceforth paid immediately to the *Roman* Emperor. The Description and Registration of every Man's Possession was made eleven Years before by *Sentius Saturninus*; but the laying and levying of Taxes according thereto was not executed till now, when *Judea* was reduced to a Province by *Quirinus*, or *Cyrenius*, Governor of *Syria*.

The raising of those Taxes caused great Disturbances among the *Jews*; many opposing it; some under a Notion of universal Liberty, that they were to have no King but God; and others, that they were not to own a King, by paying Taxes to him, that was of a Foreign Nation, because the Law commanded, *Deut. 17. 15. not to set a Stranger, which is not of their Brethren, to be King over them.* The first Party was headed by one *Judas* of

Galilee, a turbulent and seditious Man, of whom mention is made in the Acts of the Apostles, *Acts 5. 27.* but he was soon cut off, and all his Followers suppress'd. But the other Notion of not owning a Foreigner to be their King still prevail'd. For it was a Doctrine held and taught by the *Pharisees*, the predominant Sect of the *Jews*, and from them imbibed by the Generality of that People. And hence it was, that in the Time of our Saviour's Ministration they made it a Question, *Whether they ought to pay tribute to Cæsar or no, Matt. 22. 17.* For tho' they were obliged to submit thereto, yet as to the Legality of the Thing, they generally held it in the Negative. And this was the Reason that the *Publicans*, that is, those of their Nation who were employ'd under the *Romans* for the gathering of those Taxes, were in so great Odium and Detestation among them. For they look'd on their Employment as a constant Breach of the Law, and on them for acting therein as Apostates from it, and the worst of Men, such as were not to be drunk or eaten with, or admitted to common Conversation. And hence it is that in the Gospels we find *Publicans* and *Sinners* so often joined together, and our blessed Lord so often reproach'd for conversing with them.

III. It was in the same Year while this was a doing, that *Jesus Christ*, being then in the twelfth Year of his Age, went up to *Jerusalem* with *Joseph* and *Mary* at the Passover, and there first appeared in the Prophetick Office, and the Business of his Father, by sitting among the Doctors in the Temple, and declaring to them the Truth of God, as has been related in the Chapter immediately preceding this Dissertation. This, says Dr. *Prideaux*, was his first Signal Coming to his Temple, foretold by the Prophet *Malachi*, whereby, according to the Prophet *Haggai*, the Glory of the latter House was made to be much greater than that of the former.

By

By the latter House the Prophet meant the Temple from the Time that it was rebuilt by *Zerubbabel*, when the *Jews* returned from the *Babylonish* Captivity, till it was finally destroyed by *Titus*: For tho' it was again rebuilt by *Herod* within this Period of Time, and made more noble than before, yet as he made use of many of the same Materials, and preserved some Parts of the antient Structure, his Building was confounded with that of *Zerubbabel*, and the Temple was still called the second or latter House, as it had always before been from the Time of its first Rebuilding. Our Lord had been personally present at the Temple before, in speaking of which Circumstance, we observ'd, that these Prophecies then began to be fulfilled; but as this was the first Time that he was ministerially present, as the Messenger of the Covenant whereby Life and Salvation were revealed to Men, they now received a more eminent Completion. And at the same Time, according to some, and not before, began the Accomplishment of that Signal Prophecy of *Jacob*, *The Sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a Lawgiver from between his Feet, until Shiloh come*, *Gen. 49. 10*. We have somewhere promised a more full Explanation of this Prophecy, than has been already given in the present Work, and shall now endeavour to perform our Word, by transcribing, or extracting, the Opinions of two very learned and eminent Persons, who have written upon the Subject.

IV. *Basnage* tells us, That there is at present no Difficulty in this Oracle. It might be ambiguous, says he, in the Time of *Jesus Christ*, when the *Jews* flattered themselves, that the Sceptre, which was in the Hands of a Foreigner, should return to the House of *David*; that the Yoke of the *Romans* should neither be harder, nor longer, than that of the Kings of *Syria*, who made *Judea* tri-

butary to them; and that if *Jerusalem* and its Temple were destroy'd, God would gloriously raise them up again from their Ruins at the End of seventy Years, after an Age of Punishments and Calamities. But a Nation which groans under a Captivity of 1700 Years, and is dispersed, without a City, without a Temple, without Victims, without a King, without a Chief, and without a supreme Authority in any Part of the World, cannot fondly imagine, that this is only an Interruption of their Liberty, or deny that God hath wrested from *Judah* the Sceptre, which that Tribe so long wielded. This general Reflection, if duly weighed by the *Jews*, would be sufficient to take away the Prejudices of that People. For if we set aside the Messiah of the Christians, and only keep to the main Question, At what Time the promised Messiah was to come, we shall soon perceive that he must necessarily have come a long Time ago. *Jacob* teaches, that the Sceptre should not depart from *Judah* till the Advent of *Shiloh*: But does this Sceptre subsist any where at present? Above sixteen Centuries and a half are past and gone since the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; and the Tribe of *Judah*, scattered and fugitive over the Face of the whole Earth, has not, for such a long Course of Ages, ever been seen in one Body or Society. It appears no where, and its very Genealogies are confounded and out of order, so that even the Family of *David* is not certainly known: And can it now be said, that the Sceptre is in the Hand of *Judah*?

The Author above quoted proposes four Things to be enquired into, in order to prove the Accomplishment of *Jacob's* Prophecy about the Time of *Christ*: 1. Who was the *Shiloh*, that was to come; 2. The Nature of that Authority, which *Jacob* promises to his Son *Judah* till the coming of *Shiloh*; 3. How the Tribe of *Judah* preserv'd that Authority; and 4. at what Time

Time she utterly lost it. We shall give the Substance of what he has said on each of these Heads, and of his Answers to the most material Objections against this Prophecy. After that we shall add the System of *Prideaux*, which is somewhat different from that of *Basnage*. Our own Reflections, if we make any, shall be few and short. And having gone thro' with this very important Testimony of our Lord's Messiahship, we shall return to give some further Account of *Herod Antipas*, and *Philip*, the other Sons of *Herod the Great*, who reigned after their Father, and who are both mentioned in the New Testament.

Let us first observe, that *Basnage* hath not fix'd the Accomplishment of this Prophecy to the Deposition of *Archelaus* so positively as *Prideaux* hath done. 'Tis more reasonable, says he, to admit that the Sceptre was departing from *Judah*, and his Kingdom breaking, from the Beginning of *Herod the Great*, because *Judea* was tributary under him, as well as under the *Ethnarchs*, and he himself was a Vassal to the Emperor, whose Commands he was obliged to obey. These are not directly his Words, but the Sense of what he says is herein contained. He adds, that when *Archelaus* was banish'd, and *Judea* made a Province, this Accomplishment was brought very forward: For the supreme Power then devolved upon the *Romans*, and at the Death of *Christ* appears to have been entirely in their Hands. The Opinion of *Prideaux* was the Occasion of our speaking of *Jacob's* Prophecy in this Place before another, and it may certainly be as properly treated of here as any where else: For after all, the Reader will be at Liberty to acquiesce where he pleases. These Authors seem to have collected the Substance of what has been said on the Question before us, at least they have introduced the most solid Arguments; and for that Reason we shall

keep to them only. The four Enquiries of *Basnage* are first in Order, according to the Method above proposed.

V. Passing over all strained Interpretations, the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts have explained the Word *Shiloh* by that of *Messiah*, to whom the Kingdom belongeth, and whom the Nations shall obey. These Paraphrasts lived before the Controversy about this Oracle arose. But admitting that they should be of so old a Standing as is commonly thought, the Argument here drawn from them would be but so much the stronger: For it would prove that they were forced to translate the Words of *Jacob* as we do, even when they knew that the Christians apply'd them to *Jesus Christ*. No doubt but they would have deprived their Adversaries of this Proof, had it been in their Power to do it. Besides *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, there is another pretty antient *Hebrew* Commentator on *Genesis*, who tells us that *Shiloh* is the King *Messiah*; so that we have the Consent of the old Commentators. The *Talmudists*, whose Interest it was here to deny the Truth, have acknowledged it. And the *Cabbalists* find the same Number 358 in the Words *Shiloh shall come*, as in the Name *Messiah*. A multitude of other *Jewish* Authors might be introduced on this Occasion, if it would not seem too much like Affectation. These Interpreters ought to be preferr'd to all others, because they are not blinded by Prejudices, nor hurried away by Passions, on the Side of the Christians. They appear to embrace this Opinion merely because they know, and love, the Truth; for it is acting contrary to their own Interest. They are Men of Reach, open Enemies to the Christian Religion, and therefore cannot be suspected; whereas others may either invent, or follow some very remote Explanations. The *Jews* can have no Reason to complain, when they are condemned out of the Writings of their greatest

greatest Masters, and our most virulent Enemies. We need not take notice, after all this, that the Christians in general come into this Interpretation, which is so much to their Advantage. Let us therefore conclude in Brief, that *Shiloh* is the Messiah.

VI. Since *Jacob* gave his Blessing to every one of his Children, there is no doubt but he promised some peculiar Advantage to the Tribe of *Judah* in this Place; and though that Opinion may not appear favourable to Christians, yet Truth should always be preferr'd to Interest. But those who are dazzled at the Word Sceptre, and ascribe a royal Authority to it, throw themselves into an inextricable Labyrinth; for there were no Kings in *Judea* from *Moses* to *David*, nor from the Return out of the *Babylonish* Captivity till the Destruction of the second Temple. The regal Authority began six hundred Years after the Oracle of *Jacob*, and ended five hundred Years before *Jesus Christ*; so that, notwithstanding this Prophecy, they saw eleven hundred Years pass away without a King. For this Reason a learned *Annalist* translates the Passage thus: *The Sceptre shall not fail for ever, because Shiloh shall come.* The Sceptre, says he, shall fail during the Captivity, and for some Time after their Return, but not for ever, because the Messiah shall restore it. This Interpretation removes the Difficulty, but it changes the common Use of the Terms: For *Jacob* speaks of a temporal Sceptre; and the Sceptre of the Messiah was spiritual and mystical only. 'Tis therefore necessary to embrace a more natural Explication, and which is better grounded upon History. By the Sceptre we must understand a Degree of Preheminence, which distinguished the Tribe of *Judah*, as Kings are distinguished in their own Dominions. Consonant hereunto *David*, *Psal.* 60. 7. alluding to this Oracle of *Jacob*, gives the Title of Lawgiver

No. XIX.

to *Judah*, though that Tribe prescrib'd no Laws to the rest; for *Moses* was of the Tribe of *Levi*.

Judah therefore was the Lawgiver in an improper Sense, because his Inheritance was always the Center of Religion, and the Habitation of the Church. There it was that the Ark rested, that the Temple was built, and there alone that Sacrifices were to be offered up. There is no necessity that this Tribe should always have supplied the Nation with Kings. 'Tis enough that it was preferr'd to the rest, and accounted the Head of the twelve. Sacred History must be consulted, to learn particularly the Privileges of *Judah*; for the Event is the surest Interpreter of a Prophecy: And here we shall find, 1. That his Number and Portion were always to be considerable. These, together with his Prosperity, gave him always a Preheminence above the other Tribes, and were to him advantageous Marks of Distinction: He went at the Head of the Nation, and alone maintain'd his Ground against the Attempts of neighbouring Kings, Schismatics, and Rebels. 2. God was always to preserve this Tribe from that Dispersion and Confusion which attended the others. And agreeably to this some read, *The Tribe of Judah shall not fail till Shiloh come*, in the room of, *The Sceptre shall not depart from Judah.* This was evidently true till the coming of *Christ*; but since that God has taken this Tribe out of the Sight of Men; for its Genealogies are confounded, and its Children are no more known. Such a Translation as this is not unwarrantable, since *Moses* often used the *Hebrew* Word, (*Shebeth*) which is here translated Sceptre, to signify a Tribe: And according to this, the Interpretation of *Jacob's* Prophecy, and the Application of it to *Christ*, would be very easy and natural. 3. *Judah* was to be the Seat of Religion, (as we have just now observed it was in fact:) For

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Jacob's

Jacob foretold, That the Lawgiver should not depart from between his Feet. Let us now briefly run over the History of this Tribe, in order to examine more particularly how far it has enjoy'd these Privileges, and whether it can be said to have borne the Sceptre in a precise and literal Sense. This is the third Enquiry proposed.

VII. When the Children of *Israel* went out of *Egypt* towards the Holy Land, no King came out of *Judab* to be their Deliverer and Leader. *Moses*, who put himself at their Head, was of the Tribe of *Levi*. All that is observ'd concerning *Judab*, is only this, that it was the most numerous of all the Tribes, and had the most honourable Post in the Camp; and that *Naasson*, Chief of that Tribe, offered his Presents and Sacrifices at the Tabernacle before any of the rest. After they were enter'd into *Canaan*, a great many Heroes arose among the People of *Israel*, but few of them were of the Tribe of *Judab*, which only furnish'd a greater Quota of Soldiers for the War. *Saul* the first King of *Israel* was a *Benjamite*; and though *David* afterwards introduced the supreme Authority into his Family and Tribe, yet so many Ages had past from *Jacob's* Promise, or even from the *Israelites* coming out of *Egypt*, to the Time of *David*, and the Reign of *David's* Family was comparatively speaking so short, that 'tis unnatural to think the Patriarch promis'd a Kingdom which was to begin so late, and end so soon. But *Judab* was always more numerous than the rest of the Tribes, and held out longest against the Kings of *Affria*; and therefore 'tis easy to perceive that the Preheminence foretold by *Jacob* was to be something of this kind, which should vary according to the Times. Under an aristocratical Government it had the first Post, and march'd at the Head of the other Tribes. When the Administration of important Affairs

was entrusted to a Council, the Tribe of *Judab* compos'd, or at least made up the greatest Part of, the Sanhedrim. During all these Forms of Government, this Tribe was the Depositary of Religion, and had alone its Temple, Altars, and Sacrifices. Can any other single Tribe be produc'd with all these Advantages?

By recurring to this Principle, all the other Difficulties concerning the Sceptre of *Judab* may be removed. For Instance, 'tis objected, that *Judab* seem'd entirely to lose all its Privileges during the Captivity, in that it was carried away as well as the other Tribes into *Affria*; that *Cyrus*, who sent it back, and his Successors, who savoured it, kept it subject to them, and made it pay them Tribute; that the Kings of *Syria*, who after the Conquests and Death of *Alexander the Great*, became Masters of it, did the same as the *Persians* had done; that the *Maccabees*, who became the High-priests of their Nation, were of the Tribe of *Levi*; and finally, that *Herod*, an *Idumean*, was King in *Judaea* when *Jesus Christ* was born. But there is no great Matter in all this; for if *Jacob* did not promise to *Judab* a supreme and regal Authority, but only such a Preheminence above the rest of the Tribes as hath here been describ'd, it may be easily proved, that *Judab* was so far from ever losing the Sceptre, during the Times enumerated above, that he enjoy'd his Preheminence much more sensibly after the Captivity than he had ever done before. This Tribe did not absolutely disappear even during the Captivity itself, and was all found entire at the Return from it, which is more than can be said of any other Tribe, little *Benjamin* only excepted, who is frequently confounded with *Judab*. It was no more strange, after this Return, to see the high-Priests, or the *Maccabees*, govern the People, than it was to see *Moses* put himself at the Head

of that Nation many Ages before. This did not hinder the Preheminence of *Judab*, who settled again at *Jerusalem*, the Capital of the Country, whilst in other Parts of *Judea* there were only some Families of the ten Tribes. *Judab* then gave its own Name to the whole Nation, every Part of which paid a Kind of yearly Homage to it, by coming to worship in the Temple of *Jerusalem*, and to sacrifice upon her Altars. But we need not repeat all the Particulars of this Preheminence.

VIII. The last Thing to be considered, is, at what Time the Tribe of *Judab* lost its Authority. Upon a just Determination of this depends the whole Weight of *Jacob's* Words, as they are brought by Christians to prove that *Jesus Christ* was *Shiloh*, the Messiah. In general then, 'tis easily proved that this Tribe, confounded as it is with the others, and dispersed throughout the World in so many Places, has not at this Day the least Shadow of Preheminence, nor doth it now make a numerous or distinct Body. To find when this Privation of Authority first began, let us return a little to their History. *Herod the Great*, who was neither of the Tribe of *Judab*, nor of any of the other Tribes, but an *Idumean*, was King of the *Jews* when *Christ* was born, and the first King of that Nation who had been tributary to the *Romans*. From his Time the Case of the *Jews* grew worse and worse. When *Archelaus* his Son was banished out of *Jerusalem*, that City, with all the neighbouring Country, was joined to *Syria*, and became a *Roman* Province. The *Sanbedrim* lost the Power of Life and Death, which they had preserved even under the Kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*; and when the *Jews* wanted to crucify *Jesus Christ*, they acknowledged the Sceptre to be departed from *Judab*, by saying to *Pilate* that it was not lawful for them to put any Man to Death, John 18.

31. After this their Condition grew

still worse: For *Jerusalem* was destroy'd, all the Advantages of *Judab* vanish'd, and that Tribe was involved in the same Calamity with the rest. The Inhabitants of *Judea* were dispersed, and sold like Cattle in the Markets, nor do we yet see the least Shadow of their Coming together again. There is now no Country where the Tribe of *Judab* makes a Figure, or is even known; and so much perplex'd are their Genealogies, that not a single Family of the *Jews*, for many Hundreds of Years past, have been able to shew from whom 'tis descended. For though those of them who inhabit *Spain* pretend to be the Remains of the Tribe of *Judab*, they offer only some uncertain Presumptions to make good what they say; and these are far from giving Satisfaction, especially since the Presumptions are stronger on the other Side. But if it could even be proved that some Families of *Judab* remain entire to this Day, what could be inferred from thence in relation to *Jacob's* Oracle? It must be also proved, that these Families have some Preheminence over the rest of the *Jews*, and that they make a separate and distinct Body, before we can admit that the Oracle of *Jacob* is not fulfilled, and that the Sceptre still remains in the Tribe of *Judab*.

Mean while what should hinder our concluding positively, That his Oracle was fully accomplished in *Jesus Christ*, and that consequently he was the true *Shiloh*? Some kind of Authority remained with the *Jews* till his Time, but then visibly began to depart, and in forty Years after his Crucifixion was entirely lost. Do these Circumstances fall in so well with the Birth of any Pretender? Whose Birth besides was ever foretold so long before, and pointed out by such clear and undeniable Characters? Abundance of Heroes among the Heathens have been dignify'd after their Deaths, on account of their Conquests and brave Atchievements; but

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has there ever been one of these, whose Birth, with all its attendant Circumstances, was predicted, and whose Appearance was expected, for many Ages before it came to pass? Has the Birth of Impostors, who have either broached new Religions, or changed the established ones, been foretold? But these Things were true of *Jesus Christ*, and therefore he was the Messiah. In a word, since we find that it was in the Power of *Jesus Christ* to live at the Time * when the Tribe of *Judab* was losing its Authority, and dependant on a *Roman* Governor, while the rest of *Judea* had the good Fortune to be kept under the Direction of the *Herod's*; since it was in his Power, after he was crucify'd, to take away the Sceptre from the Tribe of *Judab*, and for the Space of sixteen or seventeen hundred Years to disperse that as well as the rest of the Tribes, as *Jacob* had predicted; since all this, I say, is demonstrable, 'tis evident that he must not only be the Messiah foretold by this Oracle, but must also have been invested with a divine Power, to scatter the Unbelievers, and reduce the Nations to the Obedience of the Gospel.

IX. Some of the Rabbies pretend, in order to evade the Arguments above, that *Shiloh* in the Oracle of *Jacob* signified only the City which bore that Name. *Saul* and *Jeroboam*, say they, were crown'd at this Place. The former of these was of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and the latter founded his Kingdom upon the Division of *Israel*, and the Revolt of the Ten Tribes from their Subjection to *Judab*. The Sense of *Jacob's* Words, therefore, according to these Interpreters, is, that the Sceptre shall be taken from *Judab*, when a King shall be crown'd at *Shiloh*, which was the Case of *Saul* and *Jeroboam*.

But the Fact itself is certainly false, with regard to *Saul*; for the Ark was not at *Shiloh* when *Saul* was chosen King, neither was he anointed in that Town, but in *Mispat*: And as to *Jeroboam*, we shall have no Reason ever to believe he was crown'd at *Shiloh*, till we are informed of that Particular upon better Authority than that of the Rabbies.

Other Jews have endeavour'd to elude this Oracle, by maintaining, that by the Word Sceptre, which properly signifies a Rod, *Jacob* foretold to *Judab* a long Train of Afflictions till the coming of the Messiah, and that the Prophecy is now fulfilled by the dismal Dispersion of all the Posterity of that Patriarch. Thus, they say, the Words of *Jacob* are so far from demonstrating the Messiah to be already come, that they prove it to be their Duty still to expect him. This Exposition is found in the Writings † of *Jacob* the Son of *Amram*; and also in a || Book written on Purpose to explain the difficult Words of Scripture to their Women and Children, wherein 'tis expressly asserted, that the Sceptre signifies the Rod or Afflictions of the Jewish People. But the Seventy Interpreters have overthrown all this, in translating the Term by that of Prince. Besides, it would have been ridiculous in *Jacob*, who designed to raise the Tribe of *Judab* above the rest, to have foretold nothing but Calamity and Misery to attend it. Neither does it appear that *Judab* hath undergone any peculiar Misfortunes, but only such as were common to all the *Israelites*.

Again, 'tis insinuated by some, that if we understand by the Sceptre a supreme and regal Authority, there needs only a small Change in the Punctuation to overthrow all the Notions of the Christians.

* This was the State of the Jews for some Time after *Archelaus*, *Antipas* and *Philip* still reigning in their respective Provinces.

† In a Book called, *The Gate of Truth*.

|| *Liber Beer Mosche*.

The putting of only a single Point after one of the *Hebrew* Letters, they inform us, will make the Passage signify, not that *Judab* shall reign till the Coming of the Messiah, but that he shall reign eternally after the Messiah's Advent. But is there any Text, either in the Bible or any other Book, that might not be perverted by so bold a Criticism as this? However the Exposition founded upon it happens to clash with the Jewish Paraphrasts and Fathers, who assert plainly that the Sceptre shall not be broken till the Time that the Messiah be come. Thus by taking the Jewish Interpreters for Judges, the Sense of this Oracle becomes fixed, and the fulfilling of it in *Jesus Christ* is also palpable; for *Judab* has not reigned since his Appearance on Earth.

These are the most material Things in the Account of *Jacob's* Prophecy by *Bafnage*. We now proceed to our other Author, whose very Words we shall use, because he has not run to any great Length on the Subject.

X. After introducing the Words of *Jacob*, in speaking of our Lord's Ascent to *Jerusalem*, and his Disputation with the Doctors there, he goes on thus: That by *Shiloh* is here meant the Messiah is on all Hands agreed. And at the Time of this his Coming, *Cyrenius* having reduced *Judea* into the Form of a *Roman* Province, and instead of their former Governors of their own Nation placed a *Roman* Procurator over them, then began the fulfilling of this Prophecy, which sixty two Years after was fully compleated in the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. For then, that is, at the Time of this Reduction of *Judea* to a *Roman* Province, the Sceptre and the Lawgiver from between their Feet began to be taken from them, of which in the Destruction of the Temple and City of *Jerusalem* by *Titus* they were wholly de-

prived, and have never since had them again restored.

For the fuller Explication of this Prophecy, and of the Manner of its Completion, these following Particulars are to be observed. 1st, By the Sceptre in *Judab* is meant the Sovereignty in it, and by a Lawgiver from between his Feet the Administration of Justice by those of that same Nation, and according to their own Laws; and both put together imply such a political Constitution of Government, as that whereby a Nation is governed by its own Princes, and by its own Laws, and this was that which was not to depart from *Judab* till *Shiloh* should come. 2dly, This Constitution of Government, all *Israel* was possessed of from their coming out of *Egypt* to the Time of the prevailing of the *Assyrian* Empire, they being till then under their own Princes (that is first Judges, and afterwards Kings) and governed by their own Laws. But 3dly, When the Kings of *Assyria* had extended their Empire on this Side the *Euphrates* as far as *Palestine*, ten of the Tribes of *Israel* being carried into Captivity, the Sceptre then departed from those Tribes, and the Lawgiver from between their Feet. For their Princes and their Laws being then taken away from them, they were never after that any more a People, but being scattered among the Heathen Nations of the East, their Name and their Nation were absorbed and lost in them, and they have never since been any more heard of. But 4thly, the Tribe of *Judab*, though they fell under the like Captivity, yet afterwards returned from it into their own Land, and had there their Sceptre and Lawgiver again restored to them. For being there embodied again under the same Constitution of Government, they had again Princes of their own to be Rulers over them, and the * Administra-

* See the Charter they had for this from Artaxerxes Longimanus King of Persia, Ezra vii.

tion of Justice under them by their own Laws in the same Manner as before, and so they continued to have without Interruption (excepting only the three Years and an half of *Antiochus's* Persecution) till the Time that *Coponius* was made Procurator of *Judea*. But then the Power of Life and Death being taken from them, and placed in a Foreign Governor, and Justice being thenceforth administered by the Laws of *Rome*, instead of those of their own Nation, then truly began the Sceptre to depart from *Judab*, and the Lawgiver from between his Feet; and this Departure was fully compleated in the Destruction of *Jerusalem* sixty two Years after, and therein this Prophecy had its entire Accomplishment. Till then some few Remains of their Power were still left among them; For they had still their Sanhedrim or national Council, and they had still their High-Priest, with some Shadow of Authority still lodged in both, and in the Administration of Justice some Regard was still had by the *Roman* Governors to their old national Law. But after the Temple and City of *Jerusalem* were destroyed by *Titus*, all this was absolutely and wholly abolished, and from that Time neither the Sceptre nor the Lawgiver hath been any more found among them. For although near 1650 Years are now past since that Destruction, and great Numbers of this People swarm all over the World, yet they have never been able to embody again into a Nation either in their own, or any other Land; or have they to this Day ever found a Place, where they could reestablish their old Constitution of Law, or have a Prince of their own to govern them by it. As to their *Echmalotarcha* at *Babylon*, if

that Officer be still there in being, he is no more than what their *Alabarcha* was at *Alexandria*, their *Ethnarcha* at *Antioch*, or their *Episcopus Judeorum* in *England*, that is, the Head of that Sect in that Place, without Sword or Sceptre, or any Power of Coercion, or Authority of Jurisdiction, but what he hath by the voluntary Submission of the Jews of that Country, which was the old *Babylonian* Province. And therefore nothing can be more vain, than what the Jews urge as to this Matter, that is, that in this *Echmalotarcha* is still preserved both the Sceptre and the Lawgiver in the Tribe of *Judab*, and that therefore the Prophecy of *Jacob* above mentioned is not yet fulfilled, nor the Messiah as yet come.

XI. But against what I have here said of the Explication and fulfilling of this Prophecy it may be objected, that after the *Babylonish* Captivity we find none, excepting *Zerubbabel*, to have had the Government of the Jewish Nation, that were of the Tribe of *Judab*; that the High-Priests, had mostly the Regency of the Land, who were of the Tribe of *Levi*; and that after the *Asmonian* Princes *Herod* and *Archelaus* his Son reigned in *Judea*, who were Descendants of the *Idumaeans*, and not of any of the Tribes of *Israel*. To this I answer, That after the Captivity, the Tribe of *Judab* swallowed all else that were left of the other Tribes of *Israel*, and all from that Time were called Jews, and reckoned as of the Sons of *Judab*. And as to *Herod*, *Nicolas of Damascus*, who lived in that Court, attests him to have been descended from one of those Jewish Families which returned from the *Babylonish* Captivity. But whether this were so or not, it is no where denied,

† i. e. The Head of the Captivity. Such an Officer the *Babylonish* Jews had, to whom they paid a voluntary Submission. He was always chosen by them out of the House of *David*. But this Office hath been long since antiquated, though some of the Jews pretend, that it is there still in being even to this Day.

but that he was descended from Ancestors, who had by Profelytism been long ingrafted into the Name and Nation of the Jews, and thereby been made at least adopted Sons of the Tribe of *Judah*, and therefore he cannot be reckoned as a Stranger to it.

The Sum therefore is; The Sceptre and the Lawgiver remained among the Jews till both began to be taken from them by the *Romans* on their reducing *Judea* into the Form of a *Roman* Province, and then *Christ*, the *Sibyl* promised, began his Coming, as the Messiah, by then first entering on his Father's Business, for which he was sent. And that this exactly fell in with the Time of this Change plainly appears: For *Christ* was then in the twelfth Year of his Age, and the twelfth Year from *Christ*'s Birth was that whereon *Copanius* entered on his Government. For *Herod* lived one Year after the Birth of *Christ*, and after the Death of *Herod*, *Archelaus* reigned ten Years, and the next Year after the *Romans* seized *Judea*, and made it a Province of the Empire. *Christ* therefore first appeared in the Temple as the Messiah at that very Time, when the Sceptre of the Lawgiver first began to depart from *Judah*, and sixty two Years after that, this Departure was fully completed in the Destruction of the Temple and City of *Jerusalem*, and the utter abolishing of the whole Jewish Policy and Constitution of Government in that Land, which hath never since either there or any where else been revived. --- Thus far have we followed our Authors.

XII. The greatest Difference between the two Interpretations here introduced seems to lie in this: That the first makes it necessary to understand the Word *Judah* in a strict and limited Sense, for the particular Tribe which bore that Name; whereas the other applies it loosely to the whole Nation, which from that Tribe were called by the common Name of Jews.

It cannot be denied that the former Method is by much the most literal; and we should venture to say, that it ought to be preferred for that Reason, if there were not another stronger Reason to make us approve the latter. There is here much the smallest Number of Difficulties to obviate; for no-body can pretend to maintain, that the Jewish Nation had not always, before their absolute Subjection to the *Romans*, a kind of Sovereignty within themselves. And that this Sovereignty was lost in the Time of *Jesus Christ*, is also very plain and demonstrable, because then the *Romans* imposed a Ruler on them, and even took away the Power of Life and Death, the most indisputable Mark of supreme Authority. Even during the *Babylonish* Captivity, they lived but as the *Greek* Christians of this Day do among the *Mahometans*, who never deny them to keep up their Bishops and Patriarchs in the same Manner as under Christian Monarchs. But when the Jews were under the *Romans*, before the Destruction of *Jerusalem* they had no more than the bare Shadow of Power, and after that not even so much as the Shadow itself. All this is demonstrably true of the Jewish Nation in general; but whether or no it be sufficiently proved of the Tribe of *Judah*, strictly speaking, we will not pretend to say. It has been already observed, that Prophecies are best interpreted by the Events that accomplish them; and if so, we must explain *Jacob*'s Oracle by the History of his Descendants, of whom it was spoken. This History proves, that the Tribe of *Judah* had some Kind of Pre-eminence till the Destruction of the second Temple, when it was entirely lost. It also proves, that among the Jews, considered as a Nation, there always subsisted a Kind of independant Sovereignty with very little Interruption, till the twelfth Year of *Jesus Christ*, after which it was never recovered. The Question is only, Which

Which of these Particulars we should stick to? If we allow any Kind of Pre-eminence short of Sovereignty to be understood by the Word Sceptre, then we may keep close to the Tribe of *Judab*, and find this Oracle sufficiently explained. But if we will needs have the supreme Authority to be meant by Sceptre, it will follow, that the Word *Judab* stands for the Jewish Nation, because the supreme Authority in the Tribe of *Judab* did not continue half the Time, which passed between the Delivery of this Oracle and its final Accomplishment.

But it is of the less Moment, which of these Interpretations is the best founded, because either of them will serve our present Purpose, and fix the Names of *Shiloh* and Messiah upon *Jesus Christ*. Whether the Sceptre in the Hands of *Judab* may signify only some Advantages peculiar to that Tribe, or more generally the Sovereignty which the Jewish Nation, so called from *Judab*, was in Possession of, the Consequence will be equally the same, if it has been proved that they both subsisted till the Time of *Jesus Christ*, and that they both departed about that same Time; so that neither has been ever since discovered. One would think here was enough to convince any Man, who believes the divine Original of the sacred Writings, that *Jesus* was truly the *Shiloh* of *Jacob*, and the Messiah of the Prophets, which Words are generally thought to signify the same Person. There is no Way of eluding the Testimony of that particular Prophecy before us, but by some such Shifts as those that have been here introduced and exploded. It is not found that any of the Jews understood these Words differently from the present Christians; till being hardly pressed by the Force of so plain a Character, they chose rather to give up one of their favourite Promises, or at least to weaken it by strained Interpretations, than to own for their Messiah a Person

whom their Nation had despised and crucify'd. This is certainly a plain State of the Case, and will appear as such to every unprejudiced Person. But we shall not add any Thing more to these Remarks.

XIII. The holy Penmen speak often of *Herod II.* who was surnamed *Antipas*. It was he that run away with *Herodias*, and put to Death *John the Baptist* at the Request of that infamous Woman. Our Lord called him a Fox, *Luke 13. 32.* and was made to appear before him at *Jerusalem*, though *Herod* had no Authority in that City, and came thither only as a Stranger to the Festival of the Passover. But *Pilate* sent him the Son of God out of Complaisance, being informed that he was a Native of *Galilee*, which belonged to *Herod's* Jurisdiction. The Evangelists stile him a King, and the Jews relate, conformably thereto, that the *Romans* having sent a powerful Army to carry *Archelaus* away, *Herod II.* whom they call his Son, reigned in his stead with as much Power as his Grandfather. The Evangelists call him King only out of Respect, and perhaps in Conformity to the Language of his Court. But the Jews are palpably mistaken; for he never was a King in reality, neither did he succeed *Archelaus*, but was only Tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Peræa*, according to his Father's last Will. This is so evident, that *Herod* appears to have ruined himself at last by coveting a Crown: For *Herodias*, of whom he was always very fond, not enduring that *Agrippa* should wear a Diadem, and have the Retinue of a King, whilst her Husband wanted both, prevailed upon him by her Persuasions to go to *Rome*, and beg the same Privileges of the Emperor. But *Agrippa*, against whom this Petition was levelled, having proved that his Uncle was provided with Arms for seventy thousand Men, that he was making a League with the King of *Parthia*, and

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and that he had plotted with *Sejanus* against *Tiberius*, *Herod* was thereupon banished to *Lyons*, from whence he went into *Spain*, and there died of Grief; notwithstanding that the Jews have a Tradition among them, that he made himself Master of that Country, and expelled thence its true King. In short, *Herod II.* was Son of *Herod I.* as before related, and Brother of *Archelaus*, but never his Successor. He was no King, but only a Tetrarch, and so far from being a sovereign Prince, that he was obliged to receive his Tetrarchate, which was very small, from the Hands of *Augustus*.

The Jews, who maintain the contrary Opinion to this, and will have it that *Herod* reigned over all *Judea*, pretend to prove it by the Murder of the High-Priest *Jonathan*, or *Jochatan*, whom he put to Death, because he upbraided him for his Marriage with *Herodias*. But this is abscribing to their High-Priest an Honour which was due to *John the Baptist* only. It is certain that in the Time of *Herod* there was a High-Priest named *Jonathan*, but that Prince did him no Harm, neither could he, because being only Tetrarch of *Galilee*, he had no Authority in *Jerusalem*. This *Jonathan* was deposed by *Vitellius*. There was some Time after another High-Priest of the same Name, whom *Felix* put to Death, perhaps for taxing *Drusilla* with having basely abjured the Law, and eloped from her Husband, to marry a Pagan Governor. The Jews, who are far from exact Chronologers, have confounded these two *Jonathans*, and the Elapement of *Drusilla* with that of *Herodias*, because they were like one another in Circumstances; and from hence they have been led to think that it was *Herod*, and not *Felix*, who put the High-priest to Death; but the contrary is very evident from History.

XIV. *Philip* the Tetrarch, third Son of *Herod the Great*, has mightily em-

broiled the History of this Family, because 'tis found difficult to reconcile the holy Writers and *Josephus* in their Accounts of *Herodias*, who has commonly been thought the Wife of this *Philip*. The Evangelist *Matthew*, chap. 14. 3. makes *Herodias* the Wife of one *Philip* the Brother of *Herod*; but *Josephus*, who certainly was acquainted with this Family, affirms that she was another *Herod's* Wife when she was taken away from her Husband by *Herod* the Tetrarch. To reconcile this, the best Commentators have introduced a fourth Son of *Herod*, who had no Share in the Distribution of the Tetrarchates, and lived privately till *Vespasian's* Time, when being eighty Years of Age, *Josephus* sent him his Works to be examined. But because others reject this Opinion, let us examine its Merit, and see how far it ought to be embraced in this Dispute. In Truth, upon an exact Scrutiny, there appears to be no Contradiction in *Josephus* himself, nor will there be any such mighty Difficulty to make him agreee with the inspired Penmen. The *Herod* from whom his Brother the Tetrarch took *Herodias*, was Son to *Mariamne* the Daughter of *Simon*; but *Philip*, Tetrarch of *Trachonitis*, was *Cleopatra's* Son: 'Tis therefore plain that they could not be the same Person. *Josephus* points out this Distinction; for speaking of the Rape of *Herodias*, he observes that *Herod* the Tetrarch went to the House of his Brother *Herod* the Son of *Mariamne*; which proves, that it was not the Wife of *Philip* the Tetrarch who was taken away. The plain Truth then seems to be this: *Herod the Great* had a Son by *Mariamne* the Daughter of *Simon*, and his Name was *Herod Philip*. *Josephus* therefore calls him *Herod*, and St. *Matthew* calls him *Philip*, both with equal Propriety, since he was known by either of these Names separately, as well as by them both together, in like manner

as his Brother the Tetrarch is known indifferently by *Herod* and *Antipas*. And for this reason we have mentioned *Herod Philip*, the Son of *Mariamme*, among the Children of *Herod the Great* that are taken Notice of in the New Testament. Nor need we wonder that this *Herod Philip* is never clearly distinguished in ancient History, nor mentioned in his Father's Will: For his Mother unluckily plotting with *Antipater*, against *Herod the Great*, her Husband and King, she was shamefully expelled out of his Palace, and her Son, who till then was allotted a Share in the Succession, had his Name struck out of the Will. As to *Simon*, the Father of *Mariamme*, we are certain he lost the Priesthood upon the same Occasion, and all his Family was involved in the common Misfortune. *Herod the Great* never took notice of his Son any more; and how many of *Herod's* Children have had the same Fate? We have little more than the Names of a third *Herod*, his Son by *Cleopatra*, and of *Phasael*, his Son by *Fallas*. In a Word, ought it to seem strange that *Herod* the Son of *Mariamme* should be also called *Philip*, to distinguish him on Occasion from the other *Herods* his Brethren? *Herod* the Tetrarch might be called *Antipas* in respect to his Grandfather; and where is the Wonder that an additional Name should be given to the other *Herods*, who were born afterwards, either by way of distinction only, or in conformity to what had been practised with him?

These Observations may be sufficient to defend both the sacred Writers and *Josephus*, in regard to what they have said concerning the first Husband of *Herodias*. As to *Philip* the Tetrarch, we find that he was both an honest Man, and a more fortunate Prince, than either of his Brothers. What his Territories were has

been before mentioned. When the Deputies of *Judea* had a Mind to turn *Archelaus* out of the Government, *Varus* sent *Philip* to *Rome* to appear in that Affair: But *Philip's* real Aim, when he undertook that Voyage, was to obtain *Judea* for himself, in case his Brother lost it. However, he could never obtain of *Augustus* any more than the little Tetrarchate left him by his Father, and in Possession of this he spent his Days quietly. He died without Issue in the twenty-second Year of *Tiberius*, having govern'd his Territories thirty seven Years. His Tetrarchate did not return to any of his Brothers, as is usual where there is a Right of Inheritance.

XV. As Kings make their Subjects either happy or unhappy, it is necessary to give a general Character of the last Princes that govern'd *Judea*, to have an Idea of the Condition of that Country, and to see whether they contributed to the Ruin of the Nation that was under their Command. These *Herods* were the Princes we speak of, a Race odious to the *Jews*, because they were Foreigners, and equally odious to the Christians, because they persecuted the Church at its Birth. They are not perhaps sufficiently known; for they are often look'd upon as absolute Monarchs of *Judea*, whereas the contrary is very evident. We have said as much already concerning one or two of them: Let us now take a general Survey of their Government, from the Time of their obtaining the supreme Authority, till that Authority entirely vanished. But first we should consider how the Sceptre came into their Hands.

The *Asmonean* Princes, the Family that preceded the *Herods*, obtained the Government under *Judas Maccabeus*, who delivered his Nation from its Subjection to the Kings of *Syria*. The Time

* See the History of this Affair in the Books of the Maccabees.

during which they held the Sovereignty was in all one hundred and twenty Years. At about the Middle of this Period, *Aristobulus* the Son of *John Hyrcanus*, weary of being only Head of the People, as his Ancestors had been, assum'd the Title of King. But he died the next Year, and was succeeded by his Brother *Alexander Jannæus*, who reigned twenty-seven Years with the same Title. After him, his Widow *Alexandra* reigned nine Years. Her Death was succeeded by Wars between her two Sons, *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobulus*, for the Sovereignty of *Judea*. This Contention was the Original of *Herod* the First's Greatness, and the Subjection of *Judea* to the *Romans*. *Hyrcanus* the elder Brother, who was naturally weak, soon resign'd the Empire to *Aristobulus*; but being afterwards exasperated by *Antipater*, *Herod* the Great's Father, who had a strong Influence over him, he renew'd the War, and at last by the Assistance of *Pompey* re-assumed the Royal Authority. For both Parties applying to this victorious *Roman*, he, making use of so fair an Opportunity, by siding with *Hyrcanus*, made himself in a great measure Master of their Country. He took *Jerusalem*, profaned the Temple, and plac'd *Hyrcanus* upon the Throne; who thereupon became a Kind of Vassal to the *Romans*, being supported by them, and the Counsels of *Antipater*, through a Reign of twenty-four Years. *Herod* made his Fortune during the Administration of his Father; and tho' he was afterwards obliged to fly, whilst *Antigonus* the Son of *Aristobulus* prevailed, yet being backed by the *Romans*, he returned with double Force, retook *Jerusalem* again, and became under *Antony* and *Augustus*, the Sovereign of *Judea*. We will not repeat any Thing that has been said concerning this Prince and his three Sons, but proceed with the rest of the Family, men-

tioned in Scripture, with whom ended the Government of the *Herods*. *Agrippa* the first, who is called *Herod* in Scripture, *Acts* 12, was Grandson of *Herod* the Great, by *Aristobulus*, the Son of his beloved *Mariamne*. This Prince obtained the Kingdom of *Judea* from *Claudius*, and reigned there in the same Manner as his Grandfather had done, assuming also the Title of *Great*. He was a Jew, zealous for his Religion, and a Persecutor of the Christians. He reign'd in all seven Years, three of which was in *Jerusalem*, where he was smitten of God by an Angel, and eaten of Worms, as the Fact is related in the Acts of the Apostles, *chap.* 12, 23. After him there was but one King more of the Jews, which was *Agrippa* the second, Son of the first, and as well as he, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, *chap.* 26, and 27. This Prince saw *Jerusalem* taken, and survived the Ruin of his Country, which he would gladly have prevented by his Councils. He preserved his Friendship to the *Romans*, who enlarged his Territories after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. He lived till the ninety-fourth Year of the Christian *Æra*, and the Fourteenth of the Reign of *Domitian*. His Sister *Berenice* was Mistress to *Titus*: She was a Queen by Marriage, but not a Sovereign of the Jews.

What we have endeavoured to prove is very apparent from this brief Summary. The *Herods*, who obtained the Kingdom when the Oracle of *Jacob* was near its Accomplishment, were Vassals to the *Roman* Empire. This Subjection began in the Time of the *Asmonæans*, when *Pompey* dethroned *Aristobulus*, and set up *Hyrcanus*; but it was never absolute till the Reign of *Herod* the Great. During the Life of this Prince, *Augustus* was Umpire even in the Disputes of his Family; and no sooner was he dead, but the Emperor's Agent

Agent in Syria set out to take an Account of his Goods, and seal them up. This most signal Token of the Jews Subjection was the more remarkable, as it appeared the very Year after the Saviour of the World was born. None of the Sons of Herod the Great were Kings; and though his Grandson Agrippa was honoured with a Diadem, he was still an humble Servant to the Emperors as much as the rest, if not more so; for 'tis not unlikely that his more than ordinary Submission might procure this empty Favour. His three Years Reign in Jerusalem, so long after the Death of Christ, had it been ever so absolute, and himself ever so much of the Tribe of Judah, could not have been called a Continuation of the Sceptre. And it was much less so, as Affairs really stood at that Juncture. In fine, Kings disappeared at Jerusalem, whilst he, who was so long expected there, made his Entry; and the People ought to have been sensible, by the Bondage they

groan'd under, that the Sceptre was departed from Judah. The Reign of the Herods was disadvantageous to the Jewish Nation; because having but a Shadow of Authority, and always depending upon the Roman Emperors, who alter'd, put up, and deposed them as they pleased, they were obliged to keep the People in a servile Dependence. They were the Leeches that sucked the Blood of that poor Nation, to enrich their Masters Favourites. They were obliged to build Cities and Citadels, in honour of their Benefactors, and to soften by Presents and vast Sums those that seemed to be exasperated. They were to contribute to the Pleasures and Expences of those on whom they depended, and to bear the Burden of a Crown without enjoying the Advantages of it. This undoubtedly was the Time to which the holy Patriarch referred, and the Saviour of the Christians was the true

Spils of the ancient Jews.

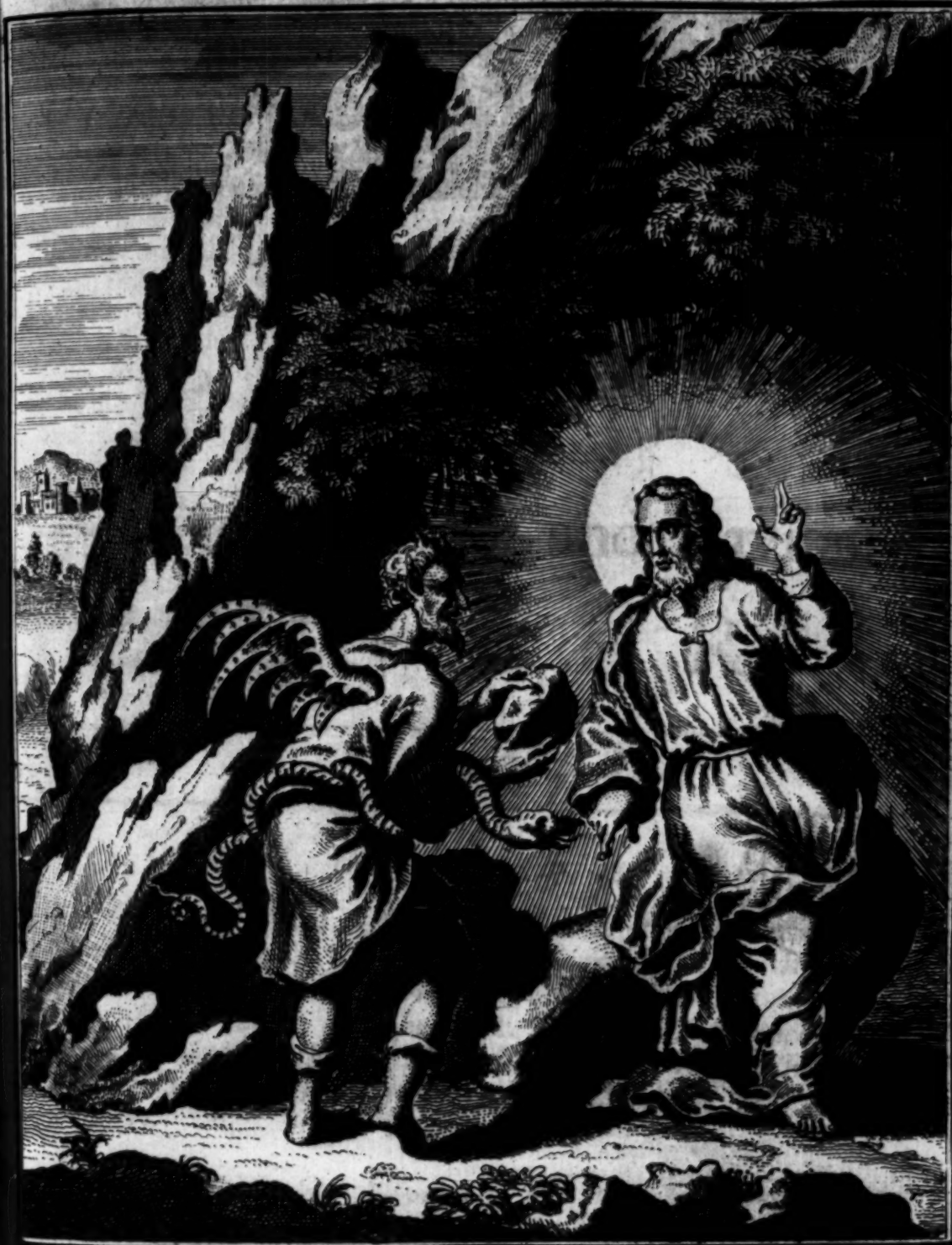
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He took Jerusalem profaned the Temple,
and placed Herod upon the Throne; who
thereupon became a Kind of Viceroy to the
Romans, being supported by them, and

the Councils of Nations, though they were
Reign of twenty-four Years.
his forming during the Advent
his Father; and tho' he was
obliged to fly, while Herod was
of Jerusalem prevailed, yet being
of the Romans, he returned with double
force, took Jerusalem again, and be-
came more arbitrary and cruel, the So-
vereign of Judea. We will not repeat
any Thing that has been said concerning
this Prince and his three Sons, but pro-
ceed with the rest of the Family, men-



is
We have endeavoured to prove
this brief Summary.
who obtained the Kingdom
of Judea was near as
ment were allied to the Ro-
This Subjection began in
the Time of the Maccabees, when
dedicated Jerusalem, and he up-
down; but it was never absolute till the
Reign of Herod the Great. During the
Life of this Prince, Judea was under
even in the Person of his Son, but no
no longer was the dead, but the Emperor's
Agent.

ST MATTHEW CHAP. IV.
CHRIST fasteth, is tempted, and overcomeh.



ST MATTHEW 4. Verse 3.

*When the tempter came to JESUS, he said If thou be the
Son of GOD cōmand that these Stones be made bread.*

ST. MATTHEW CHAP. IV.
CHRIST tempted, and overcome.



ST. MATTHEW 4 Verse 3.

Jesus said unto him, It is written, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.



THE
L I F E
OF OUR
Blessed Lord and Saviour
JESUS CHRIST.

BOOK II.

CHAP. II.

I. *The Beginning of the Gospel.* II. *Time of the Year when John began to preach.* III. *John's Character and Commission.* IV. *Where he taught, and the Substance of his Doctrine.* V. *Great Numbers resort to him.* VI. *His Discourse to the Pharisees, &c.* VII. *To the Publicans and Soldiers.* VIII. *He declares that he is not the Messiah.* IX, X. *Reasons of John's Success in the Ministry, deduced from his Method of Teaching and his Conversation.*



FROM his Disputation with the Doctors in the Temple, till the Time of his Manifestation to Israel, that is from the 12th. to the 30th Year of his Age, we have no other Account of the Life of Christ, than only that he dwelt at Naza-

reth, and was obedient to his Parents. But having thus past over in Silence eighteen Year of his Life, all the Evangelists agree in giving the History of his Entrance on the Ministry, and the preparatory Preaching and Baptism of his Forerunner, John the Son of Zacharias. The Beginning of this Publication of the Gospel

was.

was in the 15th Year of *Tiberius Caesar*, commonly reckoned the third Emperor of Rome. *Pontius Pilate* was at that Time the Roman Governor of *Judea*, with the Title of Procurator; *Herod Antipas* was Tetrarch of *Galilee*, which Dignity he had enjoy'd twenty-eight Years; his Brother *Philip* being also Tetrarch of *Iturea* and *Trachonitis*, and *Lysanias* of *Abilene*. The Dignity of the High priesthood was then vested in *Annas* and *Caiaphas*, who executed that Office jointly. And this was the Blessed Season, appointed by God, predicted by the Prophets, and expected by all the Faithful, in which *Life and Immortality were to be brought to Light thro' the Gospel*, 2 Tim. I. 10. For which Reason St. Mark emphatically calls the Time of *John's* Baptism, Mark I. 1. *The Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ*.

II. Some have conjectured that *John* had this Commission given him in the Month of *September*, about the Feast of Trumpets, which was the Beginning of the Civil Year of the Jews; and also that the Year which then commenced, was a Year of Jubilee, when there was always a very great Concurrence of People from foreign Parts into *Judea*; agreeable to the Prophecy of *Isaiah*, chap. 61, 2. which, among other Characters of *John's* Ministry, calls it a Proclaiming the acceptable Year of the Lord. But we do not find all this ascertained by Chronologers in general: For according to the Vulgar Computation, the Time was about *Midsummer*. Bishop *Usher* and his Followers are thought to have been the most exact of any in this Particular: They agree with those who fix the Beginning of *John's* Ministry to the Proclamation of a Jubilee, but change the Month from *September* to *October*. The Preaching of *John*, say they, commenced on the 10th Day of the 7th Month, five Days before the Feast of Tabernacles, upon the great Day of Expiation, when the High-Priest entered

into the *Holy of Holies*. This was a penitential Day, and joined with so solemn a Fast, that whosoever did not afflict his Soul thereon, was to be cut off from the People. It answered to the 19th of our *October*, and was likewise the Day whereon, by a solemn sounding of Trumpets, the 30th Jubilee of the Jews, and the last that ever they saw, was proclaim'd. Which Season, as one remarks, agrees with the Nature and Freedom of the Gospel, of which the Jubilee was a Type.

III. The Baptist had till this Time lived in the Wilderness, under the Discipline of the Holy Ghost and the Tuition of Angels, in Conversation with God, and in great Mortification to the World. His Clothing, according to the manner of the ancient Prophets, was a rough Garment of Camel's Hair, girt about him with a Leathern Girdle; and his Food was plain, necessary, and without Variety, for the most part only Locust and wild Honey. This retired, cheap, and abstemious Way of Living, gave him the best of Opportunities for Prayer and Meditation, and the Exercise of all holy Duties, till his bodily Affections were absolutely subdued, and he was in no Danger of being corrupted by the Temptations, or daunted by the Frowns, of the World: So that now, in the 30th Year of his Age, he was perfectly well qualified to enter upon the actual Administration of his Office. This also was the Age at which the Priests and Levites, of whose Number the Baptist was one, were permitted by the Law to begin the Exercise of their Functions. And now the Word of the Lord came to *John* in the Wilderness, commanding him to go to the Jews, and declare to them the Necessity of a Reformation and a holy Life, in as much as the Kingdom of the Messiah was at hand.

IV. *John* did not upon this come forth immediately to *Jerusalem*, or the other Cities of *Judea*, but into the County a-

Jordan, which was convenient for his Purpose. Here it was that the *Israelites* found that Passage through the River, which was typical of Baptism, when they came out of *Egypt*, and by the same Way they were afterwards carried Captive to *Babylon*, it being the High-road from *Judea* into the East. It was near the same Place also that *Elijah*, that eminent Type of *John*, after passing over this *Jordan*, was taken up in a fiery Chariot. What could be more remarkable than that the *Baptist*, who was the *Elijah* spoken of by *Malachi*, should first discover the Spirit of that great and ancient Prophet, near the Spot where he had dropt his Mantle for his Servant and Successor *Elisha*? Here he began to proclaim the near Approaches of the Messiah. And in order to prepare his Nation for the Reception of so great and holy a Prince, he exhorted them to Confession and Repentance of their Sins, and a speedy Reformation of their Lives; for that now the Lord was coming with his Fan in his Hand, and would thoroughly purge his Floor, gathering the Wheat into his Garner, but burning up the Chaff with unquenchable Fire. And the better to set forth this pure, regenerate State of Life, and bind his Disciples to it, he admitted them by a solemn and religious Washing of their Bodies with clear Water, on which account the Epithet of *Baptist* was added to his proper Name. The same Rite had been used before amongst the Jews, which was the Reason that we do not find him accused of Innovations; but no Baptism before his had so great and mystical a Signification. It now represented to them, that their Minds ought likewise to be cleansed from the vicious Habits they had contracted, if they seriously hoped to obtain Pardon for their Sins, and be made Partakers of that heavenly Kingdom, which he assured them was very shortly to be established by the Messiah. And by this Baptism and Do-

ctrine of his were eminently fulfilled several ancient Prophecies, which are therefore applied hereto by the Evangelists, they being understood of the Messiah's Forerunner by all the Jewish Nation.

LV. The Fame of this new Preacher extended itself over all the Country; and the Doctrine which he taught and inculcated was so conformable to right Reason, and the Evidence of its Truth so clear and powerful, that a prodigious Concourse of People resorted to him, from *Jerusalem*, and from all the other Parts of *Judea*, and even from *Galilee*. These being deeply affected with his Discourses, and dreading the Punishments, which God would shortly inflict on the Unbelievers, began to acknowledge their Crimes, that had made them justly incur the Divine Displeasure. And professing their Repentance for what was past, and their Resolutions to live for the future in a stricter Conformity to God's Law, in order to confirm their Sincerity, they submitted themselves to be baptised by him in the River *Jordan*. *John* was now acknowledged by all Men for a Prophet, and became the Oracle of People of all Professions. The Publicans, the Soldiers, and those that were esteemed the greatest of Sinners, thronged to hear his Sermons of Repentance, and take Directions of Amendment from his own Mouth. Nay, so universal was his Reputation, that we read of some Brethren at *Ephesus*, and of *Apollos* of *Alexandria*, who had received the Baptism of *John*; which proves that he was resorted to from foreign Countries, and that this Dawn of the Sun of Righteousness was seen beyond the Limits of *Palestine*.

VI. Among the great Numbers of People that came from all Parts to hear him, there appeared not a few of the *Sadducees* and *Pharisees*. Whether out of pure Curiosity, or from some other Reason, is not recorded. The former of these Sects

denied

denied that there is any Life after this; and the latter, though they professed to believe a future State, had seldom much true Religion, but for the most Part imposed upon the People under a formal Shew of Piety. As soon as *John* beheld these among his Auditors, being acquainted with their inward Hypocrisy, instead of shewing them that Respect which they commonly received from the Vulgar, he addressed himself to them in a very sharp Invective before all the People present; as knowing this, if any, to be the proper Way to effect their Cure. The Sense of what he then delivered to them may be thus expressed: O you whose vitiated Nature may be justly compared to the deadly Poison of Vipers, you are quite mistaken if you think to escape God's Vengeance by a mere out-side washing only without an Amendment of your Lives. This is none of my Doctrine, nor have you learned it from any who have right Notions of Internal Holiness. If you design to make this Baptism of mine useful to you, you must so behave yourselves for the future, as that the Reformation of your Minds may be demonstrated by a Conformity of Manners. By this Change of Life you may become acceptable to God, and not on account of your Descent from Abraham, as you vainly imagine; presuming that God, without any respect to their Actions, had confined his Favours to one particular Race of Men. The Almighty, if he pleases, can make to himself a chosen People out of any Nation, who imitating the Piety and Righteousness of your Father Abraham, may be entitled to all the Benefits promised to his Offspring: For the Time is near, in which God will inflict his Punishments on the Jews; his Judgments are coming home to this Nation, and will actually fall on every unrepentant Sinner among you.

VII. His Hearers then demanded of him, What they should do to avoid those terrible Judgments with which he threaten-

ed their Nation? To which he answered, *He that bath two Coats, let him impart to him that bath none; and he that bath Meat, let him do likewise:* Thus recommending above all Things, an extensive Charity, and the retrenching of their superfluous Expences, that they might have wherewithal to contribute more liberally to the Support of the Needy. Then the Jewish Tax-gatherers, a covetous, griping, unjust Sort of Men, came likewise to his Baptism, and demanded of him What they also were to do. These he answered by telling them, *That they ought not to exact any Thing beyond what the Edicts of the Magistracy gave them Power to collect.* After these came the Soldiers also, that is such Persons in the Army as were addicted to the Jewish Religion, and enquired of him, What were the principal Vices to be avoided by Persons of their Profession? He told them, *That they ought to do no manner of Injustice, neither by open Violence, nor secret Fraud, but be content with the Pay allotted them by the Government, and out of it provide themselves Necessaries for their daily Subsistence.* Thus did this excellent Person suit his Admonitions to all Ranks and Degrees of Men, being taught by the Holy Spirit, without ever conversing in the World, what was the most grievous Weight in every Circumstance of Life, and the Sin that did most easily beset the Professors of every Occupation. Such an Instructor as this could but command Veneration.

VIII. This Course of honest and salutary Doctrine, delivered with the greatest Zeal and Vehemence of Expression, and accompanied with the clearest Innocency of Manners and most becoming Gravity of Behaviour, so far prevailed upon the People, that they would willingly have persuaded themselves, that *John* was actually the Messiah. But to prevent them from running into this Error, he freely declared, *That he only baptised them* with

with Water to Repentance; but that one was coming after him, who should baptize them with the Holy Ghost and with Fire: A Person so far exceeding himself in Dignity and Power, that he was not worthy to serve him in the meanest Offices, such as bearing or unloosing his Shoes. Here, as our blessed Lord afterwards intimated, was an End of the Law and the Prophets, that is of all that Part of the Mosaical Dispensation, which was of a positive Nature only, and of that distant prophetic Relation, which the Writers of the Old Testament had to the Messiah, to whom John now pointed as to a Person present in the World, and shortly to make his publick Appearance. And from this Time the Kingdom of Heaven suffered Violence, and the Violent took it by Force: Multitudes of Gentiles, Publicans, Soldiers, Harlots, and others the most unpromising of Mankind, flock'd to the Ministry and Baptism of John, believed in the approaching Messiah, and by their importunate Zeal, like violent Invaders, snatched the Kingdom from the Scribes, Pharisees, and Heads of the Nation, to whom it was first offered.

IX. There are several Things observable in the Doctrine and Conversation of John, which gave him such a commanding Influence over the Minds of his Hearers; some of which might well be imitated by the Preachers of our Days. He reprov'd the Miscarriages of all Orders of Men, with impartial Freedom and Authority; the Hypocrisy of the Pharisees, the Prophaneness of the Sadducees, the Extortion of the Publicans, the Rapine of the Soldiers, and the Lewdness and Incest of Herod himself, as we shall find hereafter. On the other Side, he enforced his Exhortations to Repentance by a lively Representation of that approaching Happiness, to which true Penitents should certainly be admitted. Repent, says he, for the Kingdom of God is

No. XXI.

at hand. But the most effectual Means whereby this Prophet of the Highest prepared the Way of the Lord, was peculiar to himself, and consisted in setting the Messiah before the Eyes of the People, and convincing them that the Son of God, was now manifested in the Flesh. The Coming of Christ had been always understood as such a great and general Blessing to Mankind, that he was stiled not only the Hope of Israel, but the Desire of all Nations. His Presence had been longed for by many Generations: Even Prophets and Kings had desired to see him, tho' it were but for one Day. And therefore his immediate Fore-runner, who prophesy'd not of him at a Distance, but brought him as it were by the Hand, and introduced him to his Office before all the People, must needs have been very acceptable to all those who had just and true Notions of their Redeemer.

X. If to these Qualifications and Advantages, which were peculiar to, or attendant on, the Ministry of the Baptist, we also add those of his Person and Deportment, we shall discover more of that mighty Energy which recommended his Office, and made it so prosperous and prevalent among the People. We shall not here repeat all that is remarked of him by the Evangelist, but instance only in one Particular, which was taken notice of above, His Humility and Freedom from Arrogance in the Discharge of his Commission. He preached not Himself, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and had no Vanity in him for popular Applause to work upon, Luke 3. 15, 16. For when the People were in Expectation, and all Men mused in their Hearts of him, whether he were the Christ or not, He answered, saying unto them all, I indeed baptise you with Water; but one mightier than I cometh, the Latchet of whose Shoes I am not worthy to unloose, he shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with Fire.

X

The

The People were so charmed with his Doctrine and Conversation, that they thought no Honour too great for him. Here was a strong Temptation to Pride and Vanity, which might have had an ill Effect on some ambitious Minds; but it had none other on him, than only to render his Humility the more conspicuous. This is an excellent Lesson for those Ministers, who forget that unaffected Simplicity with which the Gospel was first planted, and by which alone it can be successfully recommended.

DISSERTATION I.

Of the Corruption of the *Jewish Church*, and the Introduction and Excellence of the Gospel Dispensation.

- I. *State of the Jewish Church at the Beginning of the Gospel Dispensation.* II. *Depravation of the Law by false Glosses.* III. *Oral Tradition; its Original, Succession, &c.* IV. *The Vow of Corban.* V. *Seets in the Church: The Pharisees.* VI. *The Sadducees.* VII. *The Essenes.* VIII. *Herodians, Samaritans, Caraites, Zelotes, &c.* IX. *Character and Commission of John.* X. *Baptism in use among the Jews.* XI. *Evangelical Dispensation preferred to the Mosaic: For its Perspicuity and Agreeableness to human Nature.* XII. *For the Excellence of its Promises.* XIII. *For the Aids of the Spirit under it; and its admirable Confirmation.* XIV. *For its great Extent and Comprehensiveness.* XV. *For its eternal Duration.* XVI. *A Review of several Particulars; and the great Happiness of Christians inferred.*

AT the beginning of the former Book we discoursed on the two great Dispensations which preceded the Coming of *Christ*; and in so doing gave a general

View of Religion from the Creation down to the Times of the Gospel. We thought what was then said sufficient for the Place where it was introduced; but having now gone thro' the History of our Lord's Infancy and Youth, and brought this Work to the very Time of his Entrance on the Publick Business of his heavenly Father, 'tis very necessary, before we proceed, that we should take a more particular View of the State of the *Jewish Church*, as it then stood, in order to procure as much Light as possible to the remaining Parts of the Life of *Christ*, and the Lives of his Apostles.

And alas! how degenerated, how deformed, were all Things at this Time! how was the *Jewish Religion* changed from its primitive Institution! The second Temple, after all the infinite Cost that was bestowed upon it, was vastly inferior to that of *Solomon* in Magnificence and Glory: Not to mention that it wanted the Ark of the Covenant, the Divine Presence, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the holy Fire upon the Altar, and the Spirit of Prophecy, every one of which contributed more to its Glory than all the outward Ornaments in the World could do; not to mention these, I say, because they had been wanting several hundreds of Years; it was remarkable, that the Structure itself had been several times exposed to Rudeness and Violence. Besides the horrible Prophanations of *Antiochus*, it had been lately invaded by *Pompey*, who boldly ventured into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and without any Scruple contemplated the Mysteries of that Place, tho' he suffered no Injury to be offered it. A few Years after came *Crassus*, who to the Boldness of *Pompey* added Sacrilege, seizing all the vast Treasure and Wealth, which the other's Piety and Modesty had spared. These Actions of two Roman Generals, were as Fore-runners of the final Destruction of *Jerusalem* and the Temple together

together by the Roman People; which happened soon after the *Mosaical* Economy was finally abrogated by the Satisfaction of *Jesus Christ*, when the Impiety and Unbelief of the *Jews* had exposed them to God's utmost Displeasure. After *Crassus* came *Herod*, who having procured a Grant of the Kingdom, besieged and took the City and the Temple; and tho' to ingratiate himself with the People, he did what in him lay to secure it from Rapine, and afterwards expended incredible Sums in its Reparation, yet did he not stick to make it truckle to his wicked Policies and Designs, prophaning it with a golden Eagle, in order to make his Court to *Augustus*. 'Tis true that all these Persons, who thus impiously abused the House of God, were visited with extraordinary Tokens of his Displeasure. The troublesome Life and painful Death of *Herod*, have been already related; and the Judgments that fell upon *Antiochus*, were much of the same Nature. *Pompey*, though much more favourable than either *Antiochus* or *Crassus*, from being the most successful Person in the World, became the most unfortunate; and as for *Crassus*, who entered the Temple only to plunder it, he was soon after slain by the *Parthians*, and had melted Gold poured into his Throat by way of Mockery, as if they would satiate his greedy Thirst after Riches even when he was dead. But tho' God thus signally punish'd the Authors of these Prophanations, yet his suffering so many of them to follow upon the Neck of one another, was an Indication that he was about to withdraw his peculiar Protection from his antient Sanctuary, and publish his Grace to all Mankind. In a word, the Temple was now become an Exchange or Market; the Place where Men were wont to meet with God, and trade with Heaven, was now turned into a Market-house for Merchants, and a Shop for Usurers, and the House of Prayer

was become a Den of Thieves. The Worship which was formerly wont to be performed there with pious and devout Affections, which was now shrunk into a mere outside Shew. *They drew near to God with their Mouths, and honoured him with their Lips, but their Hearts were far from him*, Isa. 29. 13. Rites of human Invention had jostled out those of divine Institution, and their very Prayers were only Traps to catch the unwary People, and, as our Lord expressed it, to devour the Widows and the Fatherless. Their Priesthood was so changed and altered, that it retained little of its antient Institution, but only the Name. The High-priests, who by their original Charter were lineally to succeed each other, and to hold their Place for Life, were now become almost annual, scarce a Year passing over wherein one was not thrust out, and another put in, as *Eusebius* testifies from their own Historian: And, which was far worse, it was not annual, but venal, *Herod* exposing it to sale, and scarce admitting any Man to the sacerdotal Office, who had not first sufficiently paid for his Patent; by which means the Place was filled by the Refuse of the People, Men of mean Abilities and debauched Manners, who had neither Parts nor Piety, nor any Thing but their Money to recommend them. Nay, into so strange a Degeneracy were they fallen in this Matter, that *Josephus* reports, that one *Phannias* was elected High-priest, who was not only not of the sacerdotal Order, but a rustick illiterate Fellow, so miserably stupid and ignorant, that he knew not what the High-priesthood meant. And besides this, the Priesthood fell out among themselves, the Heads of them quarrelling with the inferior Orders, and both Parties going about with armed Retinues to oppose one another whenever they met.

II. The Law, which had been delivered with so much Majesty and Magnificence,

cence, and for which the Jews pretended so great a Reverence, was now miserably deprav'd and corrupted, the moral Part of it especially; and that by two Ways: The first, was the gross and absurd Interpretations, which the Teachers of those Times had put upon it. The Scribes and Pharisees, who ruled in the Jewish Church, had by false Glosses debased the Majesty and Purity of the Law, and made it to serve the Purposes of an evil Life. Dr. Cave, whom we follow in this Place, carries this Depravity so far, that we think it proper to use his very * Words. *They had taught the People, says he, that the Law required no more than external Righteousness; that if there was but a visible Conformity of Life, they needed not to be solicitous about the Government of their Minds, or the regular Conduct of their Thoughts and Passions; that so Men did but carry themselves fair to the Eye of the World, it was no great Matter how Things went in the secret and unseen Retirements of the Soul; nay, that a punctual Observance of some external Precepts of the Law, would compensate and quit Scores with God for the Neglect or Violation of the rest. They told Men, that when the Law forbade Murder, so they did not actually kill another, and sheathe their Swords in their Brother's Bowels, it was well enough: Men were not restrained from intemperate Passions; they might be angry, yea though by peevish and uncomely Speeches, they betray'd the Rancour of their Minds. They confessed the Law made it Adultery actually to embrace the Bosom of a Stranger, but would not have it extend to wanton Thoughts and unchaste Desires, or that it was Adultery for a Man to lust after a Woman, and commit Folly with her in his Heart. They told the People, that in all Oaths and Vows, if they did but perform what they had sworn to God, the Law took no further*

notice of it; whereas every vain and unnecessary Oath, all customary and trifling Use of the Name of God, was forbidden by it. They made them believe that it was lawful for them to proceed by the rigorous Law of Retaliation, to exact their own to the uttermost, and to right and revenge themselves; whereas the Law requires a tender, compassionate, and benevolent Temper of Mind; and is so far from owning the rigorous Punctilio's of Revenge, that it obliges to Meekness and Patience, to Forgiveness and Charity, and, which is the very Height of Charity, not only to pardon, but to love and befriend our greatest Enemies; quite contrary to the Doctrine which these Men taught, that though they were to love their Neighbours, that is the Jews, yet might they hate their Enemies. In these and such like Instances they had notoriously abused and evacuated the Law, and in a manner rendered it of no Effect.

This learned Gentleman, in another Place, and in order to magnify the Excellence of the Gospel Dispensation, denies that the moral Law of the Jews, which he says was compriz'd in the Decalogue, obliged them to do good to others, to love, assist, and relieve their Enemies; and we have followed him in this Opinion, which we still think very well founded. 'Tis probable that what he now means by the Law's requiring these Things, is no more than this, That the negative Precepts of it, which forbid the doing of Hurt to others, might very well be, and were in more antient Times, explained into positive Commands of universal Charity. No doubt but this was the very Truth of the matter: And therefore our Lord, when he came into the World as the great Prophet sent from God, in the first Place, after his Entrance upon his publick Ministry, took care to cleanse and purify the

* Apparatus to Taylor. Sect ii. v. 19.

Law, and to remove that Rubbish which the *Jewish* Doctors had cast upon it. Indeed the foregoing Charge against the Scribes and Pharisees, who taught the People, is chiefly to be supported from some of the Discourses of our Lord, which are very severe upon those Doctors, and teach the contrary Doctrines to what they are said to have advanced. We must suppose that our Lord had just Occasion for the particular Applications which he so frequently made; and consequently that the *Jewish* Doctors were altogether as erroneous and corrupt as they are here represented, because otherwise those Occasions would not always have been so pertinent as we ought to believe they were. But he shewed the People how infinitely more pure and strict the Command was than these Impostors had represented it, and plainly told them, That if ever they expected to be happy, they must look upon the Law with another guise Eye, and follow it after another Rate, than their blind and deceitful Guides did: *For I say unto you, Except your Righteousness exceed the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, you can in no case enter into the Kingdom of God, Matt. 5. 20.*

III. But besides this Introduction of corrupt Glosses, there was another way by which the *Jewish* Teachers dishonoured the Law of God, and weakened the Power and Reputation of it; and that was, by preferring before it their oral and unwritten Law. For over and above the Law consign'd to Writing, they had their Law deliver'd by Word of Mouth, which they believed was given to *Moses*, during his forty Days Converse with God, as much as the written Law itself. This is the Opinion of the present *Jews*, as it was also of the *Jews* in the Days of our Saviour, and had been from the Time of

Simon the Just, their High-priest and Ruler, who lived near three hundred Years before the Vulgar Æra. It was under the Presidency of this Man, and chiefly by his Direction, that the Canon of the holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, by which we now receive them, was perfected and finally settled in the *Jewish* Church. After this followed the *Mishnical* Times, or the Times of Traditions: For whereas the Holy Scriptures had till then been the only Rule of Faith and Manners, it followed thenceforth, when the Word of God was certain and fixed, that Traditions were regarded, as Men are always seeking after something new; and they so far prevailed, that in the Times of our Blessed Lord, they overbore even the Word of God itself. An Account of the Origin, Succession; and Character of these Traditions, has been given us by the learned Dr. *Prideaux*, from whom we shall here insert it, as containing many curious Particulars, which will be of great Service in the understanding some Parts of the Evangelical History.

"The antient and approved Usages of the *Jewish* Church, which had been in Practice before the Captivity, had, by *Jeshua* and *Zerubbabel*, with the chief Elders their Contemporaries, and by others that after succeeded them, been a gathering together from their first Return to *Jerusalem*, as they could be recovered from the Memories of the Ancients of their Nation, who had either seen them practis'd themselves before the Captivity, or had been inform'd concerning them by their Parents or others, who had lived before them. All these, and whatsoever else was pretended to be of the same Nature, *Ezra* brought under a Review, *and having after due Examination allow'd such

* All this was again review'd by *Simon the Just*, who made such Additions as were dictated by the Spirit of God, and completed the Canon of the Scriptures, as above noted. It was not till after

such of them as were to be allow'd, and settled them by his Approbation and Authority, they gave Birth to what the *Jews* now call their Oral Law. For they own a twofold Law, the first the Written Law, which is recorded in the holy Scriptures, and the second the Oral Law, which they have only by the Tradition of their Elders. And both these they say were given them by *Moses*, from Mount *Sinai*, of which the former only was committed to Writing, and the other delivered down to them from Generation to Generation by the Tradition of the Elders. And therefore holding them to be both of the same Authority, as having both of them the same divine Original, they think themselves to be bound as much by the latter as the former, or rather more. For the written Law is, they say, in many Places obscure, scanty, and defective, and could be no perfect Rule to them without the Oral Law, which containing, according to them, a full, complete, and perfect Interpretation of all that is written in the other, supplies all the Defects, and solves all the Difficulties of it. And therefore they observe the written Law, no otherwise, than according as it is expounded and interpreted by their Oral Law. And hence it is a common Saying among them, that the Covenant was made with them, not upon the written Law, but upon the Oral Law. And therefore they do in a manner lay aside the former to make room for the latter, and resolve their whole Religion into their Traditions, in the same manner as the *Romanists* do theirs; having no farther regard to the written Word of God, than as it agrees with their traditionary Explications of it, but always preferring them thereto, though in many particulars they are quite contradictory to it; which

is a Corruption that had grown to a great Height among them even in our Saviour's time; for he chargeth them with it, and tells them expressly, *Mark* 7. 13. that *they made the Word of God of none effect through their Traditions*. But they have done it much more since, professing a greater Regard to the latter than the former. And hence it is, that we find it so often said in their Writings, That the Words of the Scribes are lovely above the Words of the Law; that the Words of the Law are weighty and light, but the Words of the Scribes are all weighty; that the Words of the Elders are weightier than the Words of the Prophets; (where by the Words of the Scribes, and the Words of the Elders, they mean the Traditions delivered to them by their Scribes and Elders.) And in other Places; that the written Text is only as Water, but the *Mishnah* and *Talmud* (in which are contained their Traditions) are as Wine and Hippocras. And in many other Sayings very common among them, do they express the high Veneration, which they bear towards the Oral or Traditionary Law, and the little Regard which they have to the written Word of God in comparison of it, making nothing of the latter, but as expounded by the former; as if the written Word were no more than the dead Letter, and the Traditionary Law alone the Soul, that gives the whole Life and Essence thereto. And this being what they hold of their Traditions, which they call their Oral Law, the Account which they give of its Original, is as followeth.

For they tell us, that at the same time when God gave unto *Moses* the Law in Mount *Sinai*, he gave unto him also the Interpretation of it, commanding him to commit the former to Writing, but to

after this that what has been since called Oral Tradition actually came into Repute. Prid. Connect. Part I. b. viii.

deliver

deliver the other only by Word of Mouth, to be preserved in the Memories of Men, and to be transmitted down by them from Generation to Generation by Tradition only; and from hence the former is called the Written, and the other the Oral Law. And to this Day all the Determinations and Dictates of the latter are termed by the *Jews* Constitutions of *Moses* from Mount *Sinai*, because they do as firmly believe, that he received them all from God in his forty Days Converse with him in that Mount, as that he then received the written Text itself: That on his Return from this Converse, he brought both of these Laws with him, and delivered them unto the People of *Israel* in this manner. As soon as he was returned to his Tent, he called *Aaron* thither unto him, and first delivered to him the Text, which was to be the written Law, and after that the Interpretation of it, which was the Oral Law, in the same Order as he received both from God in the Mount. Then *Aaron* arising and seating himself at the Right-hand of *Moses*, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* his Sons went next in, and being taught both these Laws at the Feet of the Prophet, in the same manner as *Aaron* had been, they also arose and seated themselves, the one on the Left-hand of *Moses*, and the other on the Right-hand of *Aaron*; and then the Seventy Elders, who constituted the Sanhedrim, or Great Senate of the Nation, went in, and being taught by *Moses* both these Laws in the same manner, they also seated themselves in the Tent; and then entered all such of the People as were desirous of knowing the Law of God, and were taught it in the same manner. After this *Moses* withdrawing, *Aaron* repeated the whole of both Laws, as he had heard it from him, and also withdrew; and then *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* repeated the same, and on their withdrawing the Seventy Elders made the same

Repetition to the People then present; so that each of them having heard both these Laws repeated to them four Times, they all had it thereby firmly fixed in their Memories: And that then they dispersed themselves among the whole Congregation, and communicated to all the People of *Israel* what had been thus delivered unto them by the Prophet of God: That they did put the Text into Writing, but the Interpretation of it they delivered down only by Word of Mouth to the succeeding Generations: That the written Text contained the six hundred and thirteen Precepts, into which they divide the Law, and the unwritten Interpretations all the Manners, Ways, and Circumstances, that were to be observed in the keeping of them: That after this, towards the End of the fortieth Year from their coming up out of the Land of *Egypt*, in the Beginning of the eleventh Month (which fell about the Middle of our *January*) *Moses* calling all the People of *Israel* together, acquainted them of the approaching Time of his Death, and therefore ordered, that if any of them had forgot ought of what he had delivered to them, they should repair to him, and he would repeat to them anew what had slipp'd their Memories, and farther explain unto them every Difficulty and Doubt, which might arise in their Minds concerning what he had taught them of the Law of their God: And that hereon they applying to him all the remaining Time of his Life, was employed in instructing them anew in the Text, which they call the Written Law, and in the Interpretations of it, which they call the Oral Law: And that having delivered to them thirteen Copies of the Written Law, all copied out with his own Hand from the Beginning of *Genesis* to the end of *Deuteronomy*, one to each of the Twelve Tribes, to be kept by them throughout their Generations, and the thirteenth to the *Levites* to be laid up by them in the

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the Tabernacle before the Lord, and having moreover then anew repeated the Oral Law to *Joshua* his Successor, he went on the seventh Day after up into Mount *Nebo* and there died: That after his Death *Joshua* delivered the said Oral Law to the Elders, who after succeeded him, and they delivered it to the Prophets, and the Prophets transmitted it down from each other, till it came to *Jeremiah*, who delivered it to *Baruch*, and *Baruch* to *Ezra*, by whom it was delivered to the Men of the great Synagogue, the last of whom was *Simon the Just*: That by him it was delivered to *Antigonus of Socho*, and by him to *Jose the Son of Jochanan*, and by him to *Jose the Son of Joezer*, and by him to *Nathan the Arbelite* and *Joshua the Son of Perachiah*, and by them to *Judab the Son of Tabbai* and *Simeon the Son of Shatah*, and by them to *Shemaiah* and *Abtalion*, and by them to *Hillel*, and by *Hillel* to *Simeon* his Son, who is supposed to have been the same that took our Saviour into his Arms, when he was brought to the Temple to be there presented to the Lord at the Time of his Mother's Purification; and by *Simeon* it was delivered to *Gamaliel* his Son (the same at whose Feet *Paul* was brought up) and by him to *Simeon* his Son, by him to *Gamaliel* his Son, and by him to *Simeon* his Son, and by him to *Rabbah Judah Hakkadosh* his Son, who wrote it into the Book which they call the *Mishnah*.

But all this is mere Fiction, spun out of the fertile Invention of the *Talmudists*, without the least Foundation, either in Scripture or in any authentick History, for it. ----

For the Truth of the Matter is this: After the Death of *Simon the Just*, there arose a sort of Men, whom they call the *Mishnical* Doctors, that made it their Business to study and descant upon those Traditions, which had been received and allowed by *Ezra*, and the Men of the

great Synagogue, and to draw Inferences and Consequences from them; all which they ingrafted into the Body of these ancient Traditions, as if they had been as authentick as the other; which Example being followed by those who after succeeded them in this Profession, they continually added their own Imaginations to what they had received from those that went before them, whereby these Traditions becoming as a Snow-ball, the farther they rouled down from one Generation to another, the more they gathered, and the greater the Bulk of them grew. And thus it went on to the Middle of the Second Century after Christ, when *Antoninus Pius* governed the Roman Empire, by which Time they found it necessary to put all these Traditions into Writing. For they were then grown to so great a Number, and enlarged to so huge a Heap, as to exceed the Possibility of being any longer preserved by the Memory of Men. And besides, on the second Destruction, which their Country had undergone from the Romans a little before, in the Reign of *Adrian* the preceding Emperor, most of their learned Men having been cut off, and the chiefest of their Schools broken up and dissolved, and vast Numbers of their People dissipated and driven out of their Land, the usual Method of preserving their Traditions had then in a great Measure failed. And therefore there being Danger, that under these Disadvantages they might be all forgotten and lost, for the preventing hereof it was resolved, that they should be all collected together, and put into a Book; and *Rabbi Judah the Son of Simeon*, who from the reputed Sanctity of his Life was called *Hakkadosh*, that is the Holy, and was then Rector of the School which they had at *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, and President of the *Sanhedrim* that there sat, undertook the Work, and compiled it in six Books, each consisting of several Tracts, which

all together make up the Number of Sixty three; in which, under their proper Heads, he methodically digested all that hitherto had been delivered to them of their Law and their Religion, by the Tradition of their Ancestors. And this is the Book called the *Mishnah*; which Book was forthwith received by the Jews with great Veneration throughout all their Dispersions, and hath ever since been held in high Esteem among them; for their Opinion of it is, that all the Particulars therein contained were dictated by God himself to *Moses* from Mount *Sinai*, as well as the written Word itself, and consequently must be of the same divine Authority with it, and ought to be as sacredly observed. And therefore, as soon as it was published, it became the Subject of the Studies of all the learned Men, and the chiefest of them both in *Judea* and *Babylonia* employed themselves to make Comments on it; and these with the *Mishnah* make up both their *Talmuds*, that is the *Jerusalem Talmud*, and the *Babylonish Talmud*. Out of this *Talmud*, *Maimonides*, hath made an Abstract, containing only the Resolutions or Determinations made therein on every Case, without the Descants, Disputes, Fables, and other Trash, under which they lay buried in that vast Load of Rubbish. This Work is intitled by him, *Yad Hachazakah*, and is one of the compleatest Digests of Law that was ever made, I mean not as to the Matter, but in respect only of the Clearness of the Style and Method, in which it is composed, the filthy Mass of Dirt from under which he dug it, and the comprehensive Manner

in which he hath digested the Whole. And for this and other of his Writings he is deservedly esteemed the best Author among them. They who professed this sort of Learning, that is, taught and propagated these traditionary Doctrines among them, have been distinguished by several different Titles and Appellations, according to the different Ages in which they lived. From the Time of the Men of the great Synagogue to the publishing of the *Mishnah*, they were called * *Tannaim*, and they are the *Mishnical* Doctors, out of whose Doctrines and Traditions the *Mishnah* was composed. And from the Time of the publishing of the *Mishnah*, to the publishing of the *Babylonish Talmud*, they were called † *Amoraim*, and they are the *Gemarical* Doctors, out of whose Doctrines and Traditions the *Gemara* was composed. And for about an hundred Years after the publishing of the *Talmud*, they were called ‖ *Seburaim*, and after that ** *Geonim*. And these were the several Classes in which their learned Men have been ranked, according to the several Ages in which they formerly lived. But for these later Times the general Name of *Rabbi* is that only whereby their learned Men are called, there being no other Title whereby they have been distinguished for near seven hundred Years past. For about the Year 1040, all their Schools in *Mesopotamia*, where only they enjoyed these high Titles, being destroyed, and all their learned Men thence expelled and driven out by the *Mahometan* Princes, who then governed in those Parts, they have since that, with the greatest Number of their

* The Word *Tannaim* hath its Derivation from *Tanah*, which signifieth, To deliver by Tradition, and is the same in Chaldee with *Shanah* in the Hebrew, from whence the Word *Mishnah* is derived.

† i. e. Dictators; because they dictated those Explications upon the *Mishnah*, which are contained in the *Gemara*.

‖ i. e. Opinionists; for they did not dictate any Doctrines, but only inferr'd Opinions by Disputation, and probable Arguments from what had been afore dictated and received in the *Mishnah* and *Gemara*.

** i. e. The sublime or excellent Doctors; they were so called from the Sublimity of their Learning.

People flocked into these Western Parts, especially into *Spain, France, and England*. And from that Time all these pompous Titles, which they affected in the East, being here dropp'd, they have retained none other for their learned Men from that Time, but that of *Rabbi*, excepting only that those of them, who minister in their Synagogues, are called †† *Chacams*, i. e. *Wife-Men*. --- Thus far the Reverend and Learned Dean of *Norwich*.

Dr. *Cave* mentions yet more of the extravagant, and even blasphemous, *Encomiums*, which the modern *Jews* give to these Writings, and the Authors or Compilers of them. *All the Words of the Rabbis, say they, are the very Words of the living God, from which a Man might not depart, though they should tell him that his Right-hand were his Left, and his Left his Right*: Nay they blush not, nor tremble, to assert, that to study in the holy Bible is nothing else but to lose our Time; and yet at the same time they impiously maintain, that he that dissents from his *Rabbi*, or Teacher, dissents from the divine Majesty; but he that believes the Words of the *Wise-men*, believes God himself. Strange! that Men should so far offer Violence to their Reason, so far conquer and subdue their Conscience, as to be able to talk at this wild and extravagant Rate: And stranger it would seem, but that we know a Generation of Men, at this Time Professors of Christianity in another Church, who endeavour to debase and suppress the Scriptures, and value their unwritten Traditions at little less Rate than this. 'Tis indeed surprising to hear a *Romanist*, and a moderate one too, after censuring the *Jews* for what he calls an extravagant Veneration for these Fables, proceed very gravely to tell us, That the Christians also have their Traditions, which they have

received from *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles; That they look upon them with very good Reason, as a sacred and inviolable Depositum, and as an infallible Rule of Faith and Obedience, since they are derived from the same Fountain and from the same Spirit, that dictated the Scriptures themselves. But the Church of *England* has wisely guarded against this Foundation of Error, in her Article concerning Tradition; and by declaring in another Place, *That the Holy Scripture containeth all Things necessary to Salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any Man, that it should be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to Salvation*. And this is universally the Doctrine of Protestants.

In a word, though the *Jews* may have carried this Humour of theirs farther in latter Ages than they did before, according to the Observation of Dr. *Prideaux* above recited, 'tis nevertheless plain that they were notoriously guilty of it in our Saviour's Days, which is the main thing we had to prove. Our Lord frequently charges them with their superstitious Observances of many little Rites and Usages derived from the Traditions of the Elders, wherein they placed the Main of Religion, and for which they had a far more sacred Regard, than for the plain and positive Commands of God. Such were their frequent Washings of their Pots and Cups, their *brazen Vessels* and Tables, the Purifying themselves after they came from Market, the washing their Hands before every Meal, and many other Things which they had received to hold: In all which they were infinitely nice and scrupulous, making the Neglect of them of equal Guilt with the greatest Immorality: Some of their Rabbies not sticking to affirm, that he who eats Bread with unwashed Hands,

†† Chacam in the Hebrew Language signifieth a Wife Man.

is as if he had lain with an Harlot. This, 'tis plain, they thought a sufficient Charge against our Lord's Disciples, that they were not diligent Observers of these Things. *When they saw some of his Disciples eat Bread with defiled (that is to say, with unwashen) Hands, they found Fault, and asked him, Why walk not thy Disciples according to the Tradition of the Elders, but eat Bread with unwashen Hands?* But our blessed Saviour smartly replied, That they were the Persons of whom the Prophet had spoken, *who honoured God with their Lips, but their Hearts were far from him; that in vain did they worship him, whilst for Doctrines they taught the Commandments of Men, laying aside and rejecting the Commandments of God, that they might hold the Traditions of Men.* This proves that at that Time, they were not content with making Tradition of equal Value and Authority with the Scriptures of God, but made it a Means even to evacuate and supersede those divine Oracles.

IV. Our Lord gives a remarkable Instance of their Contempt of both Scripture and Morality, in comparison of this traditional Religion, by taking notice of their little Regard for one of the first of natural Duties, a Veneration for their Parents. They could not say but that the Law obliged Children to honour and revere their Parents, and to administer to their Necessities in all Straits and Exigencies; they could not deny that Nature directed them to do this; but they had found out a fine Way to evade the Force of the Command, and harden themselves against the Impulses of Humanity, and that under a pious and plausible Pretence. *God commanded, saying Honour thy Father and thy Mother; and whoso curseth Father or Mother, let him die the Death.* But ye say, *if a Man shall say to his Father or Mother, It is Corban, that is to say, a Gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me, he shall be free:*

And ye suffer him no more to do ought for his Father or his Mother. By these Words, says the learned *Cave*, is commonly understood, that when their Parents required Relief and Assistance from their Children, they put them off with this Excuse, that they had consecrated their Estate to God, and might not divert it to any other Use. But though this seems a specious and plausible Pretence, yet it is not reasonable to suppose, that either they had, or would pretend that they had, entirely devoted to God whatever they possessed. It must therefore refer to some other Custom. Now among the many Kinds of Oaths and Vows that were among the Jews, they had one which they called, *The Vow of Interdict*; whereby a Man might restrain himself as to this or that particular Person, and this or that particular Thing: As for Instance, He might vow not to accept of such a Courtesy from such a Friend, Neighbour, or Relation; or that he would not part with this or that Thing of his own towards the Relief or Maintenance of such an one; and then, in either of these Cases, the Thing became utterly unlawful, and might not be done upon any Consideration whatsoever, lest the Man became guilty of the Violation of his Vow. Thus were they taught to dispense with the nearest Offices of Humanity by pretending Religion for what they did. The Form of this Vow frequently occurs in the Jewish Writings, and even in the very same Words wherein our Lord expresses it. *Be that Corban, or a Gift, that is a thing sacred, whereby I may be any wise profitable to thee:* Which is as much as to say, Be that Thing unlawful and prohibited to myself, which I might by any ways make helpful or assistant to thee. And nothing more common than this Way of Vowing in the particular Case of Parents, whereof there are abundant Instances in the Writings of the Jewish Masters.

Masters. The Explanation they give of the forementioned Vow, is to the same Effect as that above. *Whatever I shall gain hereafter shall be sacred, as to the Maintenance of my Father:* Or, as *Maimonides* expresses it, *What I provide, my Father shall eat nothing of it, nor receive any Profit by it.* And then they tell us, *He that had made this Vow, might not by any means transgress, or make void what he had vow'd.* So that when indigent Parents craved Relief and Assistance from their Children, and probably wearied them with Importunity, it was but vowing in a passionate Resentment, that their Father or Mother should not be the better for what they had, and then they were safe, and might no more dispose any Part of their Estate to that Use, than they might touch the *Corban*, which was most solemnly consecrated to God. By which Means they were taught to be unnatural, under a Pretence of Religion, and to suffer their Parents to starve, lest themselves should violate a senseless and unlawful Vow: For tho' they were under the precedent Obligations of a natural Duty, and a Duty as clearly commanded by God as Words could express it, yet this blind Tradition, this rash and impious Vow, made for the most Part out of Passion or Covetousness, was suffer'd to cancel and supersede all these Obligations, they not being permitted afterwards to give them one Penny towards their Relief, tho' their Necessity appeared to be never so great and pressing. Thus they made the written Word of God, as well as the great and original Law of Nature, of none Effect, through the Traditions deliver'd down amongst them.

V. The next Instance of the Corruption and Degeneracy of the *Jewish* Church, may be taken from the many Sects and Divisions that were in it, a Thing which the *Jews* themselves, in their Writings, confess would happen in the Days of the

Messiah, whose Kingdom should be overrun with heretical Opinions. For the History of these Divisions, their Occasion and Progress, with an Account of what was peculiar to every Sect, take the following Extracts.

The *Jews*, after their Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, and the full settling of their Church again in the Land of *Israel*, appear to have been divided chiefly into two Parties. The one, adhering to the Written Word only, believed that in the Observance of that alone, they fulfilled all Righteousness, and upon this Foundation thought themselves sufficiently entitled to the Name of *Zadikim*, or *The Righteous*. The other, over and above the Written Law, superadded the traditional Constitutions of the Elders, and other rigorous Observances, to which they voluntarily devoted themselves; and from hence reckoning themselves possessed of a Degree of Holiness superior to that of their Brethren, they assumed the Name of *Chasidim*, or *The Pious*. These latter are mentioned in the *Maccabees* by the Name of *Assideans*. From the former Sect, that is the Sect of *Zadikim*, proceeded the *Samaritans*, the *Sadducees*, and the *Caraites*, or *Karaites*; and from the latter, to wit the *Chasidim*, sprung the *Pharisees* and *Essenes*. All these Subdivisions were in being at the Time of our Lord, and are all mentioned in the New Testament, except the *Essenes*. But then we have another Sect, that of the *Herodians*, taken Notice of in the Gospels, which had its Rise after the others, and from a different Cause. We shall enquire into the particular Tenets of them all in some following Paragraphs, and why some of them are so very severely censured by our Lord, whilst the *Essenes*, though pretty numerous, are not at all mentioned. And in this we shall briefly follow *Dr. Prideaux*, as finding in no other Author an Account of them in so few Words, so very

very good, full, and satisfactory.

The greatest of all the *Jewish* Sects, was that of the *Pharisees*: For they had not only the Scribes, and all the learned Men of their Party, but also the Bulk of the common People. It is said of them, *Acts* 23. 8. that *whereas the Sadducees say, that there is no Resurrection, neither Angel, nor Spirit, the Pharisees confess both*; that is first, that there is to be a Resurrection from the Dead; and secondly, that there are Angels and Spirits. But according to *Josephus*, this Resurrection of theirs was no more than a *Pythagorean* Resurrection, that is a Resurrection of the Soul only by its Transmigration into another Body, and being born a-new with it. But from this Resurrection they excluded all that were notoriously wicked. For of such their Notion was, that their Souls, as soon as separated from their Bodies, were transmitted into a State of everlasting Woe, there to suffer the Punishment of their Sins to all Eternity. But as to lesser Crimes, their Opinion was, that they were punished in the Bodies, which the Souls of those that committed them were next sent into. And according to this Notion was it, that *Christ's* Disciples asked him in the case of the Man that was born blind, *John* 9. 2. *Who did sin, this Man or his Parents, that he was born blind?* For this plainly supposeth an antecedent State of Being, otherwise it cannot be conceived, that a Man could sin before he was born. And when the Disciples told *Christ*, *Matt.* 16. 14. that some said of him, that he was *Elias*, and others *Jeremias*, or one of the Prophets, this can be understood no otherwise, but that they thought, according to the Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls, that he was come into the World with the Soul of *Elias*, or of *Jeremias*, or of some other of the old Prophets, transmitted into him, and born with him. These two Instances put

together, plainly prove what *Josephus* saith, that is, that the Resurrection held by the *Jews* in those Times was no other than a *Pythagorean* Resurrection of the same Soul in another Body. But when *Christ* came, who brought Life and Immortality to Light, he first taught the true Resurrection of the same Body and Soul together, and soon after the *Jews* learned it from his Followers, and ever since have taught it in the same Manner as they did. For all their Books now extant, speak of the Resurrection of the Dead, and the last Judgment thereon to follow, no otherwise in the main Particulars, than as the Christians do.

As to what the *Pharisees* held of Predestination and Freewill, it is hard to say what their Doctrine was as to this Matter. For according to *Josephus*, they held absolute Predestination with the *Essenes*, and Freewill with the *Sadducees*, jumbled both together. For they ascribed to God and Fate all that is done, and yet left to Man the Freedom of his Will. But how they made these two apparent Incompatibles consist together, is no where sufficiently explained; perchance they meant no more, than that every Man freely chuseth, what he is unalterably predestinated to. But if he be predestinated to that Choice, how freely soever he may seem to chuse, certainly he hath no Freewill, because he is, according to this Scheme, unalterably necessitated to all that he doth, and cannot possibly chuse otherwise.

But the main distinguishing Character of this Sect was their Zeal for the Traditions of the Elders, which they derived from the same Fountain with the written Word itself, pretending both to have been delivered to *Moses* from Mount *Sinai*, and therefore they ascribed equally to both the same Authority. This Sect of Men (who made it their main Business to propagate them and promote their Observance)

servance) had its Birth at the same Time with them, and they grew up together, till at length they came to such a Maturity and Ascendency, that the traditional Law swallowed up the written Law, and these who were the Propagators of it the whole Bulk of the *Jewish* Nation. These Men by reason of their Pretences to a more nice and rigorous Observance of the Law according to their Traditions, which they had super-added to it, looked on themselves as more holy than other Men, and therefore separated themselves from those whom they thought Sinners, or Prophane, so as not to eat nor drink with them; and hence from the *Hebrew* Word *haras*, which signifieth to separate, they had the Name of *Pharisees*, which is as much as to say, *Separatists*. And although their chiefest Separation was from the common People, whom they called *Am Haaratz*, i. e. *The People of the Earth*, and reckon'd them no other than as the Dung thereof, yet by reason of their hypocritical Pretences to greater Righteousness than others, in the Observance of the Law, they drew the common People after them, they being above all others in their high Esteem and Veneration. This Hypocrisy our Saviour frequently chargeth them with, as also with their making the Law of God of none Effect by their Traditions. Several of these Traditions he particularly mentioned and condemned, as appears in the Gospels, but they had a vast Number more. To go thorough them all would be to transcribe the *Talmud*, a Book of twelve Volumes in *Folio*. For the whole Subject of it is to dictate and explain all those Traditions, which this Sect imposed to be received and observed. And although many of them are absurd and foolish, and most of them very burthensome and heavy to be born, yet this Sect have devoured all the rest, they having had for many Ages none to oppose them among that

People, saving only those few *Karaites* which will be mentioned. For excepting them only the whole Nation of the *Jews*, from the Destruction of the Temple to this present Time, have wholly gone in unto them, and received all their Traditions for divine Dictates, and to this Day observe them with much greater Regard and Devotion, than the written Word itself. So that it is now only according to the Traditions of the *Pharisees*, not according to the Law and the Prophets, that the present *Jewish* Religion is wholly formed, whereby they have corrupted the old *Jewish* Religion, just in the same manner as the *Romanists* have the Christian.

In Conjunction with the *Pharisees* the *Scribes* are often mention'd in the Scriptures of the New Testament. But they were not a Sect, but a Profession of Men following Literature. They were of divers Sorts. For generally all that were any way learned among the *Jews*, were in the Time of our Saviour and his Apostles, called *Scribes*; but especially those, who by reason of their Skill in the Law and Divinity of the *Jews* were advanced to sit in *Moses's* Seat, and were either Judges in their Sanhedrims, or Teachers in their Schools or Synagogues. They were mostly of the Sect of the *Pharisees*, most of the Learning of the *Jews* in those Times lying in their Pharisaical Traditions, and their Way of interpreting (or we may rather say wresting) the Scriptures by them. And they being the Men that dictated the Law both of Church and State, hence Lawyers and *Scribes* are convertible Terms in the Gospels, and both of them do there signify the same sort of Men. For the same Person, who by one Evangelist is called a Lawyer, is by another said to be one of the *Scribes*." To this Account of the *Pharisees*, we shall add only one Remark from Dr. Cave. Some great Men of the Church of Rome say,

say, with a kind of boasting, that such as were the *Pharisees* among the *Jews*, such are the Monastical Orders among Christians. Much good may the Comparison do them: We must confess ourselves so far of their Mind, as to believe there is too great a Conformity between them.

VI. The next Sect in order to be mentioned, is that of the *Sadducees*, as opposite to the *Pharisees* as possible, both in Temper and Principles. They had their Name, according to *Epiphanius* and others, from a *Hebrew* Word signifying *Righteousness*, or *Justice*. But the most common Opinion is, that they were so called from *Sadoc*, the Scholar of *Antigonus* of *Socho*, who was President of the Sanhedrim, and Master of the principal Divinity School at *Jerusalem*, after the Death of *Simon the Just*. This *Antigonus* was also the first of the *Mishnaical* Doctors, who taught the Authority of Oral Tradition; and he gave Rise by his Lectures to the Sect of the *Sadducees*. For having inculcated to his Scholars, that they ought not to serve God with respect to the Reward, but only out of that filial Love and Fear which they owed him, *Sadoc* and *Baithus*, two of his Scholars, hearing this from him, inferred from hence, that there were no Rewards at all after this Life: And therefore separating from the School of their Master, they taught that there was no Resurrection nor future State; but that all the Rewards which God gave to those that served him, were in this Life only. And many being perverted by them into this Opinion, they began that Sect among the *Jews*, which from the Name of *Sadoc* were called *Sadducees*. This is the *Talmudic* Story of their Original, and what is commonly received concerning them: But it does not appear to be well founded; and the discerning *Dr. Prideaux* upon this Occasion, assures us, that *Talmudic* Stories are with him of very little Credit. Take this

Gentleman's Account of the *Sadducees* in the following Words.

“The *Sadducees* at first were no more than what the *Karaites* are now, that is, they would not receive the Traditions of the Elders, but stuck to the written Word only. And the *Pharisees* being the grand Promoters of them, hence they and the *Sadducees* became Sects directly opposite to each other. And as long as the *Sadducees* opposed them no further than in this Matter only, they were in the Right; but afterwards they imbibed other Doctrines, which rendered them a Sect thoroughly impious. For first, They deny'd the Resurrection of the Dead, the Being of the Angels, and all Existences of the Spirits or Souls of Men departed. For their Notion was, that there is no Spiritual Being but God only: That as to Man this World is his all; That at his Death Body and Soul die together, never to live more, and that therefore there is no future Reward or Punishment. They acknowledged that God made this World by his Power, and governs it by his Providence, and for the carrying on of this Government hath ordained Rewards and Punishments, but that they are in this World only; and for this Reason alone was it, that they worshipped him, and paid Obedience to his Laws. In sum, they were *Epicurean Deists* in all other Respects, excepting only that they allowed, that God made the World by his Power, and governs it by his Providence. But that they were not led into this Impiety by *Sadoc* the Scholar of *Antigonus*, appears from the following Instance. When *John Hyrcanus* deserted the Sect of the *Pharisees*, and went over to the *Sadducees*, no other Alteration is mentioned then to have been made by him in that Change, but his rejecting and annulling all the traditional Constitutions of the *Pharisees*; which makes it probable, that the *Sadducees* were at that Time gone no farther

farther in the Tenets of their Sect, than to the denying of these Constitutions. And moreover, *Hyrchanus* having the Character of a just and religious Prince, and all his Actions speaking him such, it is not likely that he should embrace so impious a Doctrine, as that of denying the Resurrection and a future State, especially when he was going into that State. (For it was in the latter End of his Life that this was done.) All which put together, gives good Reason to suppose, that this Impiety had not then infected this Sect. But whenever it was introduced among them, this much we may be assured of, that Vice and Wickedness were the only Causes of its Birth; and wherever it is elsewhere found, it always hath the same Parents. When Men live such Lives, that they cannot give God an Account of them, they greedily lay hold of any Scheme, how false and foolish soever, that shall exempt them from it. *Epicurus's* Brag was, that he had delivered the World from the Fear of the Gods. And to lay asleep the Conscience, and deliver Mens Minds from the Fear of God and his Judgments, so as to be at Liberty to sin on without Reluctancy or Regret, is the only Reason that makes any to be *Epicurus's* Disciples. And it is most likely that this Impiety among the *Jews* had the same Original. Under the *Asmonean* Princes the *Jews* grew prosperous, powerful, and rich, and their Riches produced great Luxury and Vice; and to free their Consciences from the Fear of a future accounting for the Enormities which grew up from this Root, was the true Cause that introduced this Doctrine against a future State among them. And this is confirmed by what *Josephus* writes of this Sect; he tells us, that they were Men of Quality and Riches only, that were of it. But since the Generality of learned Men admit the *Talmudic* Story abovementioned, concerning the first Introduction of this Doctrine among them

by *Sadoc* the Disciple of *Antigonus of Scho*, I will enter into no further Contest about it, but having offered my Conjectures to the contrary, I leave it to the Reader to make his Judgment about it, as he shall see Cause.

2. The *Sadducees* not only rejected all unwritten Traditions, but also all the written Word, excepting only that of the five Books of *Moses*. And if it be true what the *Talmudic* Story abovementioned relates, that *Sadoc* on his first venting of his Doctrine against a future State, was forced for the Impiety of it to flee to the *Samaritans* for Refuge, perchance he might learn this Part of his Heresy from them. For they admitted only the five Books of *Moses*, rejecting all the other parts of Holy Scripture. But it seems most probable, that the *Sadducees* rejected these Books, because they found them inconsistent with their Doctrine. There are many Places in the Prophets, and the *Hagiographa*, which plainly and undeniably prove a future State, and the Resurrection from the Dead; and therefore having embraced the Doctrine of denying both, they did what usually all Heretics do, that is, reject right or wrong whatsoever did make against them. Some learned Men, and among them *Scaliger* for one, hold that they did not reject the other Scriptures, but only gave a Preference above them to the five Books of *Moses*. But the Account which is given in the Gospels of the Disputation which *Christ* had with the *Sadducees*, plainly proves the contrary. For seeing there are so many Texts in the Prophets, and *Hagiographa*, which plainly and directly prove a future State, and a Resurrection from the Dead, no other Reason can be given, why *Christ* waved all these Proofs, and drew his Argument only by Consequence from what is said in the Law, but that he knew they had rejected the Prophets, and the *Hagiographa*, and therefore would admit no Argument,

Argument, but from the Law only. Their agreeing with the *Samaritans* in rejecting all Traditions, and in receiving no other Scriptures than the five Books of *Moses* only, hath given an Handle to the *Jews* to load the *Samaritans* with the Imputation of agreeing with them also in the Denial of a future State, and the Resurrection from the Dead; whereas in this Article the *Samaritans* are sounder than the *Jews* themselves, and so continue even to this Day.

3. The third Point of the *Sadducees* Heresy was about Freewill and Predestination. For whereas the *Essenes* held all Things to be predetermined and fixed in an unalterable Concatenation of Causes never to be varied from, and the *Pharisees* allowed a Freewill in Conjunction with Predestination, the *Sadducees* differing from both deny'd all manner of Predestination whatever; their Doctrine being, that God had made Man absolute Master of all his Actions, with a full Freedom to do either Good or Evil as he shall think fit to chuse, without any Assistance to him for the one, or any Restraint upon him as to the other. In sum, they held the same among the *Jews*, that *Pelagius* did afterwards among the Christians, that is, that there is no help from God, either of his preventing Grace, or his assisting Grace, but that without any such Help every Man hath in himself full Power to avoid all the Evil which the Law of God forbids, and to do all the Good which it commands. And therefore looking on all Men to have this Power in themselves, it is remarked of them, that whenever they sat in Judgment upon Criminals, they always were for the severest Sentence against them. And indeed, their general Character was, that they were a very ill-natured sort of Men, churlish and morose in their Behaviour to each other, but cruel and savage to all besides. Their Number was

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the fewest of all the Sects of the *Jews*, but they were Men of the best Quality, and the greatest Riches among them. And it is too often found, that those who abound most in the Things of this World, are the forwardest to neglect and disbelieve the Promises of a better. All those that were of the greatest Power and Riches among the *Jews* being cut off in the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, this whole Sect seems then to have perished with them. For we find no mention made of them as a Sect in being for many Ages after, till their Name was revived again in the *Karaites*." Of which Sect we shall give some Account a little lower.

VII. We come next to the *Essenes*, who even out-did the *Pharisees* in the Rigour of their Observances. "For being originally of the same Sect with them, they reformed upon them, in the same manner as among the *Romanists*, the *Carthusians* and the *Cistercians* have upon the *Benedictines*, and set up for a much more severe, and perchance for a much more unblameable Rule of Living, than the others did. As to Fate and Freewill, their Opinion was for an absolute Predestination, agreeable to what is held by the *Supralapsarians* of the present Age, without allowing to Man any Freewill at all, or any Liberty of Choice in any of his Actions. And as to the other grand Point, of a future State, and a Resurrection from the Dead, they also differed from the *Pharisees* herein. For although they allowed the former, they denied the latter, their Doctrine being, that the Souls of Men after their Death are transmitted into a State of Immortality, therein to live in everlasting Bliss or everlasting Woe, according as their Actions have deserved, without ever any more returning, either to their own, or any other Bodies, for ever. Altho' our Saviour very often censured all the

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other Sects then among the *Jews*, yet he never spoke of the *Essenes*, neither is there any mention of them through the whole Scriptures of the New Testament. This proceeded, some think, from their retired way of living: For their Abode being mostly in the Country, they seldom came into Cities, nor were they in our Saviour's Time ever seen at the Temple, or in any publick Assembly; and therefore not falling in the Way of our Saviour's Observation, for this Reason, say they, he took no notice of them. But it is much more likely, that being a very honest and sincere sort of People, they gave no reason for that Reproof and Censure, which the others very justly deserved. Their way of Living was very peculiar and remarkable: To give the Reader a thorough View of it, the best way would be to lay before him the whole Accounts of *Josephus*, *Philo*, and *Pliny*, who are the antientest Authors that speak of this Sect, and from whom all else that is said of it is taken." This has been done by Dr. *Prideaux* and for particular Reasons, which we shall by-and-by mention: But as these Extracts are the longest of any in that Author's Works, and as the *Essenes* are introduced rather to complete our System of the *Jewish* Church, than to illustrate the Gospel History, in which they are not at all mentioned, we must content ourselves with adding to what has been here said, a very short Abridgment of what is largely treated of by those Antients, especially by *Josephus* and *Philo*, who being *Jews*, could not but be well inform'd. This Abstract has also in it some Conjectures of the Author from whom we have borrow'd it.

"Passing by the various Conjectures concerning the Derivation of their Name, which when dress'd up with all Advantages are still but bare Conjectures, they began about the Times of the *Maccabees*, when the violent Persecutions of *Antio-*

chus forced the *Jews* for their own Safety to retire to the Woods and Mountains. And tho' in time the Storm blew over, yet many of them were too well pleased with these undisturbed Solitudes ever to return, and therefore combined themselves into religious Societies, leading a solitary and contemplative Course of Life, and that in very great Numbers, there being usually above four thousand of them, as both *Philo* and *Josephus* tell us. They were remarkable above all others in this, that they lived without Women, without any Embraces, without Money, conversing with nothing but Woods and Palm-trees. Their Number encreased every Day as fast as any died, Persons flocking to them from all Quarters, to seek Repose here, after they had been weary'd with the Inquietudes of Fortune. They paid a due Reverence to the Temple, by sending Gifts and Presents thither; but yet worshipped God at home, and used their own Rites and Ceremonies. Every seventh Day they publicly met in their Synagogue, where the Younger being seated at the Feet of the Elder, one of them read some Portions out of a Book, which another, eminently skilled in the Principles of their Sect, expounded to the rest, instructing them in the Rules of Piety and Righteousness, and all the Duties that concerned God, their Neighbours, and themselves. They industriously tilled and cultivated the Ground; they lived upon the Fruits of their own Labours, and had all their Revenues in common, there being neither Rich nor Poor among them. Their Manners were very harmless and innocent, they being strict Observers of Justice, beyond the Practice of other People." What their Principles were in Matters of Speculation has been just now observ'd in brief; "and more is not material to be enquired, their Institutions chiefly referring to Practice. Out of a great regard to Wisdom and Virtue,

Virtue, they neglected all Care of the Body, and abstained very much from Meats and Drinks, some of them not eating for three, others for five or six Days together; accounting it unbecoming Men of such a philosophical Temper and Genius, to spend any Part of their Time upon the Necessities of the Body. In fine, their Contemplations were sublime and speculative, and of Things beyond the ordinary Notions of other Sects; for they traded in the Names and Mysteries of Angels, and in all their Carriages bore a great Shew of Modesty and Humility. For this Reason some think they were the very Persons, whom St. Paul primarily design'd, when he charged the Colossians, Col. 2. 18, &c. to let no Man beguile them of their Reward, in a voluntary Humility, and Worshipping of Angels; intruding into those Things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his Fleishly Mind. His Argument is, that being dead with Christ to the Rudiments of the World, they should no longer be subject to such Ordinances as forbid to touch, taste, or handle; which were only the Commandments of Men: Which Things, says he, have indeed a Shew of Wisdom in Will, Worship, and Humility, and neglecting of the Body, not in any Honour to the satisfying the Flesh. It must be confessed, that whether the Apostle here meant a particular Reflection upon the *Essenes* or no, he has in general Terms condemned their Manner of Life to the Professors of Christianity. To this we will only add, that *Philo* divides the *Essenes* into two Branches, both which he largely describes under the Distinctions of Practical and Contemplative; but is peculiarly lavish in praising of the latter.

Dr. *Prideaux*, after having quoted at large the Relations of *Josephus*, *Philo*, and *Pliny*, concerning the *Essenes*, assures, that, his principal Reason for so doing was to obviate the wrong Use that

is made of these Relations, first, by the *Romanists*, and, secondly, by the *Dicists*. What he says on this Occasion is worth our Notice, and we ought not to omit so fair an Opportunity of producing Arguments against two sorts of Persons, who are of all Men the greatest Enemies to the established Religion. And this we shall do from our Author in very few Words.

Eusebius, from *Philo's* Account of the *Therapeuta*, or Contemplative *Essenes*, affirms, without Judgment or Truth, that they were Christian Monks of the Order of St. Mark; and *Bellarmino* and *Baronius*, two of the greatest Champions of the Popish Cause, have from hence drawn an Argument for the divine Institution of *Munkism*. But if these two great Men, who on other Occasions are forward enough to condemn *Eusebius*, had been free from the Interest and Influence of their Party, they would not have followed him in a particular the most absurd of all: For the Words of *Philo* himself, which led *Eusebius* into this Error, are a sufficient Confutation thereof: 1. They speak of these *Therapeuta*, as of a Sect of long Standing in Egypt, and tell us, that they had Hymns and Writings among them of antient Date, composed in Times of Old, by such as were principal Leaders of their Sect. Now from *Philo's* being an elderly Man when he went Ambassador to *Galigula*, it seems likely that the Book where he says this, was written before the Christian Church was erected; at most it could not be many Years after; which proves, he could not mean any Sect of Christians, none of whom could be above 10 or 20 Years standing. Secondly, He mentions their rigorous Observance of the seventh Day, which not only proves that they were not Christians, but that they were Jews, they being the only People to whom such a Description can suit; and indeed *Philo* plainly tells us in the Introduction to his Account of them, that

that they were Disciples of *Moses*, which he would never have said of Christians.

The Truth is, *Monkism* among Christians, did not begin till the third Century: For about the Year of our Lord 250, one *Paul*, a young Gentleman of *Thebais* in *Egypt*, to avoid the *Decian* Persecution, fled into the adjoining Desert; and fixing his Abode in a Cave there, he thus began the Practice of an *Ascetick* Life, in which he continued ninety Years, being an hundred and thirteen Years of Age when he died. About twenty Years after his Retirement, *Anthony*, another young Gentleman, excited by the Fame which *Paul* had acquired by his religious Life, retired to the same Desert, and there devoted himself to the like Course. These being followed by many others, who were inspired with a like Spirit of Devotion, they were formed into a Body by their Leader, who became their Abbot, and govern'd them many Years. And from this Beginning all the *Monkism* in the Christian World had its Original.

The Deists pretend to find an Agreement between the Christian Religion and the Documents of the *Essenes*, and therefore would infer that *Christ* and his Followers were only a Sect branched out from those Religious *Jews*. But let them search to the utmost, all the authentick Accounts of the *Essenes*, and they will not be able to find among their Precepts any of the proper Doctrines of Christianity. Is there any Thing in them of the two Christian Sacraments? Is there any Thing of the Redemption of the World by the Messiah? or of the erecting of his spiritual Kingdom here on Earth? Were any of the peculiar Usages of that Sect ever engrafted into Christianity? Though the common Tables, which were at first set up by the Apostles, bear some Resemblance to those of the *Essenes*, yet these were never made a

Law of the Christian Religion, or so much as recommended by it, being only practis'd for a short Time in the first Gatherings of the Church, but wholly discontinued when it encreased and grew up. As to moral Duties, the Heathens as well as the *Essenes*, practis'd and taught in most cases the same as the Christians; and therefore nothing in favour of this Opinion can be inferred from thence. Moreover, almost all that was peculiar to the *Essenes*, was in a lower Degree condemned in the *Pharisees* by *Christ* and his Apostles; such as their superstitious Washings, and other over-rigorous Observances, which being carried higher by the *Essenes*, were in them more blameable according to the same Principles of Christianity. And then, contrary to the Law of true Christianity, they forbade Marriage, which God had ordained from the Beginning: But, what was most of all, they denied the Resurrection of the Body, in which the main of the Christian Hope consists, and yet absurdly placed the Felicity of a future Life in the corporal Enjoyments of temperate Regions beyond the Western Ocean. When the Institutions of this Sect are compared with those of Christianity, what Argument of Similitude can be found, sufficient to prove that the former was Parent of the latter?

VIII. The next Sect of the *Jews* which we are to describe, is that of the *Herodians*. They are mentioned more than once in the Gospel, and doubtless had their Name from *Herod the Great*, tho' upon what Occasion is a Question. Among many other Conjectures, that of *Calmet* is, that were the same with the Followers of *Judas Gaulonites*, who arose in Opposition to the Taxation made by *Augustus*: But the Opinion of Dr. *Prideaux* is quite contrary to this, as will appear from what follows. As to the Reason why they were called *Herodians*, this last mentioned Author tells us, that

that "some say it was, because they held *Herod* to be the Messiah; so *Tertulian*, so *Epiphanius*, so *Jerom*, so *Crysostom*, so *Theophylact*, and so several others of the Antients held. But it is very improbable, that any *Jews* should in the Time of our Saviour's Ministry, above thirty Years after the Death of *Herod*, hold him to have been the Messiah, when they had found no one of these Particulars, which they expected from the Messiah, performed by him, but rather every thing quite the contrary. Others hold that they were called *Herodians*, because they constituted a Sodality erected in the Honour of *Herod*, in the same manner as there were Sodalities at *Rome* called *Augustales*, *Adrianales*, *Antonini*, constituted in the Honour of *Augustus*, *Adrian*, and *Antoninus*, and the like of other Roman Emperors after their Death. And this is the Opinion of *Scaliger*, and those that follow him; but none of these Sodalities at *Rome* having been instituted till long after the Death of *Herod*, none such could have been instituted in Honour of *Herod* in Imitation of them. The earliest of these Sodalities, and the first of this kind, that we any where meet with, were the *Sodales Augustales*. But these not being instituted till after *Augustus's* Death, which happened several Years after *Herod's*, this could give no Pattern or Foundation for the like to be instituted in Honour of *Herod*, either in his Life-time, or upon his Death, since he died many Years before. By what is mentioned of these *Herodians* in the Gospels, they seem plainly to have been a Sect among the *Jews* differing from the rest in some Points of their Law and Religion. For they are there named with the *Pharisees*, and in Contradistinction from them, and therefore must have been a Sect in the same manner as the *Pharisees*

were. And they are also said to have a peculiar Leven, as the *Pharisees* had, that is some false and evil Tenets, which soured and corrupted the whole Lump, with which it was mingled; and therefore *Christ* equally warned his Disciples against both. And since he calleth it the Leven of *Herod*, this argues, that *Herod* was the Author of it, that is of those evil Tenets, which constituted this Sect, and distinguished it from the other Sects of the *Jews*, and that his Followers imbibing those Tenets from him, were for this Reason called *Herodians*. And these being chiefly of his Courtiers, and the Officers and Servants of his Palace, and those that were descended from them, hence the *Syriac* Version, wherever the Word *Herodians* occurs in the Original, renders it *the Domesticks of Herod*. And that Version having been made very early for the Use of the Church of *Antioch*, the Authors of it were nearest those Times, in which this Sect had its beginning, and therefore had the best Means of knowing who they were. Thus far therefore having shewn, that these *Herodians* were a Sect of the *Jews*, that had its original from *Herod the Great*, it's next to be enquired into, what were the Tenets whereby it was distinguished. The only way to find this out, is to examine, in what Particulars the Founder of it differed from the rest of the *Jews*. For no doubt the same were the Particulars, in which those his Followers differed from them also, and thereby constituted this Sect; and they will appear to have been these two following. The first in subjecting himself and his People to the Dominion of the *Romans*: and secondly, in complying with them in many of their Heathen Usages. For both these Particulars *Herod* held lawful, and accordingly

* What follows concerning this People is entirely from Dr. Prideaux, who, after examining what others have said appears to have introduced the most probable Opinion.

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practised them. And therefore these I take to have been the Tenets and Opinions, in which these *Herodians* his Followers differed from the other *Jews*, and thereby constituted this Sect, which from him was called by that Name. It being said, *One from among thy Brethren shalt thou set King over thee; thou mayest not set a Stranger over thee, which is not thy Brother*, Deut. 17. 15. Hence an Opinion arose, which was generally embraced by the *Pharisees*, that it was not lawful to submit to the *Roman* Emperor, or pay Taxes unto him; but *Herod* and his Followers understanding the Text to exclude only a voluntary Choice, and not a necessary Submission, where Force hath over-powered Choice, were of a contrary Opinion, and held it lawful in this Case both to submit to the *Roman* Emperor, and also to pay Taxes to him. And therefore the *Pharisees* and the *Herodians* being of Opinion in this Matter quite contrary to each other, those that laid Snare for *Christ*, and sought an Occasion against him, sent the Disciples of both these Sects at the same time together to propose this captious Question to him, *Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar, or no?* Matt. 13. 16. thinking which way soever he should answer, to bring him into Danger. For should he answer in the Negative, the *Herodians* were there ready to accuse him of being an Enemy to *Cæsar*; and should he answer in the Affirmative, the *Pharisees* were as ready on the other Hand to accuse him to the People, and excite them against him, as an Enemy to their Rights, they having possessed them with their Notion against paying Taxes to any Foreign Power: But *Christ* knowing their wicked Intentions, gave such an Answer as baffled the Malice of both of them. However, the Answer then given implying a Justification of the Doctrine of the *Herodians* in that Point, that could not be the Leven

of *Herod*, which *Christ* warned his Disciples against, and therefore that must be their second Tenet, that it was lawful, when forced and overpowered by Superiors, to comply with them in idolatrous and wrong Practices of Religion. This *Herod* did, and he seems to have framed this Sect of purpose to justify him herein. For *Josephus* tells us, that to ingratiate himself with *Augustus*, and the great Men of *Rome*, he in many Things acted contrary to the Law and the Religion of the *Jews*, building Temples, and erecting Images in them for idolatrous Worship; and for this he excused himself to the *Jews*, telling them, that he did not do it willingly, but as commanded and forced to it by Powers, whom he was necessitated to obey, thinking this sufficient to excuse him from Guilt. And for this Reason we find him sometimes called an half *Jew*, and such half *Jews* I conceive were the *Herodians* his followers, professing the *Jewish* Religion, and at the same time on Occasions complying with the idolatrous Heathens, and becoming occasional Conformists to them. The *Sadducees*, who deny'd a future State, did mostly come into the Opinions of this Sect, and therefore they are reckoned one and the same with them. For the same Persons, who in one of the Gospels are called *Herodians*, are called *Sadducees* in another (See *Mat.* 16. 6. and *Mark* 8. 15.) But this Sect after our Saviour's Time vanished, and were no more heard of.

The Sect of the *Samaritans* is still remaining in *Samaria*, *Sichem*, and other Towns thereabouts, even at this Day. They have the Law of *Moses* in a Character peculiar to themselves, and in a Dialect very little, if at all, different from that of the antient *Jews*. These People are not however of the Descendants of the *Israelites*, but of those Nations, which *Esarhaddon* brought from *Babylon*, and from

from *Cutha*, and from *Avah*, and *Hamath*, and *Seppervaim*, to dwell in the Cities of *Samaris* in the *Israelites* stead, when these latter were carried thence in Captivity, 2 Kings 17. 24. *Ezra* 4. 2. 10. And for this Reason the *Jews* call them by no other Name than that of *Cuthites*, (the Name of one of these Nations) and have that utter Hatred and Aversion to them, that reckoning them among the worst of Hereticks, they express on all Occasions a greater Detestation of them, than they do even of the *Christians* themselves.

These Nations upon their settling in the Cities of *Samaris*, were much infested with Lions, 2 Kings 17. and the King of *Babylon* being told it was because they worshipped not the God of the Country, he order'd that one of the Priests who had been carried thence, should be sent back to teach these new Inhabitants how to Worship the God of *Israel*. But they only took him hereupon into the Number of their former Deities, and worshipp'd him jointly with the Gods of the Nations from whence they came. And in this Corruption of joining the Worship of their false Gods with that of the true, they continued till the building of the Temple on Mount *Gerizzim*, in Opposition to that of *Jerusalem*, when Abundance of *Jews* falling of to them, they reduced them to the Worship of the true God only, in which they have ever since remained steadfast.

When the *Jews*, by the famous Decree of *Cyrus*, returned to *Judea*, after a Captivity of * seventy Years, they refused the Assistance of the *Samaritans* in the building of their second Temple; whereupon these latter took all possible Pains to obstruct the Work, and by corrupting the Officers of *Cyrus*, prevailed so far as that the Undertaking was discouraged for

some Time. At last a fresh Decree † being obtain'd from *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, not only the Temple was completed, but the Walls of *Jerusalem* were rebuilt; but all this with so much Opposition from the *Samaritans*, that there arose a mortal Enmity between them and the *Jews*. In this last Dispute the *Samaritans* were chiefly supported by one *Sanballat*, the Governor of *Samaris*, who married his Daughter to a Son of the *Jewish* High-priest. And this Man it was, who finding he could not effectually hinder the *Jews* from restoring their Religion to its former State, did so far insinuate himself into the Favour of *Darius Nothus*, the next King of *Persia*, that he obtain'd from him a Grant to build on Mount *Gerizzim*, near *Samaris*, a Temple like that at *Jerusalem*, and to make his Son-in-law *Manasseh* the High-priest thereof. And from this Time *Samaris* became the common Refuge and *Ashlum* of the refractory *Jews*; so that if any of them were found guilty of violating the Law, as in eating the forbidden Meats, breaking the Sabbath, or the like, and were called to account for it, they fled to the *Samaritans*, and found Protection; by which means, after some Time, the greatest Part of that People, were made up of apostate *Jews*, and their Descendants. Soon after this followed a Change in the *Samaritan* Religion: For whereas they had hitherto worshipped the God of *Israel* only in Conjunction with their other Gods, they now conformed themselves to the Worship of the true God only, according to the Rules of the Law that was constantly read in their new Temple; and even some of the *Jewish* Doctors acknowledge, that they were more exact herein than themselves, though at the same Time they hated them above all the Nations of the Earth, both on account

* Before Christ 536 Years.

† Before Christ 445 Years.

of their former Opposition to the building of the Temple, and because afterwards they were chiefly made up of Apostates.

This Hatred proceeded so far, that the *Jews* published an Anathema against them, the bitterest that ever was denounced against any People. They not only forbade all Communication with them, but declared all the Fruits and Products of their Land, and every Thing else of theirs, to be as Swines Flesh, which none of their Nation were ever to taste: They excluded all the *Samaritans* from ever being received as Profelytes to their Religion; and lastly, debarr'd them from ever having any Portion in the Resurrection to eternal Life, as if that also had been in their Power. And ever since this, the Conduct of the *Jews* towards the *Samaritans* hath been according to the Tenor of this Anathema, of which we have two remarkable Instances in the Gospel. The Woman of *Samaria* demanded of our Saviour, *John 4. How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest Water of me, who am a Woman of Samaria? For the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans.* And in another Place, when the *Jews* would express their utmost Aversion to our Saviour, they said unto him, *Thou art a Samaritan, and hast a Devil, John 8. 48.* as if to be a *Samaritan*, and to have a Devil, were Things of equal Reproach. In like Manner the Author of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, when he reckons up the Nations which were most detestable to the *Jews*, names the foolish People that dwelt in *Sechem*, to be those who were chiefly so, *Ecclus. 5. 25, 26.*

The principal Particulars in which the *Samaritans* differ from the *Jews* in their Religion, are these which follow: 1. They receive no other Scriptures than the five Books of *Moses*, rejecting all the other Writings that are in the *Jewish* Canon. And these five Books they still have among them in the old *Hebrew* or *Phar-*

isian Character, which was in Use among the *Jews* before the *Babylonish* Captivity, and in which all the Scriptures were written, till *Ezra* transferred them into that of the *Chaldeans*. 'Tis indeed doubted by some, whether the *Samaritans* antiently did absolutely reject all the other Scriptures besides the *Pentateuch*, and they found their Opinion upon our Lord's Discourse with the Woman of *Samaria* above-mentioned, which proves that they had the same Expectation of the Messiah as the *Jews* had, and this, they say, could be no where clearly had but from the Prophets. Perhaps, says Dr. *Prideaux*, though they read the *Pentateuch* only in their Synagogues, yet antiently they might not have been without a due Regard for the other sacred Writings, whatsoever their Sentiments of them may be at present. 2. The *Samaritans* antiently did, and still do, reject all Traditions, and adhere to the written Word only, in the Observance of which they are more exact, as was above observed, than the *Jews* themselves. 3. They differ with them about the Places of their Worship; which Matter is rightly stated by the *Samaritan* Woman in St. *John's* Gospel. Our Fathers, says she, worshipped in this Mountain, but ye say that in Jerusalem is the Place where Men ought to worship. They imagine Mount *Gerizzim* to be the Place where *Abraham* and *Jacob* built Altars to God, and where *Joshua* declared the Blessings of God to the People, and erected the Altar of twelve Stones after his Passage over *Jordan*: Which Altar they believe to be the very same upon which they sacrifice to this Day. To support this Opinion, they are accused of having corrupted certain Texts of Scripture, which would otherwise have made against them, and for that Reason their whole Copy of the Scriptures is of less Authority than it would else have been. In fine, though the other *Jews* will

will not allow the *Samaritans* to be named as a Sect of their Religion, yet it appears that in Reality they were so, and were even before the Time of our Saviour; and for this Reason they are treated of as such in the present Discourse.

There were two more Denominations among the *Jews*, which according to some, subsisted at the Time of our blessed Lord; and these are the *Caraites* and the *Zelotes*. The Name of the first comes from a *Hebrew* Word, which signifies Persons consummate in the Study of Scripture, and who adhere closely to the Text and Letter of it. This is indeed the distinguishing Mark of the *Caraites*, and the great Point of their Opposition to the *Rabbinists*, who receive all the Traditions of the Elders. The *Caraites* are said to glory in a Descent from *Efdras*, and to prove a long Succession in their Churches: But 'tis much more probable that they did not appear till about the eighth Century of Christianity, at least their Sect was then restored by one *Ananus*, who opposed the *Talmudists* in their Endeavours to establish the Divine Authority of their Traditions. In this Particular the *Caraites* of this Age are so much like the antient *Sadducees*, that their Brethren the *Talmudists* charge them with all the Errors of that Sect, such as denying the Immortality of the Soul, and the Existence of Spirits; but the others have cleared themselves from these Accusations, and shewn the Purity of their Faith, and their particular Sense of those Articles. We shall not enter into a farther Detail of the Tenets and History of this Sect, because having no other Authority than that of their own Doctors to prove them of so long Standing as the Time of our Lord, we are not certain that they ought to have a Place in these Accounts.

The *Zelotes* are frequently mentioned by *Josephus*, as a Race of Men insolent, fierce, and ungovernable; mighty As-

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tors of the Honour of the Law, and the Strictness and Purity of Religion, though in Reality cruel and savage to the last Degree. They used frequently to execute capital Vengeance upon notorious Offenders, without staying for the Formalities of the Law, pretending therein to be the Successors of *Phineas*, who in a mighty Passion for the Honour of God, did immediate Execution on *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, *Numb.* 25. Being at first connived at and encouraged in these Things both by the Rulers and the People, their Zeal at last degenerated into all manner of Licentiousness and Extravagance, so that they not only became the Pests of the Common-wealth at home, but opened a Door for the *Romans* to break in upon their Nation and City, to their final and irrecoverable Ruin: For by continually prompting the People to throw off the *Roman* Yoke, and recover their native Liberty, they threw all Things into Hurry and Confusion, of which themselves taking Advantage, they became Masters both of the Lives and Fortunes of the Nobility. The Apostle *Simon*, surnamed *Zelotes*, *Luke* 6. 15. is supposed to have been of this Sect before his Conversion, whence *Dr. Cave* would infer, that some of them were of a peaceable and sober Disposition, but adds, *That be this as it will, it reflects no more Dishonour upon his Apostleship, than the having been a Publican did upon St. Matthew.* Thus have we given a particular View of the Divisions and Dissentions in the *Jewish* Church at the Time of our Lord's appearing, which, with the Instances before-mentioned of their Depravity in religious Matters, do sufficiently prove to what a wretched State they were then reduced, and might at that Time have been, to the *Jews* themselves, an evident Demonstration, that the Messiah was come, and soon after, that he was actually cut off, when they saw these Divisions

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terminate in the Ruin of their Nation, and an End put to *Sacrifice and Oblation*, in the Destruction of their City and Temple by the *Romans*.

IX. And now the Date of the prophetic Scriptures concerning the Time of the Messiah's Ministry being run out, and the general State of Affairs in the World being such as was proper for his Reception, his Harbinger, or Fore-runner, began to appear, according to the Promise of God by the Mouth of his holy Prophets. Now was to be introduced that new and better Dispensation, in comparison of which the two former were but as the first Dawn of Morning Light, to the glorious Splendor of the Sun at Noon-day. We shall not enlarge upon the extraordinary Circumstances that preceded and attended the Birth of *John the Baptist*, nor what happened to him from his Birth till the 30th Year of his Age, having already said as much of those Things as we can do upon good Authority: 'Tis sufficient that he was perfectly qualified for the Commission he was now to receive, that of being Herald to the Holy Jesus, and Morning-Star to the Sun of Righteousness. He told the Jews that *the Messiah was at Hand, and his Kingdom ready to appear*; That the eternal Son of God was come down from Heaven, a Person as far beyond him in Dignity, as in Time and Existence; That he came to introduce a new and better State of Things, to enlighten the World with the clearest Revelations of the Divine Will, to acquaint them with Councils brought from the Bosom of his Father, to put a Period to all the Types and Allusions of the Mosaic Dispensation, to bring in the Truth and Substance of all those Shadows, and to open a Fountain of Grace and Favour to Mankind; That this Divine Person would remove that State of Guilt into which human Nature was so deeply sunk, and, as the Lamb of God, by the expiatory Sacrifice of himself, take away the Sins of

the World; putting an End to all other Sacrifices, and particularly to those which were daily repeated for the House of Israel only, by one single Oblation for Jew and Gentile, Barbarian and Scythian, Bond and Free. He farther told them, That God had for a long Time borne with the Children of Men, and would now bring Things to a quicker Issue, and that therefore they would do well to break off their Sins by Repentance, and by a serious Amendment and Reformation of Life dispose themselves for the glad Tidings of the Gospel; That they should no longer bear up themselves upon their external Privileges, and their being God's select and peculiar People, for that God would raise up to himself another Generation, a Posterity to Abraham from amongst the various Nations of the Earth, who should walk in his Steps of unshaken Faith and sincere Obedience; and that if all this did not move them to bring forth Fruits meet for Repentance, the Ax was laid to the Root of the Tree, totally to extirpate the Church, and to hew them down as Fuel for unquenchable Fire." We before took Notice, that those whom he gained over to be Profelytes to his Doctrine, he entered into this new Institution of Life by Baptism, a solemn and usual Way of initiating Profelytes, and of great Antiquity in the Jewish Church. By these Discourses and Baptism, says Bishop Taylor, John disposed the Spirits of Men for entertaining the Homilies of the Gospel: For John's Doctrine was to the Sermons of Jesus as a Preface to a Discourse; and his Baptism was to the new Institutions and Disciple of the Kingdom as Vigils to a Holiday, of the same kind in a less Degree: But the whole Economy of it represents to us, that Repentance is the first Intromission into the Sanctities of Christian Religion. The Lord treads upon no Paths that are not hollowed and made smooth by the Sorrows and Cares of Contrition, and the Impedi-

Impediments of Sin cleared by the succeeding Fruits of Emendation. But as it is related to the *Jews*, his Baptism did signify, by the Allusion it had to their usual Ceremony of Washing Gentile Profelytes, that the *Jews* had so far receded from that Duty and Holiness required of them by the Law, that they were in the State of Strangers, no better than Heathens, and therefore were to be treated as themselves received Gentile Profelytes, by a Baptism and a new State of Life, before they could be fit for the Reception of the Messiah, and be admitted to his Kingdom.

X. The whole Law and History of the *Jews* abound with Lustrations and Baptisms of different Sorts. *Moses* enjoined the People to wash their Garments and purify themselves, to prepare them for the Reception of the Law. The Priests and *Levites*, before they enter'd upon the Exercise of their Ministry, washed themselves with Water. All legal Pollutions were cleans'd by Baptism, or by plunging into Water. There are even certain Diseases and Infirmities, natural to Men and Women, which were thought Uncleanesses, and were to be purify'd with Water. To touch a dead Body, and to be present at a Funeral, made Persons unclean, and required Purification. But these Purifications were not uniform: For though People generally dipped themselves intirely under Water, according to the natural and simple Notion of the Word *Baptize*, yet at some Times they were satisfy'd with Baptism by Asperision only, or such a Lustration as included no more than scattering lightly some Drops of Blood and Water upon the Person. *Calmet* produces several Instances to support this Assertion, but they have no Relation to the Baptism of which we are now to speak, which is that performed at the Admission of Profelytes, born of Heathen Parents, into the *Jewish* Religion, it

being from this that *John* derived his. This Ceremony of Washing, *i. e.* Ablution of the whole Body, was perform'd solemnly in a River, or some other large Receptacle of Waters. The *Talmud* says of *Jethro*, the Father-in-Law of *Moses*, that *he was made a Profelyte by Circumcision and Immersion in Water*: And the Manner of this Immersion is said to be; that *they should sit in Water up to the Neck, and in the mean while learn some of the Precepts of the Law, both hard and easy*. This Ceremony of Initiation, say the *Jewish* Writers, was never reiterated, and belonged not only to those who being of Years came over from Heathenism to the *Jewish* Religion, but also to the Infants of such, if the Parents did in Behalf of their Children desire it, and on Condition that the Children when they came to Age should not renounce the *Jewish* Religion. Now those that were thus initiated, did not only put off their former Worships and Manners, but also their Relations of Kindred and Consanguinity, and came forth as if they had been *new-born, of a new Mother*, as the *Talmud* often expresses it: So that he who was before a-kin to one of these, did from thenceforth cease to be so accounted. To which, says *Dr. Hammond*, I suppose our Saviour refers, when he speaks of *leaving Father, and Mother, and Wife, and Children*, Mark 10. 29. Luke 18. 29. and when he talks of *being born again of Water and the Spirit*, John 35. And the *Jews* have a Saying; that he that hath married a Wife too near of Kin to him, if he turn Profelyte to their Religion, and receive their Baptism, he is no longer near of Kin to the Woman, and so may afterwards lawfully live with her. There is also a Passage in *Tacitus*, which *Dr. Hammond* refers to this Opinion concerning the Baptism of Profelytes, where speaking of those that went over to the *Jews* Religion, the Historian says, *They are taught by*

by their first Admission to despise their Fathers and Mothers, Children and Brethren.

Maimonides speaks of the Jewish Initiations, in the following Manner: *In all Times, if any Gentile Man would enter into Covenant, remain under the Wings of the Shechinah, or divine Majesty, and take upon him the Yoke of the Law, he is bound to have Circumcision, Baptism, and a Peace-Offering; and if a Woman, Baptism, and an Oblation; because it is said, Numb. 15. 15, 16. As ye are, so shall the Stranger be; as ye yourselves entered into Covenant by Circumcision, Baptism, and a Peace-offering, so ought the Profelyte also in all Ages to enter in.* The same Author makes this Rite contemporary with, or rather previous to, the giving of the Law. *By three Things, says he, the Israelites entered into Covenant at Mount Sinai, by Circumcision, Baptism, and an Oblation: Baptism being some little Time before the Law.* This he proves from the Text wherein the Lord commands Moses, *Exod. 19. 10. To sanctify the People To-day and To-morrow, and let them wash their Clothes.* These Purifications were in order to their Reception of the Law, an Account of the Delivery of which immediately follows; and the Rabbies unanimously expound the Washing here mentioned by Baptism, and expressly affirm, that *wherever we read of Washing of Clothes, there an Obligation to Baptism is intended.* Thus they entered into the first Covenant; and upon the frequent Violations of this, God having promised to make a new Covenant with them in the Times of the Messiah, they expected a second Baptism, as that which should be their Initiation into it. And this probably is the Reason why the Apostle, writing to the Hebrews, chap. 6. 2. speaks of the *Doctrine of Baptisms* in the plural Number, as of one of the primary and elementary Principles of the Faith, in

which the Catechumens were to be instructed; meaning, that besides the Baptism whereby they had been initiated into the Mosaick Covenant, there was another by which they were to enter into the new Œconomy of the Gospel. Hence also the Sanhedrim, to whom the Cognizance of such Cases did peculiarly belong, when they are told of John's Baptism, never expressed any Wonder at it, as at a new and upstart Ceremony, it being a Thing daily practis'd in their Church, nor did they find Fault with the Thing itself, which they supposed would be a federal Rite under the Dispensation of the Messiah, but only quarrelled with him for taking upon him to administer it, when at the same Time, he denied himself to be one of the Prime Ministers of the new Dispensation. *They said unto him, Why baptizest thou, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias, neither that Prophet?* John 1. 25. Either of these had he own'd himself, and convinced them that he was no Impostor, they had not question'd his Right to enter Profelytes by this Way of Baptism, because they knew that this Rite was to be kept up under that new Dispensation of which these were to be the Ministers.

Having described the Manner in which the Jewish Baptisms were celebrated, 'twould be now most easy to apply it to the Practice of John, and afterwards of Christ, who both certainly took this Ceremony from the antient Usage of their Nation. Hence was John's Baptism, as the Jews used to be, in a River, as in Jordan, or at a Confluence of many Waters, as at Enon, for which the Reason is expressly given, *because there was much Water there.* The Jews writing Greek, call those Places where they wash themselves, *swimming, or diving Places*; and in like Manner, the *Baptisterium*, or Vessel containing the Baptismal Water, has been called in the Christian Church by the

the same Greek Name. In a Word, 'tis manifest, that Baptism antiently was performed by Immersion, otherwise for what Reason is going down into the Water, and coming up out of the Water, to be found in several Places, where this Ordinance is spoken of. And indeed it can be only from Ignorance of the Jewish Rites that this is questioned; for they, to the due Performance of this Rite, so superstitiously required the Immersion of the whole Body in the Water, that if only a little Dirt hindered the Water from coming at any Part of it, the Baptism was not right; and if one held the Baptized by the Arm, when he was let down into the Water, another must afterwards dip him, holding him by the other Arm that was washed before, because the Hand would not suffer the Water to come to his whole Body. The other Parts of the Parallel between the Baptism of John, and that of the Jews, will be easily made: All that is necessary in this Place is only to observe, That John, preaching Repentance to the Jews in the Desert, received all that came to him as new Proselytes, forsaking their old Relations, their Sins; that in Token of their resolved Change, he put them into the Water, dipped them all over, and so took them out again; and that upon the Sincerity of their Change, he promised them Remission of their Sins, and told them of the Messiah, who was suddenly to appear among them, and on whom he warned them to believe.

John himself made a plain Distinction between the Baptism which he administered, and that which Christ was afterwards to administer, *Matth. 3. 1. I indeed baptize you with Water to Repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose Shoes I am not worthy to bear, he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with Fire.* The Baptism of John was much more perfect than that of the Jews. It was, says St. Chrysostom,

as it were a Bridge, which from the Baptism of the Jews made Way to that of our Saviour, and was more exalted than the First, but inferior to the Second. The Difference between John's Baptism, and that of Christ, is thus stated by Dr. Whitby: 1. John neither did nor could baptize his Disciples in the Name of the Holy Ghost, as the Apostle did, for the Holy Ghost was not yet, and much less could he baptize them with the Holy Ghost, as he here saith Christ would; and yet Christ makes both these Baptisms necessary to our Entrance into the Kingdom of God, *John 3. 5.* 2. John did not baptize in the Name of Jesus Christ; for had he done so, there could have been no doubt whether he himself were the Christ, nor any Occasion for that Question, *John 1. 25. Why baptizest thou, if thou be not the Christ?* He only admonished those whom he baptized in general, that they should believe in him who was coming after him: So that he baptized only those, who as yet believed not in Christ; whereas the Baptism instituted by Christ was in his Name, and belonged only to them who believed in him.

XI. The Evangelical State being thus proclaimed and ushered in, by the Preaching and Ministry of the Baptist, our Lord appeared next more fully to publish and confirm it. His publick Life, his Death and Resurrection, the Doctrine he delivered, the Persons he deputed to preach and convey it to the World, the Success that accompanied the Ministry of the Apostles, and whatever else belongs to the Gospel History, will be largely treated of in the remaining Parts of this Work. What we have farther to do at present, agreeably to the Title of this Dissertation, is to consider the Excellence of the Gospel Dispensation, above that of the Law; having already been particular upon the Corruptions of the Jewish Church, and the Introduction of this new Covenant of Grace

by

by the Doctrine and Baptism of Repentance, of which *John* was the Minister. The Scripture frequently takes Notice of the Advantage which this new Revelation had over the Covenant of Works introduced by *Moses*, and for this Reason Jesus Christ is said by the Apostle, to be *the Mediator of a better Covenant*, Heb. 8. 6. notwithstanding that the *Mosaical* Dispensation is often greatly magnified in the Old Testament, and is still passionately admired and adhered to by the Descendants of *Abraham*. This Advantage consists in several Particulars, besides the infinite Difference between the Persons employed to introduce and settle them. *Moses*, who though faithful in all his House, was yet but a *Servant*, and Jesus Christ, our Lord, who being the eternal Son of God, and Heir of all Things, was therefore Ruler over his own House, and worthy of more Honour than *Moses*. Let us remark some of the most considerable Instances in which this Preheminence of the Gospel appears.

First, in its Perspicuity and Perfection. The *Mosaical* Dispensation was almost wholly made up of Types and Shadows; the Evangelical has brought in the Truth and Substance of them all. *The Law was given by Moses, but Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ*. Their Ordinances were but *Shadows of good Things to come*, sensible Representations of what was to follow after; *the Body is Christ*, the Perfection and Accomplishment of their whole ritual Administration. Their Ceremonies were *Figures of those Things that are true*, Heb. 9. 24. The Land of *Canaan* typified Heaven; *Moses* and *Joshua* were Types of the Blessed Jesus; the *Israelites after the Flesh* were the Image of the true *Israel* which is after the Spirit; and all their expiatory Sacrifices did but represent that great Sacrifice whereby Christ offered up himself, and by his own Blood purged away the Sins of Mankind;

in a Word, the most minute and inconsiderable Circumstances of the legal Economy, were intended as little Lights, that might gradually usher in the State of the Gospel. A curious Artist, who designs an excellent Piece of Painting, is not wont to complete and finish it all at once, but first with his Pencil to draw some rude Lines and rough Draughts, then to add the dead Colouring, and to that perhaps several other heightenings, before he puts his last Hand to the Work. By such a Method as this, the All-wise God seems to have delivered the Revelation of his Son to Mankind: The first Draughts and Ideas were introduced by *Moses*; to these the Prophets under the old Dispensation added many clear and express Characters; at last, the Substance or Perfection of the whole was brought in by Christ himself. And how admirably did God herein condescend to the Temper and Humour of the Jewish Nation! For they being as it were in an undisciplined and childish State, apt to be taken with gaudy and sensible Objects, by the external and pompous Institutions of the Ceremonial Dispensation he prepared them for better Things, as Children are brought on by Things accommodate to their weak Capacities.

But in the next Place our Happiness above the Jews appears in this, that we are redeemed from those many severe and burdensome Impositions with which they were clogg'd, and are now obliged only to an easy and rational Service. That the Law was a very grievous and servile Dispensation, is well known, it being evidently so to every one who considers how much it consisted of carnal Ordinances, costly Duties, chargeable Sacrifices, and innumerable little Rites and Ceremonies. Under that State, even new-born Infants were obliged to undergo the bloody and painful Ceremony of Circumcision. Under that State many Sorts of Food, pleasant and useful to Man's Life, were prohibited;

hibited; Multitudes of solemn and stated Times, such as new Moons and Ceremonial Sabbaths, were enjoind; the People were obliged to take long and painful Journies to *Jerusalem*, to observe daily Washings and Purifications, and to use infinite Care and Caution in every Place; for if merely by Chance they did but touch any unclean Thing, besides their present Confinement, it put them to the Expence of a Sacrifice, and bound them to a great Number of other costly and troublesome Observances. A cruel Bondage, *laying on heavy Burdens, grievous to be borne*; under the Weight of which good Men did then groan, and earnestly breathe after *the Time of Reformation*. The very Apostles complained, that it was *a Yoke upon their Necks, which neither their Fathers nor they were able to bear*, Acts 15. 10. But this Yoke is taken off from our Shoulders under the Gospel, and a Way opened for us *into the glorious Liberty of the Children of God*, Rom. 8. 21. The Law bore a heavy Hand over the *Jews*, as over Children in their Minorities: We are got free from under the Rod and Lash of its Tutorage, and are no more subject to the Severity of its Commands, to the exact Punctilio's of its numerous Impositions. Our Lord has removed that low and troublesome Religion, and has brought in a more manly and rational Way of Worship, more suitable to the Perfections of God, more accommodate to the Reasons and Understandings of Men; a Religion incomparably the wisest and best that ever took Place in the World. God did not introduce the Ceremonial Dispensation of the *Jews*, because it was good and excellent in itself, but only for its Suitableness to the Tempers of that People. Happy we! whom the Gospel has freed from those intolerable Observances to which they were oblig'd, and has taught us to serve God in a better way, more easy and acceptable,

more human and rational, and in which we are helped forwards by greater Communications of the Divine Assistance, than were ever afforded under their Dispensation. All these Things conspire to render our Way smooth and plain, and engage us to follow the Advice of our blessed Lord, who invites us to *take his Yoke upon us*, giving us a very plain and natural Reason why we should do thus: *For my Yoke is easy, and my Burden is light*, Matt. 11. 29, 30.

XII. Thirdly, the Dispensation of the Gospel is infinitely preferable to that of the Law, on account of its being founded upon more noble and excellent Promises. *'Tis a better Covenant, established upon better Promises*, Heb. 8. 6. and that both for their Nature and the Clearness of their Revelation. They are of a more sublime and excellent Nature, as being Promises of Spiritual and eternal Things, such as immediately concern the Perfection and Happiness of Mankind, Grace, Peace, Pardon, and Eternal Life. The Law, strictly considered as a particular Covenant with the *Jews* at Mount *Sinai*, had no Promises but of temporal Blessings, Plenty and Prosperity, and the Happiness of this Life. This was all that appeared in full Light, and that was expressly held forth in that Transaction, whatever might otherwise, by due Inferences and Proportions of Reason, be deduced from it. Now this was a great Defect in that Dispensation; it being by this means, considering the Nature and Disposition of that People, and the Use they were prone to make of it, apt to entangle and debase the Minds of Men, and to arrest their Thoughts and Desires in the Pursuit of more sublime and better Things. It cannot be deny'd indeed, that under the Old Testament there were Promises of spiritual Things, and of eternal Happiness: They appear in *David's* Psalms, and in some Passages of the Prophets.

Prophets. But then these, though they were under the Law, yet they were not of the Law; that is, did not properly belong to it as a legal Covenant; God in every Age of the *Jewish* Church raising up some extraordinary Persons, who preached Notions to the People above the common Standard of that Dispensation, and who spoke Things more plainly, by how much nearer they approached the Times of the Messiah.

But under the Christian Economy the Promises are evidently more pure and spiritual; not a temporal *Canaan*, external Prosperity, or Pardon of ceremonial Uncleanesses, but Remission of Sins, Reconciliation with God, and everlasting Life, are proposed and offered to us. Not but that in some measure temporal Blessings are promised to us, as well as they were to them, only with this Difference, that to them earthly Blessings were Pledges of spiritual ones, but to us spiritual Blessings are Insurances of temporal ones, so far as the Divine Wisdom sees fit for us. Nor are these spiritual Blessings better in themselves, than they are clear and certain in their Discovery to us. Whatever of this kind was proposed under the former State, was obscure and dark, and very few of the People could understand it: But to us *the Veil is taken off*, and we behold the Glory of the Lord with open Face, especially in the Things that relate to another World, for *this is the Promise that he hath given us, even eternal Life*, 1 Joh. 2. 25. Hence our Lord is said to have brought Life and Immortality to Light thro' the Gospel, 2 Tim. 1. 10. which manner of Expression is very just, in as much as he hath given us the greatest Certainty, and the clearest Account, of a future eternal State, than we can possibly expect or conceive in the present Life. The Happiness of another World was a Notion among both *Jews* and Heathens; but it was not firmly agreed upon, or re-

ceived with any great Degree of Assurance, by either of them. Among the *Jews* it was peremptorily denied by the *Sadducees*, a considerable Sect in that Church, which we can hardly suppose would have been the Case, had it been clearly propounded in the Law of *Moses*. And among the Heathens, the most sober and considering Persons did sometimes at least doubt of it; witness that remarkable Confession of *Socrates* himself, the wisest and best Man that ever lived in the heathen World, who pleading before his Judges, and bravely discoursing of the happy State of good Men in the other Life, he plainly acknowledged, when he had done, That he could be content to die a thousand times, *were he but assured that the Things of which he had been speaking, were true*: And afterwards when Sentence of Death was pronounced upon him, he concluded his Defence with this Farewel: *Now, Gentlemen, says he, I am going off the Stage; 'tis your Lot to live, and mine to die; but which of us shall fare the better, is unknown to all but God alone*. Not the divine *Socrates*, the Glory of the Pagan World, who could reason better upon the Nature of God, and had sublimer Notions of Good and Evil, than almost any Man that ever lived, without Inspiration, before the times of the Gospel, not even he, when upon the Brink of Immortality, could speak of it without a great deal of Doubt and Uncertainty. But our blessed Saviour has put the Case beyond all Peradventure, having plainly published this Doctrine to the World, and sealed the Truth of it, not only by raising others from the Dead before unexceptionable Witnesses, but by his own Resurrection and visible Ascension; which was the highest Pledge and Assurance of a future Immortality. And besides this Security of the Thing itself, he has also given us the clearest Account of the Nature of it. 'Tis very probable that the *Jews* generally had of old, as 'tis certain

certain they have at this Day, the most gross and carnal Apprehensions concerning the State of another Life: But to us the Gospel has perspicuously revealed the Things of another World, and told us what that Heaven is which is promised to good Men; a State of spiritual Joys, of chaste and rational Delights; a Conformity of ours to the Divine Nature, *a being made like to God*, John 3. 2. and an endless uninterrupted Communion with him. These are the Promises, these the Assurances, which are delivered to us in the Gospel, and which we may apply to ourselves with Confidence, if we follow the Example of our blessed Redeemer.

XIII. But because we are very unable, in our lapsed and degenerate State, to comply even with the easy Terms of the Gospel, and attain the promised Rewards, without some Assistance from above, hence arises, in the next place, another great Privilege of the Evangelical Economy, that it is blessed with larger and more abundant Communications of the Divine Spirit than were afforded under the Jewish Dispensation. The Spirit was then given as it were by Drops (to speak in conformity to the Scripture Phrase) but it is now poured forth abundantly. The Law laid heavy and hard Commands, but gave little Strength to perform the Duties they required: It did not assist human Nature with those powerful Aids that are necessary for us in our present State; it could do nothing, in that it was weak through the Flesh, and by reason of the Weakness and Unprofitableness thereof, it could make nothing Perfect, (Heb. 7. 18, 19.) 'Twas this made it an heavy Yoke, that the Commands of it were so numerous and troublesome, and the Assistances it afforded so small and inconsiderable: Whereas the Gospel does not only prescribe such Laws as are happily accommodate to the Temper of human Nature, and adapted to the Reason of Man-

kind, such as every wise and prudent Man must have pitch'd upon, had he been left to his Choice, but it also affords the Influences of the Spirit of God, by whose Assistance our vitiated Faculties are repaired, and we are enabled, under so much Weakness, and in the midst of so many Temptations, to hold on in the Paths of Piety and Virtue. The plentiful Effusions of the Spirit were reserved as the great Blessing of the Evangelical State, God having before declared by his Prophets, that under that Dispensation, *he would pour Water upon him that is thirsty, and Floods upon the dry Ground; that he would pour out his Spirit upon their Seed, and his Blessing upon their Offspring, whereby they should spring up as Grass as Willows by the Water-courses; That he would give them a new Heart, and put his Spirit within them; and cause them to walk in his Statutes, and keep his Judgments to do them*, Isa. 44. 3, 4. Ezek. 36. 26, 27. And this is the Meaning of those Branches of the Covenant, so often repeated in these or the like Words: *I will put my Law into their Minds, and write it in their Hearts*, Jer. 31. 33. See also chap. 24. 7. Ezek. 11. 19. and 36. 26, 27. that is, by the Help of my Grace and Spirit I will enable them to live according to my Laws, and that as readily and as willingly as if those Laws were actually imprinted within them. For this Reason the Law is compared to a dead Letter, the Gospel to the Spirit that giveth Life; and this latter, which is also called the Ministration of the Spirit, is said to exceed the other in Glory to such a degree, that what Glory the legal Dispensation before had, was eclipsed into nothing: For if the Law, which was the Ministration of Condemnation, be, or was attended with, Glory, much more doth the Gospel, the Ministration of Righteousness, or Justification to Life, exceed in Glory. For even that Law which was made

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glorious

glorious at the first Delivery of it, may be said to have *had no Glory in this respect, by reason of the Glory of the Gospel, which excelleth, and so eclipseth it. For if that which is now done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth for ever is glorious.*

XIV. The two last Instances, which we shall mention, of the Excellency of the Christian Dispensation above the Judaical, are, 1. The universal Extent and Latitude of it, and 2. its eternal Duration. In the first Place, 'tis not confined, as the former, to a small Part of Mankind, but the Terms of it are common to all the World. Heretofore, in Judah only was God known, and his Name was great in Israel. In Salem also was his Tabernacle, and his Dwelling-place in Zion. He shewed his Word unto Jacob, and his Statutes and Judgments unto Israel. But he did not deal so with any other Nation; and as for his Judgments, they knew them not. In those Times, Salvation was only of the Jews: A few Acres of Land, like Gideon's Fleece, were watered with the Dew of Heaven, whilst all the rest of the World lay dry and barren about it; God suffering all Nations in Times past to walk in their own Ways, Acts 14. 16. the Ways of their own Superstition and Idolatry. They were Aliens from the Common-wealth of Israel, Strangers to the Covenant of Promise, having no Hope, and without God in the World, Eph. 2. 13. The Sense of which is; that they were without those Promises, Declarations, and Discoveries, which God made to Abraham and his Seed, and are therefore aptly describ'd under this Character, *The Gentiles who knew not God*, 1 Theff. 4. 5. There were indeed some of other Nations, who were Profelytes to the Jewish Religion, and came over entirely to that Way of Worship; but then they either resided among the Jews, or so near them, as to be able to make their Personal Ap-

pearance at certain Seasons, and join in the publick Institutions of the divine Law. These were what they called *Profelytes of Justice*. As to the others; namely the *Profelytes of the Gate*; they were indeed permitted to live in all Countries, but were obliged to no more than the Observance of the seven Precepts of the *Noachides*, that is in effect of the natural Law only, and therefore these could not be said to belong to the Covenant of Promise. Indeed the Religion of the Jews was in itself incapable of being extended over the World; many considerable Parts of it, as Sacrifices, First-fruits and Oblations, being to be performed at Jerusalem and the Temple, which could not be done by Persons who lived at a considerable Distance from the Land of Promise. Thus the true Religion in those Days was not only pent up within one particular Country, but the publick Parts of it were confined to one peculiar Place in that Country, the City of Jerusalem, thence called *the Holy City*. Here was the Temple, here the Priests that ministered at the Altar, here all the more solemn Rites of divine Adoration: *Thither the Tribes go up, the Tribes of the Lord unto the Testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the Name of the Lord*, Psal. 122. 4. Now this Particular, of being obliged thrice at least every Year to take long and tedious Journeys, was not the smallest Part of the Bondage of that Dispensation, even to the Jews themselves, many of whom necessarily lived at a great Distance from that Capital: Yet so very strictly were they bound to this Part of their Duty, that to build an Altar, or offer Sacrifices, even to the true God, in any other Place, unless they had an extraordinary Dispensation immediately from Heaven, was, though not a false, yet a very unwarrantable Act of Worship. So that the Jews of this Day abstain from Sacrifices, because banished from Jerusalem and the Temple, the only legal Place of offering.

offering. 'Tis true indeed, and we have before taken notice of it, that Temples were built, and publick Worship was carried on, both in *Egypt*, and on Mount *Gerizzim*, by some refractory Persons among the antient *Jews*, who dissented from their Brethren; but then neither the People, nor their Sacrifices, were owned by the *Jews* of *Jerusalem*, who kept strictly to the Letter of their Institutions; and therefore the Practice of those proves nothing at all against the Illegality of the Thing, which is incontestable.

But the Gospel hath a much wider Sphere to move in, even a Sphere as vast and large as the whole World itself. It is communicable to all Countries, and may be exercised in any Part or Corner of the Earth. Our Lord commissioned the Apostles, to go into all Nations, and to preach the Gospel to every Creature, Mark 16. 15. And accordingly we are told, that *their Sound went into all the Earth, and their Words unto the Ends of the World*, Rom. 10. 18. by which means, *the Grace of God, that brings Salvation, appeared unto all Men, and the Gospel was preached unto every Creature*, Col. 1. 13. so that now there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither Bond nor Free, neither Male nor Female, but we are all one in Christ Jesus, and in every Nation he that feareth God, and worketh Righteousness, is accepted with him, Acts 10. 35. The Prophet had long since foretold it of the Times of the Messiah, that *the House of God*, that is his Church, should be called a *House of Prayer for all People*, Isa. 56. 7. that the Doors should be open, and none excluded that would enter in. And the divine Providence was singularly remarkable in this Affair, that after our Lord's Ascension, when the Apostles were going upon their Commission, and were first solemnly to proclaim it at *Jerusalem*, there were residing there at that Time *Parthians, Medes, Elamites, Dwellers in Mesopo-*

tamia, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Persons out of every Nation under Heaven, who were as the First-Fruits of those several Countries, which were to be fully gathered in by the Preaching of the Gospel: And after this the Christian Religion spread with almost incredible Success, being in a very few Years introduced into most of the Countries of the then known World. Our Offerings do not consist, like those of the *Jews*, of any particular living Creatures, whose Blood was to be spilt upon the Altar of *Jerusalem*; but the best Sacrifice we can bring is a pious and sincere Mind, which may be offered up in any one part of the World as well as another. *The Hour cometh*, said our Lord to the Samaritan Woman, John 4. 21, 23. *when ye shall neither in this Mountain, nor at Jerusalem, worship the Father; but the true Worshipers shall worship the Father in Spirit and in Truth: In Spirit*, in opposition to that carnal and idolatrous Worship that was in use among the Samaritans, who worshipped God under the Form of a Dove; *in Truth*, in opposition to the figurative and typical Worship of the *Jews*, which was but a Shadow of the true Worship of the Gospel. The Law and the Gospel did not differ in this, that the one commanded publick Worship, and the other not; but that under the one publick Worship was fixed to one only Place, under the other it is free to any Place where the Providence of God has thought proper to cast our Lot. And this it self is certainly a very great Advantage on the Side of Christianity: For since 'tis a Duty we are bound to by natural and unalterable Obligation, that we should publicly meet together, for the solemn Celebration of divine Worship, can there be a more noble Character of Christian Liberty than this, that the whole World is our Temple, in which all Mankind have a Right to sacrifice.

XV. Nor is the Economy of the Gospel

pel less extensive in Time than in Place. The old Testament was only a temporary Dispensation, to continue for a little Time, and then to be antiquated and abolished; but the new Covenant of the Gospel is an everlasting Covenant, to continue to the End of the World, and never make Way for any Successor. The *Jews* indeed stickle hard for the perpetual and immutable Obligation of the Law of *Moses*, and frequently urge to us those Places, where the Covenant of Circumcision is called, *an everlasting Covenant*, Gen. 17. 7. where God is said to chuse the Temple at *Jerusalem*, to place his Name there for ever, 1 Kings 9. 3. and to give the Land of *Canaan* to *Abraham* and his Seed for an everlasting Possession; also where the Institution of the Passover is called *an Ordinance for ever*, the Command of the First-Fruits, a *Statute for ever*, and other Places of the like Kind, which seem to intimate a perpetual and unalterable Dispensation. But the Answer is short and plain, that the Phrase *for ever*, tho' when 'tis applied to God it always denotes Eternity, yet when 'tis attributed to other Things, it implies no more than a periodical Duration, limited according to the Will of the Lawgiver, or the Nature of the Thing. Thus the *Hebrew* Servant was to serve his Master *for ever*, that is for seven Years, till the next Year of Jubilee, which was to set him at Liberty, *Exod.* 21. 26. In like manner God says concerning *Samuel*, chap. 2. 36. *He shall walk before mine Anointed forever*, intimating thereby that he should be a Priest all his Days. The ritual Services of the *Mosaick* Law are called *Statutes for ever*, in no other Sense than this, nor is any more meant by that Phrase when applied to them, than that they should continue a long Time obligatory, till the Coming of

the Messiah, in whose Days *Sacrifice and Oblation* were to cease, Dan. 9. 27. and those carnal Ceremonies to give way to the more spiritual Services of the Gospel. Indeed the very typical Nature of that Dispensation evidently argued it to be but for a Time, it being necessary that the Shadow should give way, in order that the Substance might take place. And though many of the *Jewish* Rites continu'd for some considerable Time after Christ's Death, yet they lost their positive and obligatory Power, and were retained only as Things indifferent, in compliance with the Prejudices of Converts from *Judaism*, who could not quickly lay aside their great Veneration for the *Mosaick* Institutions; and even in this Respect it was not long before they were entirely thrown off, and *Moses* quite turned out of Doors. But the evangelical State is to run parallel with the Age and Duration of the World; 'tis the *everlasting Covenant*, the *everlasting Gospel*, the last Dispensation that God will make to the World. God, who at sundry Times, and in divers Manners, spake in Times past by the Prophets, hath in these last Days spoken to us by his Son, Heb. 1. 1, 2. The same Author to the *Hebrews* calls the Gospel, in opposition to the Law, *a Kingdom that cannot be moved*. This Apostle in the foregoing Verses had been speaking concerning the *Mosaical* State, whose Voice, says he, then, at the Time of its Delivery, shook the Earth; but now hath he promised, saying, *Yet once more I shake not the Earth only, * but also the Heaven: And this Word, Yet once more, signifieth the removing of those Things that are shaken, as of Things that are made, that those Things which cannot be shaken, namely the Dispensation of the Gospel, may remain, or endure for ever.* Hence Christ is said to

* A Phrase peculiar to the Scripture, to denote the introducing a new Scene and State of Things.
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have an unchangeable Priesthood, to be a Priest for ever, to be consecrated for evermore, Heb. 7. 24. Chap. 6. 20. Chap. 8. 23. all which Phrases denote the eternal Duration of the Gospel, or new Covenant, of which Christ is the Minister.

XVI. From these Particulars it appears how incomparably happy we Christians are under the Gospel, above what the Jews were during the Times of the Law, especially during the latter Times of it; when it was so much deprav'd and even annihilated by the false Glosses of their Doctors, and Tradition substituted in its Place. The Jews were got into a very high Opinion of their own ceremonial Rites, and would hardly have suffered an Innovation in Matters of Form, unless the Promoters of it had appeared with more earthly Authority than either Jesus Christ or his Apostles ever did. The first Annunciation of the Gospel therefore was only by exhorting them to Repentance for their Sins; a Doctrine to which the Prophets had accustomed them, and which could not at any Time be censured. Baptism was to testify their Resolutions of Amendment, and their Determination to walk for the future in Newness of Life. Thus humbled, and brought to a thorough Sense of their Transgressions, the Transition to a Mediator between God and Man, a Redeemer who should lay down his Life for the Sins of the World, and thus reinstate the repentant believing Sinner in the divine Favour, which he had so often forfeited, was very natural and easy; especially since it could be proved, that the Prophets, when rightly interpreted, gave them room to expect such a Person in the Character of the Messiah. This Doctrine was first opened by our blessed Lord himself in the Course of his Preaching; and all the Marks by which such an extraordinary Person could be known, were at the same Time made visibly to

appear in him; he all along appealing to Moses and the Prophets for the Confirmation of his Pretensions, and making the Jews themselves to be Judges between him and the Scriptures. He did indeed but barely begin to open the new Covenant, in order to make them examine the Prophets, and attend to his Life, Doctrine, Miracles, Sufferings, and Resurrection, which he knew would all carry their own Evidence with them: And till all Things that were written in the Prophets concerning the Son of Man, were accomplished, even his Disciples themselves could do no more than attend to this Evidence, and see how the several Prophecies were one after another fulfilled in him, whom they believed to be the Christ; so that when he predicted his approaching Death, they understood none of those Things, because they could not make the necessary Application of those particular Prophecies in which the Sufferings of the Messiah were described. But after his Resurrection, he opened their Understanding; and then the Prediction and the Accomplishment became equally plain. This he did first for two of them, whom he overtook as they were going to Emmaus: For having heard from them the History of his own Sufferings, which they related without knowing him to be their Lord, he said unto them, Luke 24. 25, &c. O Fools! and slow of Heart to believe all that the Prophets have spoken, ought not Christ to have suffered those Things, and to enter into his Glory? And beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures, the Things concerning himself. And after this he did the like for the Eleven, in the Midst of whom he suddenly stood, whilst the two above mentioned were relating what they had seen and heard. These are the Words, said he, which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all Things must be fulfilled, which were written in the Law of Moses,

Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me. Then opened he their Understandings, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the Dead the third Day; and that Repentance, and Remission of Sins, should be preached in his Name among all Nations, beginning at Jerusalem.

Here the Covenant of Grace was laid entirely open, and the grand Articles of it, Repentance on the Part of the Sinner, and Remission of Sins on the Part of God, were fully and expressly declared. How easy are the Terms on our Side, in comparison with those required of the Jews under the old Dispensation! and on the part of Heaven we have sufficient Security in the Word of him who cannot lie. These are the Terms, which were afterwards offer'd to the World, by the Preaching of the Apostles and their Successors, and on which depend the present Hope and future Happiness of Christians.

To conclude, in the foregoing Paragraphs, collected from the sacred Writings, we may behold the various Dispensations of God in the successive Ages of the World, and the glorious Scenes of Providence, opening by Degrees, succeeding one another in a regular Order, and at last centring in the Messiah. And by observing these several Ways in which God has revealed himself to Mankind, we may see the Excellence of the Christian Religion above even the Jewish, the most perfect before Christ, in the Terms it proposes, the Promises it exhibits, the divine Assistance it affords, the Foundation on which 'tis established, the Extent of it both in Time and Place, and finally in the glorious Rewards to which it freely introduces us. And having made these Reflections, let us bless God who has placed us under this best of Dispensations, the Covenant of Grace; who has deliver-

ed us from the many nice and troublesome Observances to which the Jews were bound, and from a Covenant which at best was faulty; who has put us under the clearest Discoveries and Revelations, and given us the most noble and rational Religion, a Religion the most perfective of our Natures, and the most conducive to our Happiness. *Blessed are the Eyes*, said our Lord to his Disciples, *Luke 10. 23, 24. that see the Things which ye see! For I tell you that many Prophets and Kings have desired to see those Things which ye see, and have not seen them, and to hear those Things which ye hear, and have not heard them.* Are not we happy then, according to this Reasoning of our Lord, who have all these Things handed down to us by those who really saw them and heard them, and behold fully recorded in History by the Holy Spirit, what he only revealed imperfectly to the antient Kings and Prophets?

DISSERTATION II.

Containing some general Rules, necessarily to be observed in reading the History of our Lord's publick Ministry, from his Baptism till his Death.

- I. *Occasion and Use of this Dissertation.*
- II. *Which Evangelists are to be follow'd in Point of Chronology. The particular Designations of Time given by St. Luke.*
- III. *St. John's Distinction of the Passovers during our Lord's publick Ministry.*
- IV. *The Gospels only summary Accounts.*
- V. *A Thing that is not recorded, may sometimes be inferr'd from one that is.*
- VI. *Several Things stated concerning the Variation of Circumstances and Expressions in Facts and Discourses.*
- VII. *Mistakes of Transcribers.*
- VIII. *Concerning Order and Transition.*
- IX. *Remarks upon some peculiar Manners of speaking.*

speaking. X. Rules to be observed in composing a Harmony of the Gospels.

I. **T**HE several Passages of our Lord's Life to this Time, that is, from his Birth till *he began to be about thirty Years of Age*, have each of them separately been collected from one Evangelist only: what was recorded by *Matthew* having been omitted by *Luke*, and what was omitted by *Matthew*, recorded by *Luke*; and 'tis from these two that we have all the Account of our Lord's Infancy and Youth that is now extant, and that the Holy Ghost saw necessary for our Instruction. 'Twas not exceeding difficult here to give every remarkable Incident in its proper Place, because the Number of Facts in all is not great, and because of the mutual Light which they give to each other: But in the Progress of this Work we shall frequently find three, and sometimes all four of the Evangelists relating the same Story with different Circumstances, or two several Stories, with Circumstances so much alike, that they may be taken for the same: We shall see the Order observed by one, departed from by another, and perhaps may not find it easy to determine which we should follow; nay, we certainly must meet with many Difficulties in Matters of this kind, if we suffer ourselves to be guided by a present Opinion only, instead of keeping to some general and certain Rules. To prevent therefore any Confusion in these Things, we shall observe several excellent Maxims, which are given us by the learned and ingenious M. *Le Clerc*, as the Standard by which he composed his *Harmony of the Gospels*. The putting them down in this Place may be of as much Use to the Reader, as the Observance of them will be to ourselves; for it may enable him to determine and account for several things in his own Mind, which would otherwise be so many Difficulties in his

Way, that would require a large Comment to make them plain and intelligible. By this means also we shall avoid many tedious Repetitions of the same Thing, whenever a Circumstance of the same kind with another before explained, may offer itself to us. These Rules are formed by our Author into distinct Chapters, and severally illustrated with Arguments and Examples. We shall not exactly follow his Method, nor shall we copy all those abstracted Criticisms, which he seems to have intended for the Learned only: But most of his Examples, and so many of his Arguments as may be of general Use, we shall here insert. Some of these, when they appear under distinct Heads, may give the Reader further Light than he has already received, into two or three Facts before related.

II. In the first Place, 'Tis evident, that *Luke*, and *John*, and even *Mark*, have kept to a stricter Order of Time than *Matthew*. As to what concerns *St. Luke*, take him upon his own Words, *Luke* 1. 3. *For as much as many have taken in hand to set forth a Declaration --- It seemed good unto me also, having had perfect Understanding of all Things from the very First, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus.* This Profession of *Luke*, to write in order, gave Occasion to an Opinion of *Beza*, that the other Evangelists, when they are all upon the same Thing, ought in a Harmony rather to be adapted to *Luke*, than he to them. And indeed, had this Evangelist been silent, 'tis now manifest, that the other three may be very commodiously reduced to his Method. This was long ago the Judgment of the learned Dr. *Richardson*, Bishop of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, whose *Harmony* seems of all that have been published, the best, as being the least conjectural. *Mark* and *John* also proceed in their own Order, with very little Variation, except in here and there a Passage: *Matthew* alone seems,

to have neglected the true Order of Time, and that only in his first thirteen Chapters, and the Beginning of his fourteenth. Some indeed object, that *Matthew* was an Eye-witness, and consequently the more accurate in his Order: But besides that this Consequence is invalid in itself, 'tis well known that *John* also both saw and heard what he reports. And does not *Luke* testify, in the Preface to his Gospel, that he had received his Materials from those that had been Witnesses of them from the Beginning, and Ministers of the Word? Undoubtedly *Mark* had as good Authority: And 'tis not unlikely that *Mark* and *Luke*, with the Things themselves, might receive also the Order in which they were acted, or otherwise might enquire into it of those who knew.

But there are manifest Tokens in *Luke* and *John*, from which a Man may infer that they were more observant of the true Order of Time than *Matthew*. To instance first in *Luke*: He settles the Year of *Christ*'s Nativity beyond Dispute, to those especially who lived when he wrote, when he tells us, that *Christ* was born in *Bethlehem*, at the Time of the first Decree of *Augustus* for taxing of the *Jews*, *Luke* 2. 1. for there were none at that Time, were they ever so little conversant in the *Jewish* History, but must needs know when that Decree was published. If there has since been any Obscurity in this Passage, 'tis owing to the Ignorance of Commentators, who should have explained it by Matter of Fact, of which they might have collected sufficiently from *Josephus*. But we have already said enough concerning this Decree, and the Taxation that followed it under *Publius Sulpitius Quirinus*, so famous for reducing *Judea* into a *Roman* Province.

There is also another Designation of Time, from which one may perceive how much *Luke* took Care to observe a just Order in his Relation: 'Tis when he tells

us, *Luke* 2. 1, 2, 3. that *John* began to preach and baptize in the fifteenth Year of *Tiberius*; which Passage, well understood, gives no small Light to the whole Chronology of our Saviour's Life. *Jesus* himself, the Evangelist tells us, began then to be about thirty Years of Age. Now by knowing this, and also knowing how long his Fore-runner and he continued in the Exercise of their publick Ministry, we may with Certainty compute in what Year of his Age he was crucified. 'Tis true indeed, that there is a twofold Beginning attributed to the Reign of *Tiberius*, the One when he was made Collegue of the Empire by *Augustus*, and the Other when after the Death of *Augustus* he had the sole Management of the Empire: but this creates little Difficulty, since 'tis generally agreed, that the fifteenth Year of *Tiberius* mentioned by *Luke*, ought to be referred to the first of these Beginnings. Now this happened in the 11th Year of the Vulgar Æra, on the 28th Day of *August*; whence it follows, that in the 25th of the same Æra, on the same Day of the Month, began the 15th Year of *Tiberius*, in which *John the Baptist* entered upon his Office. And that a twofold Beginning should be attributed to *Tiberius*, is no more to be wondered at, than that a threefold one should be given to *Augustus*. There is no reason then why *Luke* might not follow their Opinion, who date the Reign of *Tiberius* from the Time in which he was made Collegue by *Augustus*, especially considering that in the *Roman* Provinces he was accounted of equal Dignity with *Augustus* himself. 'Tis true, that in the City he behaved himself as inferior to *Augustus*, and rather as his Administrator than his Collegue; but this was all Artifice and Dissimulation, that went no farther than the City itself: The plain-meaning Provinces attributed sovereign Authority to him, as soon as they heard of his having gotten the proconsular

consular Dignity; and therefore St. *Luke* might very well date his Reign from that Time. These Instances are sufficient to defend those, who take St. *Luke* for the most exact Chronologer of the Four.

III. But we are particularly indebted to St. *John* for registering the three Passovers in the Course of our Lord's Ministry, the other Evangelists having taken notice only of the fourth and last, at which he suffered. And besides, *John* mentions the Feast of Tabernacles, *John* 7. 2, and the Feast of Dedication, *John* 10. 22. by which the Seasons of the last Year of *Christ's* Life are very particularly distinguished: Nor is this to be admired in him, who proposed to supply what was wanting in the other Gospels. It may not be improper, in this place, to give a short Scheme of those Distinctions of Time which are marked by St. *John*, as it is drawn up by our Author (Dissertat. I. Sect. 4.)

The first Passover which he mentions, was that during which our Lord first drove the Traders out of the Temple. After which, with a few of his Disciples, among whom was *Philip*, he went into another Part of *Judea*, where he abode until *John the Baptist* was cast into Prison. Then he went thro' *Samaria* into *Galilee*, where he more openly declared the Gospel: But having published it at *Nazareth* without Effect, he went on to *Capernaum*, where he tarried longer than he had done in any of the other Places which he had visited. Here he got several Disciples, particularly *Peter*, *Andrew*, *John*, and *James*. Thence he travelled thro' the Cities of *Galilee*, in which on the Sabbath-Days he preached in their Synagogues the Kingdom of Heaven. To accomplish all this, a Year's time was not too much, he being obliged to wait for the Sabbath, in order to instruct such Persons, who, in attending on their

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siderable Time in the Region of *Decapolis*. Afterwards he sailed over the Lake, often changing his Place, to avoid any Sedition that might have been raised by the Multitudes who resorted to him, which his Adversaries would doubtless have imputed to his Charge, since afterwards for a much less Reason they accused him of High-Treason before *Pilate*. And for this Cause he refused to be called the *Messiah*, and forbade many of his Miracles to be spread abroad, that he might not be follow'd by Persons who were eager for a Change of Government, of which sort there were then many among the *Jews*. He then went to *Paneas*, to the Fountains of *Jordan*, and some Days afterwards was transfigur'd on a Mountain of *Galilee*: After which he took many Journeys to and fro in that Province. Then in the Beginning of *October*, at the Middle of the Feast of *Tabernacles*, he shewed himself openly at *Jerusalem*, having sent into all Parts seventy Disciples, who probably returned to him after the Feast, as he was going back into *Galilee*. At the Feast of *Dedication* he went up to *Jerusalem* again, whither he travelled by easy Journeys, teaching in every Town and Village as he pass'd, and arrived there in the Beginning of *December*. After the Feast he returned again into *Galilee*, from whence he went into *Judea* to raise *Lazarus* from the Dead; and then retiring into the Desert of *Jericho*, he remained there till the fourth Passover, at which he suffered.

This brief Distribution of our Lord's Life, collected from the Gospel of *St. John*, is espoused with little or no Variation by many of our best modern Critics. Some indeed object, that since *John* calls the Passover by its proper Name in other Places, we ought not to suppose he means that Feast, when he speaks indefinitely of *The Feast of the Jews*, in the Place to which we refer the

second Passover. But *Crotius*, and *Le Clerc*, and several others, have sufficiently answered this Objection.

IV. A second Rule to be observed is, *That neither one particular Evangelist, nor all of them together, give us the whole History of our Saviour, nor yet all the Circumstances of those Parts wherein they most enlarge.* That his entire History has not been related by every particular Evangelist, any Person may be convinced by looking ever so slightly over their Narrations, and comparing them together; for he will often see one of them proceeding in a Story, and adding several Circumstances thereto, when all the rest have quite done with it. And that they have not together made an universal Collection, is what *St. John* expressly tells us at the Conclusion of his Gospel: *John* 21. 25. *There are also many other Things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the whole World could not contain the Books that should be written.* Which Words, though they are hyperbolical, and must not be strictly understood, do yet give us to know, that all the Actions and Sayings of our Saviour are not comprehended in the Gospels. However, we must be careful not to think, that there is any Thing of a necessary Tendency to Salvation, which the Apostles have not published: For undoubtedly all proper Directions for that great End are to be found in their Writings; since what is not there, is the same, in respect of us, as if it had never been revealed. For whatsoever carries not with it the Evidence of divine Revelation, (and we have nothing that speaks of our Saviour, and has this Evidence, but the Writings of the Evangelists and Apostles) whatsoever, I say, is without this, can no more be imposed upon us as an Article of Faith, than the Observation of a Law that was never promulgated. 'Twould be therefore an Impeachment of Divine

Divine Providence, as if it had not given us the Means of obtaining what it freely offers, were we ever to imagine that any thing necessary to Salvation is omitted in the New Testament. But nevertheless, this does not hinder our concluding, that the Story of our Saviour's Life is not entirely penned; which being evidently true, is a thing we should do well to remember, that we may be less surpriz'd at the great Gaps and Pauses in the Account which we have of the Beginning of his Ministry, and that certain Periods of his Life are less furnished with memorable Matters than others. If we had such a Journal of our Saviour's Life, as was taken of every Day's Transactions in the Palaces of the Kings of *Egypt* and *Persia*, we might find Matter enough to fill all the void Spaces of his Ministry, as they now appear to us: They proceed rashly therefore, who contract the two first Years of his Ministry into one, that so they may fill it with Action in proportion to his last Year.

In general, the Evangelists, in relating the Actions and Sayings of *Christ*, contented themselves with a brief and summary Account of Things, without enumerating all the Circumstances, or rehearsing the Words in the very Order in which they were spoken. This will be yet more evident in some of the following Observations, and is a sufficient Apology for many of our Additions and Inversions of Order.

V. But thirdly, *A Thing that is not recorded may sometimes be inferred from one that is.* We gave an Instance of this in the Case of *Zachary*, the Father of *John the Baptist*, of whom we have said in our History, *that he was both deaf and dumb*, though the Words of the Angel to him are only, *Thou shalt be dumb and not able to speak*, Luke 1. 20. The Reader may see our Reason for it in the Place referred to, for we will not repeat what is there

said. Another Instance is in the Case of *Joseph*, who being encouraged from Heaven to take *Mary* to Wife, when he was raised from his Sleep, did as the Angel of the Lord had bidden him, Matt. 1. 24. For though the Evangelist in this Place intimates nothing that passed between the heavenly Direction, and *Joseph's* Obedience, yet 'tis natural to suppose that he questioned *Mary* about the divine Conception of *Christ*, and compared her Answers with his Dream, before he submitted to receive her as his Wife, and therefore we have said as much in our Paraphrase on those Words of the Gospel, *no of him*.

In the Conference between *Jesus Christ* and *Nathaniel*, as described by St. *John*, chap. 4. 47. we may easily see that the Words of *Jesus*, *Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the Fig-Tree, I saw thee*, convinced *Nathaniel* that he was the Messiah, and occasioned that Exclamation which follows: *Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel!* For this Reason 'twill be proper to subjoin in that Place to the Words of our Lord, *that they contained in them a Secret, which it was impossible for any one but a divine Person to know.* This is a plain Inference from the rest of the Discourse, though otherwise No-body would have imagined any Thing extraordinary in the Circumstances of seeing him under a Fig-Tree: But it seems *Nathaniel* was conscious that *Jesus* could have received no Information in a common Way, either of *Philip's* calling him, or of his being under the Tree, and also that it was impossible *Jesus* could have seen those Things himself with his bodily Eyes, and therefore his rehearsing these little Matters, tho' of no Consequence in themselves, was as plain an Indication of his Divinity as any Thing greater would have been.

Afterwards in the History of the Marriage at *Cana* in *Galilee*, when *Mary* observed

served there was no Wine, and informed *Jesus* of it, 'tis plain that she expected him to work a Miracle on this Occasion, because she said to the Servants, *Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it*, John 2. Whence we may infer, that tho' this was the Beginning of his publick Miracles, he had before given Instances of his Divine Power in private, by performing Things as difficult as the turning of Water into Wine; and therefore the Reader ought not to be surpris'd, if in giving this History, we should say, *that Mary had seen her Son work Miracles upon other Occasions, tho' they are not recorded*. It may be objected perhaps, that *Jesus* had intimated to her his Intention, and so only made Use of her Application to introduce what he had before determin'd to perform. But can we think that *Mary* would, upon any Account, have promoted his attempting a thing before publick Company, which was utterly out of the reach of all human Ability, if she had not been convinced that a superior Power resided in him?

In like manner, We may frequently collect from the Answer, that something was omitted in the Question, or that Part of the Question is suppress'd in the Relation of it. The following Instance will make this sufficiently clear. When *Nicodemus* address'd our Saviour in these Words, John 3. 2, 3. *Rabbi, we know that thou art a Teacher come from God; for no Man can do the Miracles that thou dost, except God be with him*; *Jesus* is introduced as answering thus: *Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a Man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God*. Now these Words of our Saviour refer not at all to the Preface of *Nicodemus*; but without doubt they resolve a Question, which he either did, or was going to, propound: May we not therefore insinuate what appears to have been the Substance of this Demand? Certainly it was some-

thing to this Effect: *What shall I do in order to be made Partaker of the Happiness of the Kingdom of Heaven, which I am informed is now at hand?* This is the *Subintellektum*, or Matter concealed, to which our Lord alludes in his Answer, and which we must supply in order to make the Conference hang together. Other Instances of the same Nature might be collected in great Number, but we shall content ourselves with referring the Reader to this Place, whenever we use Liberties of this kind.

VI. A Variation of Circumstances and Expressions in the Relation of different Evangelists, may, or may not, argue that the Facts and Discourses are different, in proportion as those Circumstances and Expressions are, or are not, of the Substance and Essence of the History. This Maxim perhaps may be a little obscure at first reading; but we shall make it plain as we proceed, by considering it in several Lights.

1. A few different Circumstances are no Argument that Relations, which thus vary, but agree in the main, are distinct Histories, and contain different Matters of Fact. Historians that account not for every minute Circumstance, but select their Matter, do generally, and almost of necessity, differ in their Choice, or at least seem to differ, especially if they aim at Conciseness; it being scarce possible that they should all hit upon the same Circumstances throughout, or that a History should be abridged by every one of them in the same Method. In the Account of the Centurion's Servant of *Capernaum*, as it is reported by *Matthew* and *Luke*, Matt. 8. and *Luke* 7. there is some Variation in a Circumstance or two; but we must not presently conclude that they relate different Stories, because they both agree in the main. For Instance, 1. They both mention a Centurion's Servant that was cured. 2. In both are the same Ex-

pressions;

pressions; which influence our Lord to perform the Cure, and are a remarkable Sign of great and singular Faith. 3. *Jesus*, according to both, performed the Cure in the Absence of the sick Person. All this Agreement puts it beyond Dispute, that the Story in both is the very same; tho' in *Matthew* the Centurion is introduced, addressing *Jesus* in Person, whereas in *Luke* he is described sending the *Jews*, who excuse him as not daring to come. But these Variations are no Inconsistencies, as will appear hereafter: And this Coincidence of the other Circumstances, which is very remarkable, ought rather to be considered than such a small Disagreement, which is far from being sufficient to prove that the Relations are different.

There is another Instance of this Nature in the Curing of a blind Man, or some blind Persons, *when our Lord was near to Jericho*; in the Accounts of which there are several Incidents, which oblige us to believe that the three Evangelists, *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, who give them, had all the same Fact in View, though there be some Variety in the Circumstances. These are the Particulars in which they agree. 1. *Jesus* wrought this Miracle when he was not far from *Jericho*. 2. The necessitous Persons sate by the Way-side, where *Jesus* was to pass, and began to cry with a loud Voice, *Jesus, thou Son of David, have Mercy on us*. 3. Upon their redoubling their Clamours, they were reprimanded by the Multitude that accompanied *Jesus*. 4. *Jesus* order'd the Blind to be brought to him, and enquiring what they would have, cured them, and was afterwards attended by them. Here is the Substance of the Story in all three, with little or no Variation: But then the Objections are, 1. That *St. Luke*, by saying he did it when he *drew nigh to Jericho*, *Luke* 18. 35. seems to intimate that he was only going thither,

and not on his Return from thence, as *Matthew* and *Mark* say expressly, *Mat.* 20. 29. *Mark* 10. 46. But Critics have observed, that the original Words in *Luke* may be rendered, *when he was near to Jericho*, they being of a general Nature, and signifying neither Entry nor Departure. 2. 'Tis objected that *Matthew* mentions two blind Persons, *Mark* and *Luke* only one: In answer to which, we shall only subjoin the Words of *St. Augustin* on this Occasion. *Of the two blind Persons here mentioned, one was better known in that City than the other, as is evident from the Recital of his and his Father's Name by Mark: For among all the Persons for whom Jesus wrought Cures, we scarce find another expressly named, except Jairus, the Ruler of the Synagogue, whose Daughter he raised from the Dead, and who seems to be named only on account of his Dignity. Therefore without doubt this same Bartimæus, the Son of Timæus, was suddenly fallen from some eminent Prosperity, and become a famous Example of Wretchedness, in that he was not only blind, but a Beggar. Mark, therefore chuses to exemplify in him, whose Recovery of Sight would make the Miracle as conspicuous, as his Calamity was notorious.*

Nor is this the only Instance where *Matthew* applies to two Persons, a Miracle which *Mark* and *Luke* relate of one only: And therefore it should be observed as a Rule in Cases of this kind, *That though one Evangelist gives a less Number, it is no Argument but he might have used a greater, unless the contrary be insinuated: And though another writes more, it is no Argument that he hath given an unsatisfactory Account, who writes less.* In the History of the Devils entering into the Herd of Swine, *Mark* and *Luke* take notice only of one Person posses'd, whereas *Matthew* mentions two. But as he that affirms there were two, allows at the same Time that there was one, so he that mentions only

only one, if he insinuates nothing to exclude more, does not all clash with him that takes notice of two. What particular Reasons *Mark* and *Luke* might have for this Omission, we cannot pretend to say; for *St. Austin's* Remark, *That one of these Demoniacs was of greater Note than the other*, will not hold good in this Place, because neither of these Evangelists has said any thing to distinguish the Person he mentions, as *Mark* has when he calls his blind Man *Barthimæus*. However, that which follows in *St. Austin* is worth transcribing, as extremely conducive to the Reconcilement of the Evangelists in this Relation. *It affords not any Matter of Scruple, that what the Demons say is differently reported by the Evangelists; for they may be all reduced to one Meaning: Nor is there any Difficulty in this; that the Demoniacs in Matthew speak in the plural Number, and in Mark and Luke in the singular only, since in these latter, when Answer is returned to the Question, What is thy Name? He said Legion, for we are many. What has been said in these Cases, may be applied to all others, where the Agreement in the main is sufficient to overbear a small Variety in the Circumstances: Nor can it ever be justly turned to the Disadvantage of the Evangelists, that one of them writes more copiously, another less: For he that writes at large, always comprehends what is spoken in little; and he that writes in little, denies nothing that is spoken by another more at large.*

2. But on the other Side, *An Agreement in some few Circumstances, that have little or no Relation to the Substance, is no Argument that several Evangelists are relating the same Thing, if they differ in other Circumstances that are more material.* This Rule at first Sight seems the very reverse of the former, but it is not so upon a nearer View. Before we argued from the principal Circumstances, and shewed

that a Variation in those of less Importance is not to be regarded: Now 'tis advanced, that from a Conformity of inferior Circumstances, it cannot be infer'd that one and the same Story is related, when the principal Circumstances, for which the Fact is recorded, are not the same. For instance, *Luke* tells us, Chap. 5. that *Peter, Andrew, James, and John*, having been a whole Night fishing in the Lake of *Gennesareth*, had taken no Fishes; but letting down their Net at the Command of *Jesus*, they immediately drew out a prodigious Multitude. A Relation like this is also given us by *John* Chap. 21. but since the Times do not agree, nor the Circumstances before and after, No-body sure can be so void of Reason, as to take them both for the same History. We may pass the same Judgment upon other Relations, particularly upon the following:

In the second Year of our Lord's Ministry, according to the Distribution above, *Luke* relates that *Jesus* was invited to a Feast at the House of one *Simeon a Pharisee*; where being sat, a Woman, that had been of a loose Conversation, stood behind him, and wept in such abundance, that she washed his Feet with her Tears, which she afterwards wiped with the Hair of her Head, and kissed them, and anointed them with Ointment. *John* reports a Story much like this of *Mary the Sister of Lazarus and Martha*: But then the Fact he speaks of happen'd in the fourth Year of our Saviour's Ministry; and besides the difference of Time, there are other Circumstances which greatly vary. This latter Feast, in all Appearance, was in *Martha's* House; and the Discourses arising from the Action of *Mary*, are quite another Nature from those in *Luke*, as any one may see who compares the Passages. And for these Reasons learned Men generally agree that they are two Stories.

But then there is also a third Relation of the same kind, taken from *Matthew* and *Mark*, who both agree in the Circumstances, and say it happen'd at *Bethany* in the House of *Simon the Leper*. Now it is much contended that this is the same Story with that of *John*, because *Bethany* was the City of *Mary* and her Sister *Martha*, and it is not expressly said by *John*, that the Feast which he mentions was at *Martha's* House. (Tho' by the way, he tells us that *Martha* served, which she would hardly have done at the House of *Simon*.) Besides, say they, many of the Circumstances in *John* are very much like those in *Matthew* and *Mark*. *Grotius* goes further, and maintains, that all the three Stories are the same, notwithstanding that the Circumstances in *Luke* are so widely different from all the rest.

Let us now consider briefly what may be offered, to prove that they are three distinct Histories. 1. Neither *Luke* nor *John* agrees with *Matthew* and *Mark* in respect of Time: What *Luke* relates was transacted the second Year of our Lord's Ministry; *John's* Relation must be refer'd to an Entertainment immediately after the Resurrection of *Lazarus*, and he expressly tells us, it was six Days before the Passover; but the Story in *Matthew* and *Mark*, seems so connected with that of his being betray'd by *Judas*, that we can hardly think there should be an Interval of five Days put between them. 2. Tho' *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, agree in this, that at a Feast, in the House of one *Simon*, a Woman came, having an Alabaſter Box of Ointment, and poured it on *Jesus*, 'tis not therefore necessary to suppose, either that *Jesus* was but at one Feast, or that he knew but one *Simon*. The contrary of both is evident from the Gospels; besides that the *Simon* in *Matthew* and *Mark* is called the Leper, and he in *Luke*, a Pharisee. Add to this, that as anointing with Oil was a common

Thing at genteel Entertainments, we need not wonder that it was repeated to *Jesus*, who was received in the Character of a Prophet at least. And moreover, what was done by one, not only with his Permission, but with his Approbation, was very likely to be imitated by a second, and a third, especially among his devout Admirers, every one of whom was willing to do a Thing that pleased him. 3. What Agreement may seem to be between *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *John*, is not so strong an Argument, as the great Probability there is that the Feast mentioned by the latter was at the House of *Martha*. Observe his Words: Then *Jesus* six Days before the Passover, came to *Bethany*, where *Lazarus* was, whom he raised from the Dead: There they made him a Supper, and *Martha* served; but *Lazarus* was one of them that sat at the Table with him. Then took *Mary*, &c. Can any Thing be more plainly intimated? 4. *Luke* differs from all the rest, in telling us that the Woman washed the Feet of *Christ* with her Tears, before she anointed them with Ointment, which Circumstance the rest would not have omitted in the same Story. He also differs remarkably from *John* in particular, in telling us that his Woman was of a lewd Life; a Character which we certainly ought not to apply to *Mary* the Sister of *Lazarus*, whom *Jesus* commends for her having chosen that good Part, which should never be taken from her. Nor indeed have we any room to think, that the Woman mentioned by *Matthew* and *Mark* was of a bad Life, because no such Thing is intimated by them. Thus have we clearly distinguished the three Histories, according to our Rule, and shewn, that notwithstanding their Agreement in many Circumstances, they differ too much in others to pass for the same.

3. This leads us to a third Observation, which concerns the Agreement of the Sacred Writers in other Circumstances, when

when they relate Facts which the Order of Time, or Circumstance of Place, will not permit us to take for the same. The Rule is, *That Jesus did and said many Things of a like Nature, occasioned by the like Motives.* For want of reflecting on this, the Writers of Harmonies have frequently broke the whole Tenor of the Gospel-History, by confounding together Things that bear a Resemblance, merely on account of that Resemblance, when they apparently belong to very different Times, or were transacted in Places remote from each other. We shall here, as we have elsewhere done, produce some plain and evident Examples, to support what we lay down as a Maxim, and then leave the Reader to apply it on other Occasions of like Nature.

About the Time of the first Passover, as mentioned by *John*, *Jesus* went into the Temple, and drove out the Buyers and Money-Changers, charging them not to make his Father's House a House of Merchandise. The same thing was done by him a little before the fourth Passover, mentioned by the other three Evangelists, who tell us that he rebuked the Merchants, for converting the Temple into a Den of Thieves.

Our Lord is described by *St. Matthew*, as freely instructing his Disciples in many things concerning the Nature of Prayer, and as giving them a Form also, without any Intreaty on their Side: But *St. Luke* introduces the same Form as given at their Request, with other different Circumstances and Discourses.

Having in the second Year of his Ministry sent his twelve Apostles to preach the Gospel throughout all *Galilee*, he gave them Instructions suitable to the Occasion, which were repeated when he sent forth the seventy Disciples throughout *Judea* upon the like Design: And all the Reason in the World for it; for being upon same Commission, they certainly

had need of the very same Orders.

He very frequently inculcates his Doctrines and Admonitions, that are of high Concern, by Repetitions, to make them sink deeper into the Minds of his Disciples, who were hard of Apprehension, and apt to forget. And thus oftentimes, even from the first Opening of his Ministry, he foretold his Death and Resurrection to be within three Days: For which there was a manifest Necessity, in that his Apostles could scarcely be convinced of it, even after the Accomplishment of the Prediction. No wonder then that he used Repetitions to Men that wanted them so much, and were at first so hard to be persuaded. He often forewarns them of Perils and Tribulation to be undergone for his Gospel, that they may not flatter themselves with hopes of better Fortune, and so, upon Events contrary to their Expectation, be surprised, and driven from a Profession of the Truth. And yet we see that for all his Admonitions, so many and so perspicuous, they could not be persuaded from the Thoughts of his terrestrial Kingdom, but on the very Day of his Ascension ask'd him concerning it; nor were they to be brought from this habitual Mistake, by any thing but the powerful Assistance of the Holy Ghost. If therefore there should occur in this History, under distinct Periods of Time, Sayings and Discourses of our Saviour alike in Sense, or even the same in Expression, the Reader is not to wonder at it, but remember the Precept here laid down, and the Instances given to illustrate it.

We may add to the above, an Instance or two of Answers repeated to Persons who put the same Question, or started the same Objection, that this Rule may appear in a greater Variety of Lights.

In the third Year of his Ministry, *Jesus* being come to *Jerusalem* at the Feast of the Dedication, some of the *Pharisees* ask'd him, *Luke 17. 20, 21. When*

the Kingdom of God should come? To which he makes answer, *That the Kingdom of God cometh not with Observation; neither shall they say, Lo here, or lo there: for behold the Kingdom of God is within you:* And shuts up his Reply with a Proverb: *Wheresoever the Body is, thither will the Eagles be gathered together.* To the like Questions put to him by his Apostles, as he sat on the Mount of Olives, in his fourth Year, not long before his last Passover, he returns this, or a like Answer, with the Addition of other Circumstances, *Mat. 24.*

Thus in the second Year of his Ministry, being to cross the Lake of Gennesareth, from the Western Shore to the Eastern, he was accosted by a Scribe in these Words: *Mat. 8. Master, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest. And Jesus saith unto him, The Foxes have Holes, and the Birds of the Air have Nests; but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his Head. And another of his Disciples said unto him, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my Father: But Jesus said unto him, Follow me, and let the Dead bury their Dead.* The same likewise was spoken by him on such another Occasion, when he was going up to Jerusalem in the third Year of his Ministry: But in this latter Story there is a third Person, who makes a different Excuse.

In a Word, when we rehearse different Histories with the same Circumstances and Discourses in them, there will be no Reason to censure our Collation of the Gospels, as if we had multiplied Facts, and repeated them in different Places; since 'tis apparent that our Lord frequently said and did the same Thing on the same Occasion, and answered Questions and Objections of a like Import by Words which he had before used: And this is a remarkable Instance both of the Simplicity of the Gospel, and of the transcendent Wisdom of our blessed Saviour, who

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never spoke at one time, what he had need to alter or correct at another.

VII. The next general Rule for reconciling the Evangelists is this: *The Mistakes of Transcribers, if any such can be found in the Gospels, ought not to be taken for Contradictions in the History.* Every Body must allow this to be an incontestable Truth; but the Question is, How are these Mistakes to be known? By collating together antient Copies, and collecting the various Readings. But among the various Readings, which are very numerous, how shall we know which are the mistaken ones? The Number and Authority of the Copies, which are consulted on this Occasion, would determine it in the shortest and easiest Way, but perhaps not always in the safest. The Rules of free and impartial Criticism, which always labours to find out the Truth, and has been employ'd with so much Success upon other Authors of Antiquity, might perhaps be of Service here, could there be Men found to apply them, who were sufficiently disinterested, learned, and judicious. And certainly if one Evangelist should be found so to differ from the rest in any Particular, as not to be reconciled according to the common Reading, and this Difference depended only upon the Variation of a little Word, or a numerical Letter, one would think it should not be accounted a presumptuous Attempt in the Person who ventured to alter and restore such a Letter or Particle, provided he thereby put no Force upon the Construction, and followed only the Authority of the other Evangelists.

Many great Critics are of Opinion, that there is a Mistake of this Kind committed in the Gospel of John, they having in vain attempted to reconcile him with the other Evangelists, concerning the Hour in which Jesus Christ was condemned by Pilate. John determines it to

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be about the sixth Hour, *John* 12. 14. whereas *Mark* affirms him to have been crucified at the third Hour; *Mark* 15. 35. *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, after letting us know that *Jesus* had been some Time upon the Cross, consent that about the sixth Hour there was an universal Darkeness till the ninth. 'Tis therefore contended that in *John*, instead of the sixth Hour, should be read the third Hour: And, doubtless, *John* must be understood to have meant the same Thing with *Mark*, who agrees exactly with the other Evangelists. If there be a wrong Lesson therefore, *John* ought rather to be restored by *Mark*, than *Mark* by him, because *Mark* has the Suffrages of two other Writers, of the same sacred Character with himself to support what he has advanced. This Restoration might be made by altering only a single numerical Letter, or Figure; and the Author of an ancient Commentary upon the Psalms, and after him *Petavius*, have thought this the most commodious way of doing it. *Hammond* says, that as the Divisions of the Day among the Jews consisted of three Hours each, all the Time from the third Hour till the sixth, was called still the third Hour; so that St. *John's* about the sixth Hour, and St. *Mark's* third Hour, may very properly be taken for the same. But *Le Clerc*, who translated *Hammond's* Annotations into Latin, and wrote additional Notes to them, seems not to be content with what his Author affirms, and therefore substitutes another Interpretation of his own. But this he afterwards rejects again, in his *Harmony of the Gospels*, and tells us, that after duly weighing all the Circumstances, he cannot find out any Thing satisfactory in this Particular: So that, in short, according to him, this Matter must either be left in Suspence, or *John* must be made to conform with *Mark*. This is, however, merely a Point of verbal Criticism, and what can have no Influence

upon our Faith; nor can it be taken as an Exception to what we said above, That there are no material Differences, in Points of high Importance, to be found in the Writings of the Evangelists.

As to what we said of collating ancient Copies, 'tis necessary here to subjoin the Sentiments of M. *Le Clerc*, on that Particular, that we may distinguish the Opinion of the Author whom we profess to follow, from what we advance of our own. He says, we must use great Precaution in admitting the Conjectures of ancient Critics and Transcribers, whose Ignorance occasioned them, in reconciling Places of Scripture, to correct one by another, as the best Commentators have frequently observed. Take an Instance or two of this, says he, from *Beza*, who, upon the last Chapter of *Mark*, observes, *That the ancient Greek Editions differ wonderfully in that Chapter, which St. Jerom affirms is not to be found in some Copies of the Gospels, being so full of Clashings with the other Evangelists.* And then he continues: *But my Judgment is, that it was struck out wrongfully, and may be easily restored, and made to agree with the rest.* To which Opinion our Author freely subscribes, and cannot express how much he blames this Rashness of Critics and Transcribers.

VIII. Let us observe further, *That many Things in the Gospels, which seem contradictory, may be reconciled by restoring the true Order of the History.* If several Persons undertake to write a History, containing only plain Matters of Fact, and do not all of them observe the due Course of Circumstances, they must necessarily at first Sight appear contradictory one to another, especially to a Reader who is not informed of their having neglected the true Order of Things. This is certainly the Case of the Evangelists, as has been already observed, and will more largely appear in the Course of this Work: We ought

ought not therefore to judge hastily that they write Inconsistencies, though we are not able to make them accord with each other in the present Order of their Narratives, because an Agreement may frequently be made by taking their Words a-funder, and inserting those of one Evangelist between those of another, or by putting that last which is first, and that first which is last. An Instance of this Kind is produced above in the Accounts of our Lord's Temptation, as given by *Matthew* and *Luke*; and another may be here added from the Testimony of *John Baptist* concerning *Jesus*, which is reported by *Mark* in fewer Words than by *Matthew* and *Luke*, and those few in a different Order from theirs, *Mark* 1. 7, 8. *Matt.* 3. 11, 12. *Luke* 3. 16, 17. The Reader may consult the Passages; and when he has done, let him read this excellent Remark of *St. Austin* upon them. *If any Man asks which were the very Expressions of John Baptist, those mentioned by Matthew and Luke, or those delivered in fewer Terms, and with some Omissions, by Mark, he may satisfy himself in this Point, if he wisely considers, that whatever the Words are, 'tis the Sense alone that is necessary for understanding the Truth: For the same Thing may be set down in a different Order of Words, and imply no Contradiction; nor is it a Contrariety, if one Man observes what was pretermitted by others.* Indeed 'tis evident that they have given us the same Story in Substance, tho' differing in some Circumstances; which Variety arises from the different Memories of the Historians, and their Purposes of writing in a Style either more brief or more copious; the first of which was undoubtedly chosen by *St. Mark*.

IX. We should now take notice of such Maxims, as may help us to account for those Manners of speaking in the Evangelists, which may otherwise be thought singular, not to say improper, in

the natural Acceptation of them. Under this Head may be included the following Observations.

1. *What a Man employs another to do, he is accountable for himself, and therefore said to do it.* This is a celebrated Maxim of the Civilians, which should be frequently remembered in reading, not only the New Testament, but all other Histories: For two things follow from hence; 1. That a Person may be introduced, especially in a short Narrative, as doing that himself which he employs others to do. 2. That a Legate, or Ambassador, may be made to deliver his Business after the same Manner as the Person who commissioned him, if he were present, would express himself. To which Purport the Jews had a double Proverb, *That every Man's Messenger is as it were himself; and That the King's Ambassador is as the King himself.*

This well considered, will further clear up the Relation of the Centurion of *Capernaum*, which we took notice of above. In *Luke* he is said to send some of the Jews to *Jesus*, not daring to accost him in Person; but in *Matthew* he addresses him himself: For *Matthew* being more concise in this Place, after the Manner of the sacred Writers, describes him as doing that which he employed others to do. And agreeably hereto *Luke*, tho' he introduces Messengers on this Occasion, yet makes them speak as if the Centurion himself were present, *Luke* 7. 6. *When Jesus was not far from the House, the Centurion sent Friends to him, saying, Lord, trouble not thyself; for I am not worthy that thou shouldst come under my Roof. But say the Word, and my Servant shall be healed.* That this Manner of speaking is common with the sacred Penmen, might be proved from a great Number of Instances in the Old Testament as well as the New.

2. *When a Person is described in Generals,*

rals, the plural Number is often put for the singular. By observing this, many Places in the Gospels may be reconciled, where that is applied to a single Person by one Evangelist, which is ascribed to more by the rest.

Thus in the Case of Herod King of Judea, a single Person, an Angel is introduced, saying to Joseph, *Arise - for they are dead who sought the Child's Life*, Matt. 2. 20. And agreeably hereto the Apostles, or Disciples in general, are reported by one Evangelist to say that which by another is restrained purely to one of them. Thus in the Case of the Woman with the Issue of Blood, when Jesus demanded who had touched him, Mark tells us, chap. 5. 31. that his Disciples said to him, *Thou seest the Multitude thronging thee, and askest thou, Who touched me?* Which Saying Luke ascribes to Peter only, chap. 8. 45. So when he commanded his Disciples to give Meat to the Five thousand Men who followed him, three of the Evangelists make them answer in general, that *they had but five Loaves, and two small Fishes*; but John restrains this Answer to Andrew, the Brother of Simon Peter. Indeed, what is spoken by one, with the Approbation of the rest, is in effect spoken by all. But such a general Expression is sometimes made use of, when the Consent of all the Parties, which seem to be included, cannot be understood. And by this means may be solved the remarkable Disagreement between Luke's Account of the Thieves that were crucify'd with our Lord, and the Accounts of the same Persons by Matthew and Mark: For these latter have it in the plural Number, *that the Thieves reviled him*; whereas Luke mentions only one of them that *railed on him*, adding the Re-proof which was given on that Occasion by the other, his Petition to Christ, that *he would remember him when he came into his Kingdom*, and our Lord's Assurance,

that *he should be with him that Day in Paradise*; all which Circumstances convey an Idea of this Malefactor, vastly different from what we have of his Companion. But consider also the following Remark.

3. That which is done or said by one or two of any Denomination, is often ascribed to all of that Denomination promiscuously. For instance, it may be collected from Mark, Luke, and John, that after John the Baptist was cast into Prison by Herod, Jesus went into Galilee, and met with a very unkind Reception from his Countrymen the Nazarenes; on which Occasion both Luke and John make him testify, *that a Prophet hath no Honour in his own Country*: And yet John tells us in the next Verse, that *when he was come into Galilee, the Galileans received him, having seen all the Things that he did at Jerusalem*. Now the Sense of these Words can be no other than this: After the ill Treatment which he met with at Nazareth, and of which Luke gives a particular Account, he went into some other Parts of Galilee, where he was more kindly received. And thus the Kindness of a few People in that Province, is ascribed to them under the general Name of all their Countrymen.

There are in the Gospels many Expressions like this, which have a particular Meaning concealed, tho' concluded in general Terms. Thus the Scribes and Pharisees are said to bring an Adulteress to Jesus, that is, some of the Scribes and Pharisees did this: Which partial Form of Speaking is very frequent. There are often Ambiguities of this Nature in the Greek and Latin, which are derived to other Languages into which they are translated. Hence it is, that in our Translation we often meet with such Phrases as these: *The Jews said unto him; the Jews sought to kill him; there was a Division among the Jews; the Jews marvelled; the Jews took up Stones; and the like*: In all which Places no more is meant by the Word

Word *Jews*, than such a Part of them as were present at the respective Times, or some Way or other particularly concerned in what is there related. This being considered, we need not wonder if inconsistent Expressions, and contrary Inclinations, be now and then attributed to a Company of People, of various Interests and Opinions, who go all under one Name. For Example, the *Jews* who are said to have believ'd on *Jesus*, are by no means the same with those who are upbraided by him in the same Chapter for their barbarous Intent to kill him, and who afterwards reviled him as *one that had a Devil*. For tho' the Evangelist gives no distinguishing Mark to know one Party from another, when he speaks of their Conferences with *Christ*; 'tis yet plain, that by *Pharisees* and *Jews* he sometimes intends to point out the Members of the great Sanhedrim, and at other times only some other peculiar Faction, which may be distinguished by the Sentiments and Discourses attributed to them.

X. Thus have we taken a View of the principal Rules, by which we may be enabled to reconcile many seeming Contradictions in the Writings of the Evangelists, and to judge when several Relations which agree in Circumstances, are to be taken for the same History, and when they are not. These Rules have all of them been illustrated with Examples, and will be much more so in the Course of this Work. But, after all, it is not to be expected, that we should infallibly remove every Difficulty that may occur, or that we should connect the Gospels in a Method which will be liable to no Exceptions: We can only assure our Readers, that we shall endeavour to do as much this Way, as the Nature of the Thing, and the Helps that have been already published, will permit. And certainly a judicious Person, tho' he may not be fully

satisfy'd in every Thing he desires, will make to himself such a Reflection as this.

1. *Supposing that Commentators hitherto have not been able to reconcile all seeming Contradictions, and to explain all Obscurities in the sacred Writings; and even admit that to do this is still impracticable, it does by no means follow that the Evangelists really contradict one another, or are obscure to a Fault.* Observe, we do not say that there are at this Time Contradictions unreconciled, or Obscurities unexplained in the Gospels; but only grant that such Things may still appear to some few Persons; since we cannot all take Things in the same Way. And this being the Case, the Reasons of what is here advanced are very obvious; For where's the Wonder if there be some Things dark and ambiguous in an ancient History, written in a dead Language, and a concise Method, and that not always digested by Historical Rules? Should we be surpriz'd, if Discourses address'd to a People, many of whose Customs, Tenets, and other Things belonging to them we do not understand; I say, if these Discourses, or rather some Allusions in them, happen to be now and then somewhat obscure to us? Besides, the Ignorance of Commentators has often hindered the Clearing of many Difficulties, which otherwise might have been surmounted: Of which the last two Centuries were remarkable Instances; having produced abler Critics on the Scriptures than had lived in four hundred Years before; and we have no Reason to think that the present Age will come short of either of them in Improvements of this Kind. Perhaps an Age may succeed, in which all those Things may be made clear; that have hitherto puzzled the most learned. We must not therefore imagine Things impossible, which we cannot accomplish ourselves, till we have demonstrated them to be above human Power;

nor presently quarrel with the Scriptures, because we cannot hit upon the right Explication of them.

2. *That the making two Stories of what is really but one, or only one of what was transacted at several Times, or the committing any other Fault of this Kind, after having endeavoured all we can to avoid it, ought not to be accounted a Matter of any great Moment in composing a History of our Saviour's Life.* This, we think, is demonstrable: For if a regularly digested History had been absolutely necessary, as some authentick Account of his Life undoubtedly was, we ought not to question but that would have been given us by the Evangelists, as well as the other; and that it has not, we have sufficiently proved. Besides, it cannot be affirmed that a Fault is committed in any Point of this Nature, till the Thing has been tried by better Authority, and more certain Rules, than what it was before determined by; For 'tis to no purpose that one Person's Opinion is contrary to another's, unless it be also better founded; and when it appears to be so, every one that searches after the Truth, is always glad to be confuted upon that Condition. In a Word, no Man can do more than endeavour to be right, and if he uses the proper Means to make himself so, and pursues the Truth as far as those Means, and his own Reflections on them can lead him with Safety, he certainly ought to rest there till farther Conviction.

In fine, one of our hardest Tasks, and what indeed will be more difficult than most People may imagine, will be to give the adequate Meaning of all our Lord's Expressions and Discourses, or at least to make others believe we do this. Matters of Doctrine are the principal Things about which Christians differ, and consequently the most dangerous Subjects to treat of. As to Points of Chronology, national History, and Geography; the

Customs, Tenets, Sects, and religious Rites of the Jews; these, and all other Things of the like Nature, may be freely disputed on, and settled from parallel Histories: But 'tis quite otherwise with Regard to the Doctrine and Precepts of Christ, the Standard of our Faith and Practice, in which every one has a real Interest, and for some Parts of which every one finds a peculiar Meaning. The following Particulars, with which we shall conclude this Dissertation, will give an Idea of what we here take to be the safest Course.

1. *In paraphrasing the Instructions of our Lord, Care must be taken to set down nothing but what is imported in the Words themselves, or visibly consonant with their Doctrine, and to be drawn from the Tenor of the Discourse by Grammatical Conclusions.* A prolix Explication and Wire-drawing of every Sentence, obliges the Author to deviate from the Simplicity of the Evangelists, and intermix Conjectures of his own; which of itself is a sufficient Reason why that Method should be avoided; And besides, in a copious Paraphrase the Force and Drift of the Discourse, and the Chain of Reasoning therein, are not so visible to curious Readers, though generally the principal Thing they look for in such Performances. Matters that require to be largely treated of, and which in other Works of this Kind are thrown into Notes, are here to be found in the Dissertations, which are to the History what a Commentary should always be to the Text.

2. *In drawing up such a Paraphrase as is here proposed, recourse must be had to those Authors who have ty'd themselves down by the same Rules, in order to see what is properly deducible from the Words, and how they have express'd it.* This Rule is a natural Consequence of the former.

3. *All Scripture Idioms, which have been translated together with the Bible into*

our Language, should here be avoided. 'Tis true that these Expressions pass without grating the Ears of any Body, because we have always been habituated to them: But then 'tis also true that many who have been accustomed to them from their Infancy, and use them in their Conversation, do not understand their Meaning, though they imagine they do; and certainly this is a good Reason why they should give Place to Phrases which are more intelligible: Abundance of seeming Obscurity will be removed by this Means only: For our Lord instructed the *Jews* in the Dialect of the Vulgar, and not in abstruse Terms; and if so, we may be sure that his

Doctrine obliges to nothing, either in Faith or Practice, but what may be describ'd as familiarly in our Language, as he formerly spoke it in *Hebrew* to the *Jews*. The Reason why he is sometimes hard to be understood by the Illiterate, is not because he talks of Things above their Capacity, but because they understand not the Idioms of the *Jewish* Tongue: When these are render'd into common *English* Phrases of the same Import, there will be little Danger of the Evangelists appearing unintelligible, or, what is worse, of their being taken in a wrong Sense.

CHAP. II.

I. *Jesus Christ is baptized.* II. *The Descent of the Holy Ghost, and the Voice from Heaven.* III. *Jesus goes into the Desert, and fasts forty Days.* IV. *His Temptation: The Devil's first Effort.* V. *His Second.* VI. *His Third.* VII. *The Devil vanquished.* *Jesus returns out of the Desert.* VIII, IX. *The second Testimony of John concerning him.* X. *John's third and fourth Testimonies.*

WHEN *John* had been now so long in the Exercise of his Ministry, that Multitudes of the *Jews* presented themselves every Day to be baptized by him in *Jordan*, *Jesus Christ* came out of *Galilee*, from his Habitation at *Nazareth*, where he had patiently waited for this Opportunity of making his Appearance, and went to *Jordan*, to be baptized among others by his Fore-runner. The *Baptist* had never seen the Face of *Jesus Christ*; (the Divine Wisdom having so ordered it, to prevent any Suspicion of Fraud or Compact, that they should be educated in two very distant Parts of *Palestine*;) but being inclined, either by an inward Revelation, or some outward Circumstance, to take him for the Messiah, he very strongly opposed his Intention, alledging, that he himself

ought rather to be baptized by *Jesus*, who was much his Superior; and comest thou, says he, to me? To this *Jesus* answered by informing him, that tho' he came on purpose to be baptized by him, 'twas not because he stood in need of it as it represented the inward Purging of the Mind from Vices, but only from his Resolution of complying with all the religious Observances of the *Jews*, and the Necessity he was under of sanctifying this Ordinance for the Use of his Church: Whereupon *John* no longer hesitated, but immediately executed his Office.

II. As soon as the sacred Rite was performed, and our Lord come up out of *Jordan*, he immediately address'd himself to Heaven by Prayer: Wherein we may suppose he offered himself to all those hard Services and Sufferings for the Redemption,

demption of Mankind, which Infinite Justice exacted. While he was thus praying, the *Baptist* and all the People present having their Eyes fixed upon him, all on sudden the Clouds parted, the Heavens seemed to open, and the Air was illuminated with a new and glorious Light; when, behold the Holy Ghost descended in a visible Form, in the Manner and with the Motion of a Dove, and rested on the Head of *Jesus*: And at the same Instant a Voice was heard from Heaven, pronounced by God the Father, saying, *Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* Here was the whole Mystery of the Trinity opened and revealed unto us, in as high a Degree as our imperfect Capacities can comprehend; with a just Reason why our Lord ordained that Christian Baptism should be for ever administered in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, since all the three Persons were combined and manifested at this Baptism of the *Word* incarnate. And this visible Descent of the Holy Ghost was a Confirmation to *John*, that *Jesus* was the Messiah. *For he that sent him to baptize with Water, the same said unto him, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on him, the same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost,* John i. 33.

III. After our blessed Lord had been thus baptized, and declared the Son of God in the glorious Manner just described; being full of the Holy Ghost, he retired from *John*, and was driven by the Spirit into the Wilderness; not driven by any unnatural Violence, but by the Efficacy of Inspiration, by the Influence of that Holy Spirit which descended on him at his Baptism, which always resided in him in the same Plenitude, (not being given by Measure,) but acted more or less in his Humanity as Occasion was offered. The End of this Retreat was, that by baffling the Temptations of the evil Spirit,

he might begin to triumph over the grand Enemy of Mankind in our stead, and point out to us the Duty of withstanding all his Suggestions. *It behoved him in all things to be like to his Brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful High-priest: --- For in that he himself hath suffered, being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted,* Heb. 2. 17, 18. To prepare for this great Work of opposing the Devil, he abode in the Desert forty Days and forty Nights, in a continual Fast, without so much as tasting a Bit of Bread, or a Drop of Water: Which was the same Time that *Moses* continued fasting on Mount *Sinai*, both when he received the Law from God, and when he made Intercession for the grievous Sin of the *Israelites* in worshipping a golden Calf.

IV. 'Tis not recorded what happened to our blessed Lord during the Time that he continued in the Desert, only that towards the Conclusion of it he began to be hungry; the Divinity at length permitting the Man to yield to this Infirmary of human Nature. Hereupon the Evil Spirit, who we may imagine was the Prince of Darkness himself, having waited all this while to take the Advantage of some Passion or Inclination, perceiving what he thought a very fair Opportunity for his purpose, drew near to him, and told him, that since he was the Son of God, and therefore superior to the Laws of Nature, he might assuage his Hunger with the very Stones, which at his Command would be changed into the Substance of Bread, there being no Possibility of his being supplied in a common and ordinary Way: Which Temptation, the more kind and harmless it seemed to be, was so much the more dangerous; the Devil hoping thereby to allure him to shew some superfluous Acts of his Power for the Honour of his Humanity, by which he might have made a Breach of his Resignation

signation and Obedience to the Will of his heavenly Father. But *Jesus* answered him, that 'twas written by *Moses*, Deut. 8. 3. *Man shall not live by Bread alone, but by every Word that proceedeth out of the Mouth of God*; intimating, that we are, for all our Wants, to depend upon the divine Providence of God, who is able with a Word to supply our Necessities, as he did that of the *Israelites* in the Desert with *Manna*: also, that his Meat, and Drink, and Life, was the observing his Father's Word and Command, there being a Promise of all necessary Provisions, either expressed or implied in every Commandment of God, to those who are engaged in his Work and Service, and therefore there was no need of such a supernatural Transmutation of Stones into Bread, as he had wickedly suggested.

V. The Devil not prevailing by this Stratagem, immediately had Recourse to another. He takes up our Lord, carries him to *Jerusalem*, and there sets him upon the highest Part of the Temple; which was so high on the South Side, next to the Valley, that a Man's Eyes could scarce reach the unmeasurable Height. Here he requires him to shew another Demonstration of his Divinity, by casting himself down from the Place where he stood, at the same Time subtilly reminding him again of his being the Son of God, and applying to him a Text out of the *Psalms*, *That God would give his Angels Charge concerning him, to keep him and bear him up in their Arms, lest at any Time he should dash his Feet against the Stones*, Psal. 19. 11. which Words, if not originally meant of him alone, yet, as spoken in general of all God's Servants, might truly be extended to his Son. But *Jesus* still remaining fix'd upon the Basis of his Humility, soon retorted upon him another Text out of *Deuteronomy*; *It is written again*, says he, *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*, Deut. 6. 16. as

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if thou doubtedst of his Power and Goodness; meaning, that God's Care and Providence over us is not to be try'd by extravagant and unnecessary Experiments.

VI. And now the Devil having been twice disappointed, makes his third and last Effort. From the Pinnacle of the Temple he transports our Lord to the Top of an exceeding high Mountain, from which Eminence he gave him a Prospect of vast Tracts of Ground round about him, including some of the most wealthy and spacious Kingdoms of the World, of all which he told him he was the Lord, and could dispose of them at his Pleasure: *All these*, says he, *I will bestow upon you, and instantly invest you in the Possession of them, upon the Condition that you shall only fall down and do Homage to me, as to your God*. The Tempter knew, that Wealth and Honour are the Baits with which Men are most frequently taken, and by which, if the Snare did but once lay hold of him, he could the most effectually work our Lord's Overthrow. He did not now treat him as the Son of God, as he had done in the two preceding Temptations, but rather as the Son of *Joseph*, a mere Man, who was liable to be taken with the common Allurements of the World. This unparalleled Boldness and Blasphemy provoked our Lord to treat him with the utmost Indignation, which he express'd by calling him *Satan*, an Enemy of God, and commanding him to depart: *For*, says he, *it is again written by Moses, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*, Deut. 10. 20.

VII. Thus our Lord repelled the last Temptation of the evil Spirit, who thereupon finding himself entirely frustrated in his present Design, and not being able to withstand the powerful Words, *Get thee behind me, Satan*, departed from him for a Season; resolving however not to leave off pursuing him with his Agents, and determined to stir up the Hatred and

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Envy.

Envy of Mankind as much as possible against him. But our Lord, by the Power of this last Rebuke, had effectually manifested to Satan, what he refused to give a Proof of at that Adversary's Request, that he was the Son of God, and that there was no opposing his positive Command. And now, after the Temptation followed Consolation, in which was verified what our Lord had before hinted to the Devil in his first Answer, that he depended upon the Care and Providence of his Father. For God sent his good Angels to minister Food to his Son, as he had before in the Desert supplied the *Israelites* with Manna, and as afterwards he sent Provisions to *Elijah*, when out of the Way of all human Succour. After this, and doubtless with a Continuance of the Angelick Ministration, *Jesus* remained some time among the Wild Beasts, in the Mountain where he had last been tempted, till the proper Season came, in which he was publicly manifested to *Israel* by the Declaration of his Fore-runner.

VIII. From the Time that *Jesus* had been baptized in *Jordan*, the Baptist had frequently delivered his Sentiments concerning him, in the following Manner: *This is the Person whom I have formerly described to you in these Words, He that cometh after me is preferred before me; for he was before me. And of his Fulness have we received a Sufficiency of all Graces: For the Law was given by Moses; but Jesus Christ hath brought Grace and Truth into the World, being the Only-begotten Son of God, who came from the Bosom of his Father, to declare his Will unto us.* But notwithstanding his clear and repeated Testimony, that *Jesus* was the Messiah, yet the Rulers of *Jerusalem*, taking notice of the general Concourse of People to him from all Parts of *Judea*, thought fit to delegate some of the Priests and Levites, whose Business it was to take Cognizance of these

Matters, to go and question him, who also was of the Sacerdotal Line, concerning the Office he had taken upon him, and the Authority by which he acted. When they were come to the Place where *John* was, and had acquainted him with their Commission, many, who believed him to be the Messiah, waited for his Answer with some Impatience and Anxiety: But he publicly disowned his being the Messiah before them all. The Deputies then, as if they had doubted his being the Son of *Zacharias* the Priest, or perhaps with a Design to ensnare him, demanded of him whether he was *Elias*, the *Jews* having an Opinion that *Elias* must come down from Heaven before the Arrival of the Messiah. But this *John* in like Manner disclaimed. They asked him a third time, If he was one of the antient Prophets? Which he also denied. Then they required him, since he would not agree to any of the Judgments that had been formed of him, to tell them plainly who he was. To which *John* answered, *I am he whom the Prophet Isaiah hath described in these Words, the Voice of one crying in the Wilderness, prepare ye the Way of the Lord, make straight in the Desert a Highway for our God, Isa. 40. 3.*

IX. Those who were deputed to *John*; were, as we before observed, of the Sect of the *Pharisees*, who were obstinately tenacious of the Institutions and Opinions of their Ancestors, and could not endure any Innovation. When *John* had assured them, therefore, that he was neither the Messiah, nor *Elias*, nor any other Prophet, they desired him to inform them by what Authority he carried on the Ceremony of baptizing all Comers, as well *Jews* as Proselytes. *John* replied, that he washed them with Water only, without pretending to confer any celestial Gifts upon them by this his Baptism, but only to signify that their Minds ought to be

be cleansed from Vice, if ever they would be in Favour with God: But, says he, there is a Person among you of whom you are hitherto ignorant, who shall succeed me in the Office of a Messenger from God, but with much greater Power and Dignity, for as much as I am not worthy to perform the vilest Offices of a Servant to him, such as the changing of his Shoes at his return home. This Person, he informed them, would not baptize his Disciples with Water only, but also with the Holy Ghost, whom he would shed upon them in the Form of Fire: And further, that as the Corn, when it is reaped, is thrash'd, that it may be separated from the Chaff, in order to be laid up in the Store-houses, in like manner his Successor would in a little time separate the good Men among the Jews from the bad, that these might endure the severest Punishments, while the others enjoyed the most ample Rewards. With these and the like Discourses did John entertain the Jews, who resorted to hear his Doctrine: And this public Witness he bore to Jesus at Bethabara, near the Banks of the River Jordan, in whose Waters he baptized all those that repaired to him for that Purpose.

X. In the mean time Jesus returned from the Mountain, on which he was the last time tempted in vain by the Devil, and going to Bethabara, shewed himself again to John, who still continued preaching and baptizing in that Place. 'Twas the next Day after the Baptist had publicly testified concerning him, to the Messengers that were sent from Jerusalem, when he saw Jesus coming a second time towards him. Being transported at this Visit, he immediately broke out into fresh Encomiums of our Lord, affirming him to be the Person of whom he had discoursed with to those who were sent to examine him. This, says he, is that Lamb without Blemish, who shall offer himself to the Father for a Victim, to expiate the

Sins of Mankind. This is the Sacred Person of whom I told you, whose Dignity and Authority is infinitely superior to mine. I myself knew him not at first, tho' I had begun to baptize the Penitent, and to assure them that the Kingdom of God was at hand, that he might by my Preaching be manifested to the Jews. But I then understood that it was he, when after having baptized him, I saw the Holy Spirit descend upon him in the Shape of a Dove, and remain on him for some time: For then I recollected that it had been revealed unto me, when I was first sent to cleanse the Penitent with Water, that he on whom I should see the Holy Spirit descend, should in like manner purify his Disciples by the Donation of that same Spirit; therefore, since I have seen him resting on this Person, I publicly testify unto you, that this is the Son of God. Thus did John declare his second Testimony concerning Christ, after his Baptism; and the very next Day after this, the same John, being with two of his Disciples, and seeing Jesus walking at a Distance, he cried out again, Behold the Lamb of God, of whom I told you Yesterday.

DISSERTATION I.

On the Baptism, Fasting, and Temptation of our Blessed Lord.

- I. Account of the Wilderness of Judea, the River Jordan, and the Convent of St. John.
- II. How the Baptist knew our Lord.
- III. Of the Descent of the Holy Ghost: The Socinians answered.
- IV. Our Lord's Retirement: The Wilderness, and Quarantania.
- V. The first Reason of our Lord's Retreat.
- VI. The second Socinian Objection.
- VII. Of Retirement.
- VIII. Of Satan's Power.
- IX. Of our Lord's Abode with Beasts.
- X. Of his miraculous Fasting.
- XI. Fasting considered as a Christian Duty.
- XII. Considerations on the Devil's first publick

publick Temptation. XIII. On his second Attack: Of tempting God. XIV. His third Attack, and final Repulse. XV. On the Order of Satan's Temptations. XVI. Description of Bethabara, &c.

I. **T**HE Place where *John* preached and baptized, was the *Wilderness of Judea*, which lay along the River *Jordan*, stretching a great Way on each Side of it: Whence *John* is said by *St. Mark*, chap. 1. 4. to baptize as well as preach in the same *Wilderness*, and by *St. Luke*, chap. 3. 3. to come into all the Country about *Jordan*, preaching the Baptism of Repentance for the Remission of Sins. 'Tis here to be observed, that this Tract was called the *Wilderness of Judea*, not because it was absolutely uninhabited, but because it was less inhabited than other Parts of the *Holy Land*.

As to the River *Jordan*, 'tis the largest and most celebrated River in all the Country, and the famous Jewish Historian *Josephus* gives the following Account of it. "The Head of this River has been thought to be *Panion*; but in truth it passes hither under Ground, and the Source of it is *Phiala*, an hundred and twenty Furlongs from *Cæsarea Philippi*, a little on the Right Hand, and not much out of the Way to *Trachonis*. It is called *Phiala*, that is, the *Pbial*, from the round Figure of it; and its Water stands always at a Stay, the Basin being brimful, without either shrinking or overflowing. The first Discovery of this Secret was from *Philip* the Tetrarch of *Trachonis*, by casting Straws into *Phiala*, that came out again at *Panion*, which till that Time was taken for the Head of *Jordan*. This River thus as to Appearance taking its Original from the Cave of *Panion*, afterwards crosses the Bogs and Fens of the Lake *Semachonitis*; and after a Course of a hundred and twenty Furlongs farther,

passes under the City of *Julius* or *Bethsaida*, and so over the Lake of *Gennesareth*; and then running a long Way thro' a Wilderness or Desert, it empties itself at last into the Lake *Asphaltites*, or the *Dead Sea*." From this Account it appears, that the Vulgar Opinion of this River's arising from two Fountains or Rivulets, one named *Jor*, the other *Dan*, is but ill-grounded, if not wholly fictitious. It may not be improper to observe further, that the Cave *Ramian* lying at the Foot of Mount *Libanus*, and the Lake *Asphaltites*, reaching to the Southern Extreme of *Judea*, it follows, that the Course of the River *Jordan* is quite from the Northern to the Southern Boundary of the *Holy Land*. And 'tis also observable, that from the fore-mentioned Account, may be confirmed what we just now said, that there lay, in the Times of the New Testament, a great deal of Desert along the River *Jordan*; which, therefore, without all doubt, was the Wilderness wherein *John the Baptist* came preaching and baptizing, according to the Relations of the Evangelists.

Mr. Maundrell has observed, that the River *Jordan* may be said to have two Banks, whereof the first or outermost is that to which the River does, or at least antiently did, overflow at some Seasons of the Year, namely, at the Time of the Harvest, *Josh. 3. 15.* or in the first Month, that is in *March*. But at present (whether it be because the River by the Rapidity of its Current has worn its Channel deeper than it was formerly, or whether because its Waters are directed some other Way) it seems to have forgot its antient Greatness: For we, says the fore-mentioned Author, could discern no Sign or Probability of such overflowing when we were there, which was on the 30th of *March*, being the proper Time for these Inundations. Nay, so far was the River from overflowing, that it ran at least two Yards

Yards below the Brink of its Channel.

After having descended the outermost Bank, you go about a Furlong upon the level Strand, before you come to the immediate Bank of the River. This second Bank is so beset with Bushes and Trees, such as Tamarisk, Willows, and Oleanders, &c. that you can see no Water till you have made your way through them. In this Thicket, antiently (and the same is reported of it at this Day) several Sorts of wild Beasts were wont to harbour themselves: Whose being wash'd out of their Covert by the Overflowing of the River, gave Occasion to that Allusion of the Prophet *Jeremiah*, chap. 49. 19. *He shall come up like a Lion from the Swelling of Jordan.* The Water of the River is very turbid, and too rapid to be swam against. As for its Breadth, 'tis about twenty Yards over, and in Depth far exceeding a Man's Height." That is, in the Part where Mr. Maundrell saw it; for doubtless it varies in these Particulars, as all other Rivers do.

The same Author informs us further, that within about a Furlong of the River, at the Place where he and his Company visited it; there was an old ruin'd Church and Convent, dedicated to St. John, in Memory of his baptizing our blessed Lord. It is founded as near as could be conjectured, to the very Place where the Baptist had the Honour to perform that Sacred Office, and to wash him who was infinitely purer than the Water itself; nay, from whom the Water of Baptism derives all its Faculty, or spiritual Virtue, of cleansing the inward Man, and washing away Sin.

II. When *John the Baptist* tells his Disciples by what Means he knew *Jesus* to be the Christ, he mentions only the visible Descent of the Holy Ghost upon him at his Baptism, which had been given him for a Sign by God, when he sent him to baptize with Water: But *Matthew* says,

that when *Jesus* came to be baptised, which was before this Descent of the Spirit, *John* forbade him, saying, *I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?* Matt. 3. 14. From whence it appears that *John* knew him, before he saw the Spirit descend and rest upon him, and 'tis therefore a proper Question, how he came by this Knowledge? To this it is answer'd by almost all the Commentators on St. *Matthew's* Gospel, that *John* being a Prophet, filled with the Holy Ghost from his Mother's Womb, Luke 1. 15. he knew by the Afflatus of that Spirit, that he who then came to him, was the Person on whom the Holy Ghost should afterwards descend so plentifully, such Matters being frequently revealed to the Prophets by an immediate internal Intimation. Thus *Simeon* being told, Luke 2. 26. *that he should not die till he had seen the Lord's Christ*, had it revealed to him, that *Jesus* was that Christ: Thus *Anna* the Prophetess, being one of them that expected his Coming, was moved by a like Afflatus to speak of *Jesus*, as the Promised Messiah. So in the Old Testament *Samuel* being told of God, that *on the Morrow a Man should come to him, to be Captain over his People Israel*, when *Saul* appeared, another Intimation inform'd him that he was the Person: *Behold the Man of whom I spake to thee.* And *Moses*, though he knew before, from the Mouth of God, and many antecedent Evidences, that he was designed to lead the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, was yet told by God, *Exod. 3. 12. This shall be a Sign to thee, that I have sent thee, when thou hast brought forth the People out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this Mountain.* In a word, *John* being to teach, when he baptized with Water, that another should baptize them with the Holy Ghost, was yet told by God, that he should have this Evidence of the Person who should thus impart the Spirit, that he should see the same Spirit descend

descend upon him at his Baptism; and when Jesus came to be baptized, he was again told, that this was the very Person, by which Means the other Sign was more fully confirmed, when it immediately afterwards appeared.

Upon this heavenly Information, the Baptist, struck with a sacred Awe and Veneration, desired to be excused from doing that to Jesus, which he knew he had no need of, and with great Humility said to him, *Matt. 3. 14. I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?*

But upon Jesus pressing him to do it, to whom he knew he ought to be obedient, and withal, telling him the Reason, that *thus it became them to fulfil all Righteousness*, the Evangelist says, *he suffered him. To fulfil all Righteousness*, signifies here to pay Obedience to that Part of the Law of Moses, as well as the rest, which commanded that the Priests at their Consecration should be *washed with Water*, and then enter upon their Office. And also to conform with that prevailing Custom among the Jews, of being initiated by Baptism into any new Institution, and when they gave themselves up to the Discipline of any famous Master. Thus our Lord shew'd that he approv'd of the Baptism of John, and likewise adopted that Ceremony into his own Religion, and recommended and hallow'd it by his own Example; *Suffer it to be so now*; &c. As if he had said, 'As it is your Office to prepare the Way before me, by proclaiming the near Approach of my Kingdom, by teaching the Necessity of Repentance in order to Mens Admission into it, then solemnly admitting them as your Disciples by the Rite of Baptism. So it becomes me to shew my Approbation of all this, by doing as others do in this Matter, and encouraging every Man by my Example, to do for the future as I have done before him. Thus

it becomes us not to destroy any Part of, but to fulfil all Righteousness, and by your baptizing me, and my submitting to that antient Rite, to bring it to its due and design'd Perfection, and make it the standing initiatory Sacrament of the Christian Church for ever.

III. Now, when Jesus for these Reasons was baptiz'd in Jordan, we read that *he went up straightway out of the Water*, and while he was Praying, *Matt. 3. 16. Lo, the Heavens were opened unto him, and the Baptist saw the Spirit of God descending like a Dove, and lighting upon him, and lo, a Voice from Heaven*, (which no doubt was loud enough for every one present to hear) saying, *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased.*

Thus gloriously was our great High-priest and Prophet proclaimed from Heaven: Thus was he consecrated to be the unchangeable eternal Priest of the Christian Church: Thus was he solemnly anointed to be our Prophet, by the Unction that is from above, whereby he was declared to be *holy, harmless, separate from Sinners*, and enabled to save to the uttermost, all such as should come to God by him. Thus was he inaugurated with full Power, and in a most awful and majestick Manner, into his Mediatorial Office; God audibly declaring, that in and through him alone, he would be reconciled to sinful Mankind.

'Tis a general Opinion among Commentators, that we are not to conclude from these Words, *like a Dove*, that the Spirit came upon Christ in the real Body or Shape of a Dove; but only that he descended as a Dove uses to descend upon any Thing, hovering, and overshadowing it: And this they endeavour to prove from the original Words in the Text, and from parallel Passages of Scripture. So there appeared to the Apostles *cloven Tongues, as it were of Fire*, Acts 2. 3. which does not denote that they had the Effects of Fire,

Fire, such as burning, or the like. This *bodily Shape as a Dove*, seems rather to have been a Body of Light, or a bright Cloud, in which God usually appeared, and from which he spoke, under the Old Testament, it being for that Reason called, *The Glory of the Lord*. So when the Voice from Heaven was heard at our Lord's Transfiguration, 'tis expressly said, Matt. 17. 5. *a bright Cloud overshadowed, or hovering over, them, and a Voice came from the Cloud*, or, as St. Peter expresses it, 2 Pet. 1. 17. *from the magnificent Glory*. And the Holy Spirit might here be said to descend after the Manner of a Dove, because that Bird was antiently look'd upon by the Jews as the Symbol of the Holy Ghost: Whence the Chaldee Paraphrast upon those Words of Solomon, Cant. 2. 12. *The Voice of the Turtle is heard*, has this Note, *that is, The Voice of the Holy Spirit*.

From this Descent of the Holy Ghost at the Baptism of Christ, the Socinians bring an Argument against his Divinity, *What is it*, say they, *that the high God could not do himself? or what Help could the Spirit give to him? If you say, his human Nature needed the Assistance of this Holy Spirit, how can that be, since 'tis supposed to be personally united to the Divinity, and to have the whole Fulness of the Godhead residing in it? Why should Christ be said to cast out Devils by this Spirit of God, rather than by his Divine Nature? Or to be endued with Wisdom, Knowledge, Fortitude, Counsel, and the Fear of the Lord, by the Spirit, and not by his Divine Nature?*

Dr. Whitby, after remarking that the same Objection was started in the Primitive Times, and refuted by Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and other antient Fathers, returns the following Answer: "Christ as God, could not need this Unction of the Holy Spirit; but as he was to execute the prophetic Office, it was needful for

him; because a Prophet being not to speak in his own Name, but in the Name of God, and what he had suggested to him by the Spirit of God, this prophetic Office was to be performed not by the Divine Nature of our Lord, but by the Afflatus of the Holy Spirit. It was also needful for the Execution of his priestly Office, that by the Spirit's sanctifying him from the Womb, he might offer himself to God a Lamb without Spot, Heb. 9. 14. So that in all the Actions relating to his prophetic Office, the Divinity of Christ must be supposed quiescent, and Christ must be said to perform his Miracles, to confirm the Doctrine which he delivers, by the Spirit of God, by which also he was assisted to speak the Words of God. And since all the Orthodox allow, that the Divinity was quiescent in Christ till he was thirty Years old, why may they not allow it was quiescent also afterwards, in all the Actions relating to the Execution of his prophetic Office here on Earth?"

IV. When the great Solemnity of his Baptism was over, Jesus, being full of the Holy Ghost, and having his Mind replenish'd with the most noble Thoughts and Designs relating to the Discharge of his High Office, returned from Jordan, and by a strong Impulse of that Divine Spirit was immediately led into the Wilderness, or the most desert, unfrequented Part of that mountainous Country, where St. John the Baptist spent his Time before: And this for two Reasons. First, that he might recollect himself, and consider the great Weight of the Work he was then to undertake; that he might lay a Scheme of his Management of it, and arm himself before-hand with Resolution to undergo the Difficulties he should meet with in its Prosecution; and that he might be often in Prayer to his Divine Father for his constant Blessing and Assistance. Secondly, with heroick Bravery, as the Champion of Mankind, to enter the Lists

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in single Combat with our infernal Enemy, who he knew before-hand would there be ready to assault him; that thereby he might know his utmost Strength and Cunning, and be the more ready to pity and to succour us, when we are tempted by him, being acquainted by his own Experience with his great Subtilty and Force; and that at length he might gain such a complete Conquest over him, that he shall not be able to vanquish any Christian for the future, without his own base Cowardice, and Consent.

Mr. Maundrell gives us the following Account of the Place to which our Lord at this Time is thought to have retired. "From Mount Olivet and Bethany you proceed towards Jordan in an intricate Way amongst Hills and Valleys, interchangeably: All of a barren Aspect at present, but discovering evident Signs of the Labour of the Husbandman in ancient Times. After some Hours Travel in this Sort of Road, you arrive at the mountainous Desert into which our blessed Saviour was led by the Spirit to be tempted by the Devil. A most miserable, dry, barren Place it is, consisting of high rocky Mountains, so torn and disordered, as if the Earth had here suffered some great Convulsion, in which its very Bowels had been turned outward. On the Left Hand, looking down in a deep Valley, as we passed along, we saw some Ruins of small Cells and Cottages; which they told us were formerly the Habitations of Hermits retiring thither for Penance and Mortification: And certainly there could not be found in the whole Earth a more comfortless and abandoned Place, for that Purpose. From the Top of these Hills of Desolation, we had however, a delightful Prospect of the Mountains of Arabia, the Dead Sea, and the Plain of Jericho, into which last Place we descended, after about five Hours March from Jerusalem.

As soon as we entered the Plain, we

turned upon the Left Hand, and going about one Hour that Way, came to the Foot of the *Quarantania*, which, they say, is the Mountain into which the Devil took our Blessed Saviour, when he tempted him with that visionary Scene of all the Kingdoms and Glories of the World. It is, as St. Matthew styles it, *an exceeding high Mountain*, and its Ascent not only difficult but dangerous. It has a small Chapel at the Top, and another about half way up, founded upon a prominent Part of the Rock. Near this latter are several Caves and Holes in the Side of the Mountain, made use of antiently by Hermits, and by some at this Day for Places to keep their Lent in, in Imitation of that of our blessed Saviour. In most of these Grotts we found certain *Arabs*, quarter'd with Fire-Arms, who obstructed our Ascent, demanding two hundred Dollars for Leave to go up the Mountains. So we departed without farther Trouble, not a little glad to have so good an Excuse for not climbing so dangerous a Precipice." Thus far Mr. Maundrell: Let us now make a practical Improvement of the two Reasons for which our Lord retired hither.

V. As for the first Reason of his withdrawing into the Wilderness after his baptism, (that he might be undisturb'd in his Devotions and Holy Thoughts; and being lost to the World for some Time, converse the more freely with his Heavenly Father) it teaches us how highly requisite it is, when we are entering into any new State of Life, or any Way of Employment that is of Moment, to spend some time first in Privacy and Retirement, that we may have Leisure to consider and reflect upon what we are going about; that we may form good Resolutions of discharging our Duty faithfully, and prudently bethinking ourselves beforehand of the Trials and Difficulties we shall meet with in it, may frame to ourselves

selves such a Method of acting as may probably be the most successful; and then recommending our sincere Endeavours to the Blessing of God with fervent Prayer, we may rely upon his Aid and Assistance, which is all in all.

And the more unalterable the State is, and the greater Consequence the Business is of that we are to be engaged in, the more need is there of serious Preparation, in such a Retreat from Business and Noise, as may render us wholly Masters of ourselves and our Thoughts, that we may think, and meditate, and pray, as intensely and with as little Interruption as is possible.

The Neglect of this wise and religious Course has doubtless been one great Reason that so many have done amiss in their several Stations and Ways of Life, and proved unable to rub through the Hardships, and resist the Temptations they have met with. And what Likelihood is there of Mens going on well, when they begin at such a Rate as this? When 'tis not a conscientious Discharge of their Duty that they design, as in the Sight of God, to whom at last they must give an Account, but the Gratification of their Lust, their Ambition, or their Avarice.

How much therefore does it concern us in all the great Turns and Changes of our Lives to follow the Steps of our wise and holy Master, to retire and consider first, to look well to the Nature of what we are entering upon, and the Obligations it will lay upon us, and bethink ourselves how we shall be able to discharge them! to rectify our Aims and Intentions, purposing nothing but what is honest and honourable, and purposing that heartily, and with the firmest Resolution of never departing from it, by the Grace and Help of God, which we must never fail to beg with earnest Importunity and great Devotion!

Those that have hitherto been thoughtless and inconsiderate in these Matters,

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would do well to make what amends they can for what has been wanting formerly, but now immediately applying themselves to serious Consideration, according to what their several Circumstances require; which, though late, will yet be of very happy Consequence, and put them upon a faithful Discharge for the future, of what they owe to God, their Country, their Neighbours, and themselves, all which must certainly be accounted for at last.

But if 'tis a more particular Dedication of ourselves to Religion, which we are entering upon, whether in the Office of the Ministry, or in the more general Capacity of a Christian, either in the Susception of Baptism, if it has been neglected till we are arrived to Years of Discretion, or taking upon ourselves in Confirmation that solemn Vow, Promise, and Profession, which our Sponsors made for us at our Infant-Reception into the Church of Christ; or in our first taking up after a Run of Vice, which we deeply repent of and are firmly resolved to forsake utterly, and live as becomes Disciples of the Holy Jesus for the future: In these, and such-like Cases, the Course we have been recommending, such Thoughts, and such Reflections, in Privacy and Retirement, together with earnest Prayer, is more especially needful. For then our great Adversary will be more than ever busy with us; he will use all his hellish Arts to divert us from our good Intentions, and make us break our pious Resolutions and Vows; and so bring Evil out of Good; by making our best Purposes instrumental to our greater Guilt, when they prove vain and ineffective. Thus would he enslave us still more to him, by occasion of those sacred Bonds we laid upon ourselves, utterly to renounce and abjure him, which yet we violated almost as soon as made.

And therefore, with great Wisdom did the Son of Sirach advise, *My Son, if thou*

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come to serve the Lord, (in any more eminent or remarkable Manner than ordinary,) prepare thy Soul for Temptation, as what must then be expected, set thine Heart aright, and constantly endure, Eccles. 2. 1, 2. Guard thee with Holy Resolution, and Faith, and Prayer, and Meditation, and subdue the treacherous Party thy Enemy hath within thy own Bosom, by prudent Fasting, and Mortification of all inordinate Affections; and then, with the Sword of the Spirit in thy Hand, which is the Word of God, boldly wait his Coming, and resist him vigorously, and he will be forced to fly from thee with Shame and Disappointment, as he did from thy divine Champion in the Wilderness, who took this very Course to quell him, and with admirable Success.

VI. We are now come to the second Reason of our Lord's retiring into the Wilderness; namely, that he might, as our Representative, strive with, and overcome, the Temptations of the Devil. He had not been long in those unfrequented Solitudes, before the great Disturber of every thing that is good, began to try his Skill upon him: But first in a close covert Way, without visibly appearing to him, and only working upon his Fancy and Imagination, in such a manner as might raise troubled Thoughts and terrifying Apprehensions in his Mind, of the vast Difficulty of what he was going to engage in, the innumerable and great Dangers it would inevitably expose him to, the many Sorrows and sharp Sufferings, the shameful and tormenting Death, it would bring him to at last: To see, if by these means he could startle and affright him, and make him waver in his Resolutions, and discourage and divert him from what he could not but know, if it went on and succeeded, would be the Ruin of his infernal Kingdom.

"This, says a certain Author, we may probably suppose, was the Devil's Way of tempting, or trying our Lord, dur-

ing the forty Days and Nights of his Fast. And many Opportunities no doubt he had in so long time, by frightful Dreams when he slept, frequent Apparitions and Illusions of evil Spirits in the Night, and the uncomfortable Condition he was in every Day, for so many Weeks together, to affect the sweet, mild Spirit of Jesus with unspeakable Terrors, enough to beat him off from his intended Enterprize, had he been mere Man.

Whether he was so or no, 'tis generally thought Satan was yet uncertain. That he was the promised great Prophet, who was then expected by the Jews, he could not but know, by the Completion of the Prophecies concerning the Messias in him, and by God's calling him his beloved Son at his Baptism, with an audible Voice from Heaven like Thunder, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon him in so extraordinary a manner; all which so knowing a Spirit as he, though fallen, cannot be supposed to have been ignorant of. But the Mystery of God Incarnate, of the divine and human Nature united in one Person, was beyond his Penetration, as it was beyond that of the blessed Angels of Heaven, who still, we are told, *desire to look into it*, with great Wonder and Admiration.

But even supposing the contrary of this, the Socinian Objection is of no Force, which enquires, *How so wise and subtle a Spirit as the Devil is, should venture to assault and tempt the Great God, especially to so vile an Action as to fall down and worship him, since he could not but know it was impossible for him to succeed in his Enterprize?* For admitting that Satan was really conscious of our Lord's Divinity, which we believe he was not, we shall yet see little Cause to wonder at this Attempt of his, if we reflect that his Malice often prevails upon him to undertake very foolish and impracticable Things. What was it less for a Creature to think of de-

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throning, or at least of rivalling, his Creator? Yet this was the Occasion of Satan's Fall. And even in the Case of our Redemption, he knew that the Prophecies concerning Christ were very express, and that the divine Power was engaged to support him, and give him Victory over all the Enemies of our Happiness: Therefore whether he knew *Jesus* to be God, or no, he certainly knew that in opposing *Jesus*, he opposed himself to God, who had engaged to carry him through the Work of our Redemption; so that either Way, his Undertaking was very daring and foolish. In a Word, whatsoever Satan might conceive of *Christ*, as to his own Nature, he certainly knew from the Scripture, that he was to be the Author of Salvation to Mankind, that he was the *Seed of the Woman that should bruise the Serpent's Head*, and that he was the King who should sit upon the Throne of his Father David for ever; and knowing this, he could not hope to prevail in his Temptations of our Lord, unless he could believe that he was able to reverse the Decrees and Oath of God: His Attempts therefore was equally absurd, whether he did, or did not, understand the Mystery of the Incarnation. However, as the Fathers believed him to be ignorant of this Mystery, and as the Passage which tells us *the Angels desire to look into it*, seems to favour their Opinion, we chuse to join with them therein, but without allowing that the Devil's Ignorance in this Matter can be any Argument against the reality of our blessed Lord's Divinity, which is so clearly the Doctrine of the Scriptures.

But, say the Socinians, if *Christ* were God, to what End should he be thus tempted? Was it to shew that God was able to sustain, and overcome, the Temptations of the Devil? Could there be any Doubt of this? If it be here answered, That he was tempted only as Man, they reply, That seeing his hu-

man Nature was personally united to the divine, it must be still superfluous to shew that even his human Nature thus strengthened and assisted, was able to resist and baffle the Assaults of Satan; nor will his doing this, by a divine Assistance, afford any Comfort to us, who can expect no such Assistance when we grapple with the Tempter.

In general, among the Reasons of our Lord's Temptation, which have been assign'd by Divines, this is one: *The Consolation of his Members conflicting with the Adversary of their Souls: For in that he suffered being tempted, he is ready to afford suitable Help to us when we are tempted*; and as we have the same Spirit in us which was in *Jesus*, and which is greater than the Spirit that was in the World, John 2. 4. so we may combat our Enemy after our Lord's Example, with the same Weapons, and overcome him by the same Assistance, through which he in his human Nature did it. Indeed this Ground of Comfort will be wholly taken from us, if we imagine that he overcame the Devil only by Virtue of that Nature which made him incapable of being vincible by Temptation: But if with *Irenaeus* we affirm that the Divinity was then quiescent, and that he conquer'd by Virtue of that Spirit which was given to him, why may not we, who have the same *Unction from the Holy One*, entertain Hopes of doing it also by his Aid? In a word, That our Lord could not be overcome by Satan, was the Result of the Union of the human Nature to the Divinity; but that he repelled all his particular Assaults, might be owing only to his being anointed and filled with the Holy Ghost.

VII. One thing we may observe before we proceed, from Satan's tempting our Saviour in the Wilderness, and that is, That no State of Life here below is free from Temptation; and that which seems to secure us from it most, a Retreat from the World in Solitude and Privacy, where we

have nothing to do but to read, and meditate, and pray, often proves a more dangerous Scene of it than the common Way of Living. *We are then especially to expect Temptation, says Theophylact, when we are alone, and when we are in Straights and Exigencies, from which we see no ordinary Way of Deliverance.* This indeed was exactly the Case of our blessed Lord.

Not but that such Retirements sometimes are of excellent Use, and a great many pious Persons do make that good Use of them; but we must have a care of placing too much Confidence in the Holiness and Safety of such Retreats, as we know the Church of *Rome* does, and be more upon our Guard than ordinary, when thus retired, lest instead of those Temptations from the World, which by that Means we hope to avoid, we meet with others that are worse, and fall into Melancholy and Enthusiasm, excessive Dejections, and it may be Despair; or else grow sullen, morose, and censorious, bloated up with spiritual Pride, and carry'd we don't know whither by Presumption. It follows therefore, that such a mix'd Way of Life as our Saviour liv'd, (sometimes in the World, as our Employments lead us, and sometimes out of it, that we may compose our Minds to that Seriousness and Tranquillity which becomes those that are in pursuit of better Things) is much more beneficial, not only to Society and the Publick, but to every particular Person, than a total Retreat, whether into Cells in Monasteries, or into the unfrequented Solitudes of desert Places, tho' this latter has been so excessively magnified by some.

Thus have we consider'd in what manner the Devil tempted our Lord during his long Fast in the Wilderness, before he appeared visibly to him, and play'd his great Batteries upon him; that is, as he is wont to tempt us now, by casting evil

Suggestions into our Minds.

VIII. But is not this to allow him too great Power, to suppose him able thus to influence our Thoughts? And don't we thereby throw upon him the Odium of more Mischief than he is capable of doing? Does not this look as if he had broke his Chain, and rang'd about without Controul, and by a kind of Possession of the worst sort had access to our very Minds, and might command them as he pleased, which used to be look'd upon as peculiar to God?

All that is needful to be said in Answer to this, is, That the Devil's Power is certainly very great, tho' we can't say how far it will reach; and being a Spirit, no doubt but he can act upon Spirits, tho' we are not able to say in what manner; and that he hath actually done so, we are assured from Scripture: As when we are told that *Satan* provok'd *David* to number *Israel*, 1 *Chron.* 21. 1. by which must be meant that he put those Thoughts into his Head, and by often renewing them, and backing them with plausible Reasons, at length persuaded him to do so. And thus the vile Treachery of *Judas* to his Master is ascrib'd to the Devil's having put it into his Heart to betray him, *John* 13. 2. And when *Ananias* gave a false Account to *St. Peter* of the Price for which he sold his Land for the Service of the Church, the Apostle said to him, *Why hath Satan filled thine Heart to lie to the Holy Ghost*, *Acts* 5. 3.

These Instances shew plainly, that the Devil can inject evil Thoughts and Purposes into our Minds, and in that secret, undiscernable Manner tempt us to Wickedness. But all is by God's Permission, and how far that extends we know not. This however, we are sure of, that the Devil cannot go beyond it in the least, as is evident in the Case of *Job*: And if we do what becomes us in resisting him, we may depend upon it that God will not suffer

suffer him to tempt us beyond what we are able, but with the Temptation will make some way for us to escape, that we may be able to bear it, 1 Cor. 10. 13. As in the Instance of St. Peter, when Satan desired to have so much Power over him as to sift him as Wheat, Luke 22. 31. and try him to the bottom: For tho' he was permitted so to do, and prevailed very much upon that Apostle, yet his blessed Master's Prayers for him preserved his Faith from failing totally, and gave him sufficient Strength to recover himself, and beat off the Tempter at last: and in a little time after, he was as great an Instance of Courage and Constancy in the Christian Cause, as he was before of wretched Cowardice and Fear.

When therefore God suffers us to fall into Temptation (which is always for wise and good Ends) and gives the Devil leave, either in this secret Way, or by more open Assaults, to try his Skill upon us; tho' he may sometimes foil us, and his Stratagems be successful, yet if we manfully do what in us lies to resist him, he shall not finally prevail; but if we side with the Tempter, and suffer ourselves to be led away and inticed by our Lusts, till we fall into those Snares of his which otherwise we might have avoided, the Case is then altered, and we can't expect God should deliver us from those Evils, which with a heedless Presumption we run ourselves into.

IX. In this lonely, and (thro' the Disturbance the Devil gave him) uncomfortable Abode of Jesus in the Wilderness, St. Mark mentions one thing that we should think very terrible, his being with the wild Beasts, which the desert Places of that Country were full of. Such Companions, in such a Place, to one unarmed and unguarded as Jesus was, would have been as terrifying and as dangerous to him as to us, were there not some great Difference between us and him. But he

was forty Days and Nights with them, without receiving or fearing any Injury from them. Now what was the Reason of this? In short, Jesus was perfectly Holy and Innocent, free from all stain of Sin and Guilt, as Adam was in Paradise before he fell: And therefore as to the first Adam, in his State of Innocence, they were, by the Will of the great Creator, entirely subject, harmless, and governable, as to their Sovereign Lord; so were they to this second Adam, whose Innocence was without Spot and Blemish, and his Dignity far greater than his to whom they were at first made serviceable and obedient.

This Inoffensiveness therefore of the fiercest Beasts of Prey to the blessed Jesus, tho' all alone in the Midst of them and without Defence, proceeded from an extraordinary Awe they had upon them in his sacred Presence: And we may suppose his Behaviour among them was such as betray'd no Fear of them, but shew'd a majestic Superiority over them, which kept them at a Distance.

This looks like a Recovery of Paradise and the State of Innocence, and a general Reconciliation of Mankind to God and the whole Creation; a removing of all Enmity, and the Commencement of a Reign of universal Peace and Love; according to that Prophecy of Isaiah, when he spake of the Kingdom of the Messias, that Prince of Peace, Isa. 11. 5. *The Wolf, says he, shall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard shall lie down with the Kid, and the Calf, and the young Lion, and the Fatling together, and a young Child shall lead them: They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy Mountain.*

Thus would it have been literally, had not the first Adam sin'd; and thus ought it to be in a spiritual Sense, under the peaceful Government of the second Adam, who came to bring Glory to God on high, on Earth Peace, and Good will among Men.

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How displeasing then must it needs be to him, to see the Event, by our perverse Wickedness, so contrary to his gracious Design ! Let us therefore learn of him to be meek and lowly, holy and undefiled, harmless and innocent ourselves, and then his over-ruling Providence will soften the Spirits of others towards us. He will restrain the Malice of our Enemies, and in the midst of Wolves, and Tygers, and Lions, give us Safety, Tranquillity, and Peace. *For who is he that will harm you, says the Apostle, 1 Pet. 3. 13. if ye be Followers of that which is good ?*

X. The next Thing that offers itself to be considered, is our Lord's continual Fasting, during his forty Days Retirement in the Wilderness.

The Divine Impulse that carry'd him thither was so strong, and probably so sudden and unexpected too, that he had no Thought what Provision he should have there, and very likely did not at first intend to stay so long in those barren Solitudes, as afterwards he did : For in such supernatural Raptures, a Person is transported as 'twere out of himself, and, with *St. Paul*, can scarce tell whether he is *in or out of the Body*, whose little Concerns are entirely disregarded by him 'till the Transport is over, and Nature returns to its ordinary State. This was the Case with our blessed Lord : For the Text, as express'd by *St. Mark* and *St. Luke*, put together, represents it thus : And *Jesus*, after his Baptism, *Return'd from Jordan, and being full of the Holy Ghost, immediately the Spirit driveth him into the Wilderness*, *Mark 1. 12.* (Which are Words that plainly signify the Suddenness and great Force of the Divine Impulse upon him.) And then 'tis said, that when he had fasted forty Days and Nights, *be afterwards hungered.* Then, his natural Appetite and Desire of Food returned, which before was suspended by the vehement Transport he was in, and in the mean

time Nature supported without its usual Nourishment by the Power of God.

Hence 'tis evident, that this long Fast of our Lord's was supernatural and miraculous, as that of *Moses* and *Elias* was, which were of the same Continuance, and therefore is by no means to be drawn into a Precedent, and made Matter of our Imitation. And some imprudently zealous People, that have in this Case pretended to follow *Christ's* Example too closely, and carry their Fasts with great Severity to an excessive Length, have soon felt the sad Effects of their Folly and Presumption.

To conclude from this Instance our Obligation to a more than ordinary Temperance for forty Days, is, says Dr. Whitby, to place Morality in Numbers, and introduce an endless Heap of superstitious Follies ; for by like Reason, we must deem ourselves obliged to ride upon an Ass, in Token of our Humility, or to renounce our Title to our temporal Estates, and throw away our Money, to be like him, who had not where to lay his Head, nor could procure Sixpence without a Miracle !

XI. Fasting is no doubt of excellent Use, especially in time of Temptation, be the Instance what it will ; tho' in some Cases, and to some Persons, it is more directly serviceable than to others. It makes the Body more tame and obedient to the Mind, weans us mightily from the World, and raises Devotion to the highest Pitch ; and thereby engages the Spirit of God to be in a more especial Manner present with us, to shield us from the Assaults of the Tempter. But then it must be managed with Discretion, as every Man's Constitution will bear, and his Circumstances will require, and esteemed only as an instrumental Duty of no intrinsic Holiness or Value in itself, any further than 'tis conducive to the Mortification of Sin, and the Improvement of our Souls in that which is true Religion. Otherwise,

wife, 'twill soon become a Matter of mere Form and Ostentation, and degenerate into Superstition and Enthusiasm, to the Ruin of that Religion which 'tis pretended to serve and advance.

Strictly speaking, if we eat not, we are never the better; for God accounts no Man the better purely because his Stomach is empty: And on the other hand, if we eat something, even on our Days of fasting, we are not the worse. Yet as the Word *Fast* signifies a Day set apart for the humbling ourselves in order to avert the Divine Judgments, or to obtain any Blessing, whether public or private, it seems to continue a Duty still, and a thing highly acceptable to God: For their being no Command for public or voluntary Fasting, under the Law, on any extraordinary Occasions, but only on the great Day of Expiation, it appears to have been no Ceremonial Institution, and should therefore be ranked among those Moral Duties, or Precepts of the Law of Nature, which *Christ* came not to *destroy*, but to *fulfil*. This is further evident, because Fasting was practised not only by the *Jews*, and devout Profelytes, but also by Heathens. *Phavorinus* calls it, *The Mother of Health to the Body, and the Preservative of the Soul*; and surely 'tis as requisite in the latter of these Characters as in the former. But the more we are really got above the World, the more heavenly our Affections are, the more obedient our Flesh is to the Spirit, and the nearer we arrive to Evangelical Perfection, the less need is there of Fasting and bodily Austerities. *While the Bridegroom is thus with us, and Jesus dwells in us by his Spirit and his Grace, and we in him by Obedience and Love; while there is this happy Concord and Union between Christ and his Disciples, what Occasion is there for a Scene of Mortification? 'Twould be unseasonable and preposterous; for that's the proper Season of spi-*

ritual Joy and Triumph. But when the *Bridegroom is withdrawn*, (either because we are unworthy of his Presence by reason of our unchristian Behaviour, or by way of Tryal, that he may prove the Sincerity of our Love to him by our Grief for his Absence and importunate begging for his Return) then indeed is the Time for *the Children of the Bride-chamber to fast*, and lament, and punish themselves by Acts of Spiritual Discipline.

This is mentioned only to shew what little Reason some Heretics of old had, and the *Romanists* now have, to value themselves so highly as they do upon their frequent and long Fasts, and make them an Argument of the Perfection of that State of Life above all others, which makes most use of them; whereas we see 'tis directly contrary, as might be proved from abundance of Examples: So that for any to esteem themselves or others the more, merely for things of this Nature, betrays more Ignorance than true Devotion, and favours more of the *Pharisee*, than of the genuine Disciple of *Jesus*.

In a Word, because we are fluctuating and uncertain in our Religion, and our Piety ebbing and flowing more or less continually, therefore the Exercise of Mortification is sometimes highly needful, as Occasion shall require: Of which every prudent and serious Christian is the best Judge, as far as concerns himself only, and our Governors with respect to what is more publick; whose Orders and Directions in this Matter ought to be conscientiously observed. But still, as was before said, no further Value should be put upon these things than as on instrumental Duties, in order to what is of far greater Excellence and Consequence, the weakning of the Power of Sin in us, and the Advancement of true Piety and Holiness, in which alone pure and undefiled Christianity consists. But to proceed.

XII. No sooner was our Lord releas'd from

from the Transport he was in, and began to feel the Effects of his long Fast in Emptiness, Faintness, and a keen Sense of Hunger, than Satan makes use of the Opportunity, as a very fit one, to ply him with a new Set of Temptations, appearing to him in a visible Form; either as an Angel of Light, into which he hath sometimes Power to transform himself, or in a human Shape, as the blessed Angels used to appear to holy Men of old; for *Jesus* was not a Person of such Weakness as to be affrighted with ugly Phantasms, which can disturb only feeble and imperfect Imaginations.

The Devil could not but perceive, by what had already pass'd, that *Jesus* was a very extraordinary Person, and he saw more and more Reason to be convinced that he was the Messiah that was then expected by the Jewish Nation; but still he was not assured that he was the eternal Son of God incarnate. The length of his Fast, 'tis true, was prodigious; but two mere Men had fasted as long before, and therefore he could not conclude from thence that he was more than Man. Once more then he resolves to try him; and if he could so far prevail upon him as to persuade him to do what was in any degree sinful, his Doubt whether he was any thing more than mere Man, or no, would then be at an end, and he might hope by little and little to get still further Ground of him, and defeat that great Design he was going to put in Execution against the Kingdom of Darkness.

And first, he takes Advantage of the Sharpness of his Hunger, the violent Cravings of impoverish'd Nature after a Recruit, which, in that desert Place, was impossible to be had without a Miracle. In seeming Kindness therefore, he advises him to take pity on himself, and turn some of those Stones, of which there was plenty enough, tho' of nothing else, into a few Loaves of Bread to relieve his pre-

sent Necessity, 'till he could reach some Town or Place of Entertainment, and have a further Supply. This, he insinuated, he did not question but he was able to perform, being so great a Prophet, much more if the Son of God; and then, why should he not? For never could there be a juster Occasion than now, to exert his Power in working such a Miracle.

This was plausible enough, and the Temptation very artfully contrived, and opportunely laid; for Nature was wholly of the Tempter's side, and pleaded strongly and almost irresistibly for him. And where would the Harm be of taking his Advice? Why might not *Jesus* as innocently have then turn'd Stones into Bread, to satisfy his own Hunger after so long a Fast, as a little after he turned Water into Wine, not out of any Necessity, but only to make greater Plenty at a Wedding-Feast?

We, indeed, may not immediately see where the Danger lay, but Satan knew what he aim'd at, and *Jesus*, who saw his vile Purpose thro' all his specious Pretences, gave him this confounding Answer: *It is written, Man shall not live by Bread alone, but by every Word that proceedeth out of the Mouth of God, Deut. 8. 3.* As if he had said, *I perceive thy Design is to engage me to distrust the Providence of God over me in this my Necessity, and by extraordinary Means to procure that for myself, which he seems to take no care about; and thou dost insultingly dare me thereby to prove myself to be the Son of God, and to shew my Divine Power, if I have it, in my own Preservation, lest God should forget me too long. But know, I'm too well assured of his Fatherly Care over me, to take any irregular Course to preserve my Life, tho' in never so great Necessity; being certain, that he will, in his due Time, give me something better than a Stone to feed on, without my betraying my Impatience and Distrust*

Distrust of his tender Regard. And how little likelihood soever there may be, of my subsisting much longer, God can sustain me another forty Days without Food, as well as those that are past, and then still on as many as he pleases; and those that are obedient to him, and believe and trust entirely in him, his Word assures us shall never want what is needful to support them in their greatest and most pressing Exigencies, he being able to provide for them by ways innumerable, as he did for vast Numbers of his People in a Wilderness as waste and barren as this. And therefore, in his Care, whose Spirit brought me hither, do I repose my Confidence for the Relief of my present Hunger; and whatever I may be able to do for myself I shall not so far gratify thy impious Curiosity, as to let thee see an Instance of it.

To this, as cunning a Sophister as he was, Satan knew not what to reply; and therefore was resolv'd to try another Experiment upon him. But before we proceed to that, we may hence observe, that in our lowest and most hopeless Circumstances, 'tis our Duty to trust in and depend upon God, to consult his Word, and rely upon it, and, be our Necessities never so urgent, by no means to take any Courses for a Supply which we cannot thoroughly justify; but conscientiously do what becomes us in the Station we are in, and then patiently wait God's time, who can turn our Stones into Bread when he pleases, and change Scarcity, and even Famine, into Plenty; of which we have many Instances in the Holy Writings; and his Power and Goodness are still the same as ever.

It must be confess'd to be one of the greatest of Trials to labour under Want; and very hard it is to Flesh and Blood, when Hunger pinches, to be put to feed upon a Text of Scripture, and to clothe ourselves with a Promise when we are naked: But let us think of our Lord's

No. XXX.

Example in this Matter, and duly ponder his Reasons, and we shall be satisfy'd it is the best Course we can take, as Time will assure us by a happy Experience.

When the World fails us, to engage in such Practices as will forfeit God's Blessing too, and the Care of Providence, is sure the Height of Folly as well as Irreligion: For the Blessing of God is all Things; and 'tis his Hand that scatters Plenty upon the whole Creation. Whatever therefore we undergo, let us do nothing to deserve our being cast off by him, but every thing that is like to secure his Friendship and Protection; and then we may be sure of a Supply at length of what is needful for us, and in the meantime of such Supports as will enable us to bear up under our present Pressures, be they what they will.

And if even in our greatest Straits we must thus wait patiently upon God, and not put our Hand to any Wickedness to procure even the Necessaries of Life, how great must be their Guilt, who, when their Circumstances are already tolerably easy, and it may be sufficient to provide all reasonable Comforts in Moderation, are still unsatisfy'd, and stick at no ill Things that they may gratify their Pride and Luxury with the utmost Excesses! Too many such there are in the World; let them tremble to think what Account they must give at last. But to go on.

XIII. After Satan had failed in his first Attempt upon our Lord, he presently attack'd him with more Violence than before: For being enraged by his former Repulse, and having Permission from God so to do, in order to our Redeemer's greater Glory, and Satan's greater Shame and Confusion, he hurry'd him through the Air to Jerusalem, which is at a great Distance from the Wilderness, and set him upon a Pinnacle of the Temple, or the Top of some Spire that was upon the

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Roof

Roof of it: Probably it was on that Part of it which was called *Herod's Tower*, which was of so vast a Height, (being built upon the Edge of a Rock, under which was a Valley of a prodigious Depth) that, as *Josephus* tells us, *He that was on the Top of the Tower, and look'd down to the Valley beneath, his Head would immediately swim and grow dizzy; nay, 'twas further than his very Eyes could reach to the Bottom.* Now this, we may be sure, was no easy standing, and to fall from thence could be no other to a mere Man than present Death. But Satan would by all means have him fear nothing, but resolutely cast himself down; for if he was the Son of God, God would take care of his beloved Son, and, as the Scripture says, immediately send his Angels, *to bear him up upon their Hands, or Wings*, that he might gently and safely descend, and not so much as *strike his Foot against a Stone.* And besides, the *Court of the Gentiles* being near this Tower, where was always a great Confluence of all Sorts of People, it would tend very much to his Honour, and make him look'd upon as a very extraordinary Person, and very dear to God, to see him come down majestically from such a Height, upon the Wings of the heavenly Host, and light in the Midst of them unhurt.

The Tendency of this Temptation was either to make our Lord suspect whether or no he was really the Son of God, and so have recourse to this Experiment for his Satisfaction, or else, supposing him under no Doubt as to his own Divinity, that he might vain-gloriously presume too much upon the divine Protection in his present State of Humanity and Submission: And since he was for depending so entirely upon the Word of God when he was in Danger of being famished in the Wilderness, he quoted the same holy Word to assure him that God would send his Angels to preserve him here as well

as there, though he should leap from that astonishing Height; but withal secretly hoping that if he did so, the Fall would dash him to Pieces, and put an End to all those terrible Apprehensions which the Tempter now saw reason to entertain.

Out of these Verses the Devil left what was not to his Purpose, but very much against it; for the Words he alludes to, are, *He shall give his Angels Charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy Ways*, Psal. 91. 11, 12. that is, to protect thee in the Discharge of thy Duty, and in the Paths that God has ordered thee to walk in, but not in dangerous By-ways, which we presumptuously run into without his Direction.

To this mangled misapplied Quotation of his, *Jesus* returned with admirable Strength and Quickness, *It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*, Deut. 6. 16. Which Text, says a certain Author, shewed the true Meaning of that other which Satan abused to very evil Purposes, and tells us, that the Protection of God must not be expected, when we presume to do what nothing but a miraculous Power can keep us from perishing in the doing, when we are no ways obliged to it, nor have any Warrant to hope for such extraordinary Protection in the Attempt. This is, with unsufferable Insolence, to impose upon God what Tasks we please, as if we had Omnipotence at our Command, to attend for our Preservation, in all our mad Freaks and Extravagancies. And 'tis but just that those who are thus daringly provoking, should perish in their Wickedness and Folly, and be a Warning to others that they may see and fear, and do no more presumptuously: Which we may suppose was what the Devil design'd should be the Fate of our Lord.

'Tis noted by *Hammond*, and after him by *Whitby*, that to *tempt the Lord*, doth not in Scripture Language signify *to presume too much on the divine Goodness*, but rather

rather to distrust his Power, Truth, or Providence, after sufficient Demonstrations and Reasons given for our Dependence on them: And consequently, to tempt God, as it relates to Christ, is to doubt whether he was the Son of God, after the Voice from Heaven had said unto him, *Thou art my beloved Son*. Thus when the Jews murmur'd against Moses for want of Water, saying, *Thou hast brought us out of Egypt, to kill us, and our Children, and our Cattle, with Thirst: Moses replied, Why do you tempt the Lord?* And he called the Name of the Place *Massah*, that is, *Temptation*, because they there tempted the Lord, by questioning, after he had dried up the Red-Sea, and fed them miraculously with Manna, whether the Lord was among them or not. This is the constant Signification of the Phrase throughout the Old Testament, as may be seen in a great Number of Passages, See *Deut. 6. 16.* also *Numb. 14. 22.*

But besides these Senses, the Words, *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*, being spoken by God Incarnate to the chief of the apostate Spirits, might carry with them the Force of such a Check, as could not but mightily appal that infernal Rebel, and make him bethink himself whom he had to do with; and they being, no doubt, delivered with such a peculiar Emphasis and Majesty, might have such Signatures of Divinity, as to begin to demonstrate our Lord's being the eternal Son of God, which consequently could not but fill the Devil with inexpressible Dread and Confusion. And it may be, they might be design'd by our Lord to make way for Satan's coming to the certain Knowledge of his being God as well as Man.

Now from this second Temptation, we may see, how great the Power is, as well as the Cunning of the Evil Spirit; and what dreadful Work he would make with us, if not restrained by God. But Thanks be to

our great and good Preserver, he is chained and fettered, and has his Bounds set him, which he cannot pass, without the Divine Permission, nor go one Step further than that Permission will allow.

Thus, though he had Leave to carry our Lord so far in the Air, and set him in so dangerous a Place as we have shewn the Pinnacle of the Temple was, yet he had no Power to throw him down from thence, which a very little Force would have done, had he been permitted to use it, and where it was hard for him to keep his standing, tho' no Force at all were used against him. All he could do, was to tempt him to leap down of himself, and persuade him there was no Danger, if he did; but he could go no farther, and when that would not do, he was obliged to take him off as safely as he had set him on. So that 'tis plain, (and blessed be God that it is so!) that the Devil can only tempt, not force us to commit any Sin against God, or do any Mischief to ourselves; neither can he hurt us, whatever his Malice may be, unless we consent to it first.

XIV. The Tempter being thus baffled a second Time, and in so awful a manner, that none but the Prince of Darkness would have dared to proceed any further, was yet resolved once more to see what might be done, his All being then at Stake, and concludes to try him with that which prevailed upon himself to revolt from his Allegiance to God, and that was Ambition, an unmeasurable Desire of Rule and Dominion, as that which would advance him to the nearest Resemblance of the Most High. And accordingly, as quick as Thought, he removes Jesus from the Pinnacle of the Temple to an exceeding high Mountain, and shewed him in an Instant, *All the Kingdoms of the World, and the Power and Glory of them, and said unto him, all these Things will I give thee, for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it; if thou therefore*

will fall down and worship me, all shall be shine.

The way of the Devil's doing this, was either by some kind of Illusion, making that appear as real, which was not, by an airy, phantastic Representation: Or else from the wide Prospect which that Mountain would afford him of the Holy City, and the chief Towns about it, he might take occasion to discourse to him of the vastly greater Power and Glory of the whole World, and give a charming Description of it, and then tell him, that all was at his Disposal, and that he should be the great and happy Person who should possess and enjoy it all, upon the easy Condition of only doing Homage to him, as the chief Lord of the Fee: Or lastly, as God caused *Moses* to see the whole Land of Promise from the Top of *Nebo*, either by strengthening his Eyes to see it thence, or by representing it to him in a large Plan or Map drawn in the Valleys round about him; so might the Devil in the Valleys round about the Mountain were *Christ* stood, make a large Draught of the stately Edifices, the Guards, and Attendants of Kings, appearing in Splendor, visible to the Eyes of *Christ*, which Appearance could not be so well made, or so advantageously seen in a Plain, as those pretend who would have all the History of our Lord's Temptation to be taken only as a Dream, or Vision.

How far the Devil said true, when he told our Lord that the Power and Glory of the World was delivered unto him, and to whomsoever he would, he could give it, we need not stand to enquire. He is called, indeed, in Scripture, the Prince, *John* 14. 30. nay the God of this World; but that only signifies what he is made by wicked worldly Men, not any Power, much less Right, that he really has to dispose of the Possession and Dominion of it, which none can do but he,

who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, 1 Tim. 6. 15.

This, therefore, was only a false Boast of the Father of Lies; and we may well wonder at his strange Confidence in saying so to our Lord. But now he found he was sufficiently detected, and therefore appeared like himself; and to make one home Push for all, stuck at nothing that might carry his Point. But here, however patiently *Jesus* bore the Indignities that before were offered to himself, he was moved to Indignation when his Father's Honour and Prerogative were invaded; and thinking it high Time to put an end to the Devil's blasphemous Insolence, he now said unto him with a majestic Aspect, that became the Eternal Son of God, *Get thee hence Satan; for it is written, thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* He is the great Creator and Governor of the World; 'tis he that taketh down one, and setteth up another; by him Kings reign, and his sacred Scepter ruleth over all; and therefore, he that desires to rule the World, must make his court to God, and not to thee; for the sincere Worship and Service of that supreme Being, is the surest Way to arrive at Empire.

With this Satan was so thunder-struck, that he could keep the Field no longer; being now too well satisfy'd, that *Jesus* was God incarnate. And accordingly, he afterwards, and that very quickly, acknowledged him so to be. As particularly, when an unclean Devil had possessed a Man, he cried out publicly in the Synagogue with a loud Voice, as if in extraordinary Torture at his Presence, *Luke* 4. 34. *Let us alone, what have we to do with thee Jesus of Nazareth, art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God.* And a little after, in the same Chapter, 'tis said, *Devils came out of many, crying out, and saying,*

saying, Thou art Christ, the Son of God; for they knew that he was Christ. And in Luke 8. 28. the miserable Dæmoniac that was possessed with a Legion of Evil Spirits, was forced by one of them to say, Crying out, and falling down before him, What have I to do with thee, Jesus thou Son of God most high? I beseech thee torment me not.

From these Words, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*, compared with other Scriptures, the Orthodox infer that Christ is not a Creature: For 'tis elsewhere said, *That all Men should worship the Son, even as they worship the Father*; and therefore we may suppose that Christ, in the Words before us, claims divine Adoration under the Name of *the Lord thy God*. Now, if religious Adoration be due to God alone, and is yet in this Place assumed by *Jesus Christ*, it follows either that *Jesus Christ* is really God, or that he arrogated to himself what was not his Prerogative. To this the Socinians answer, that God alone is to be worshipped as the first and supreme Cause of all Things, and as the chief Cause of our Salvation, but yet religious Worship and Service may be paid to Christ, as the intermediate Cause of that Salvation, which God intended by him to procure and bring to pass for us. But the Orthodox reply, that there are no Footsteps of this Distinction in the Holy Scripture, but on the contrary many Things that seem to contradict it. And though 'tis plain, that the Devil does not here require to be worshipped as the first and supreme Cause of all Things, since he freely owns that all the Power he had over the Kingdoms of the Earth was given to him, yet our Lord rejects his Temptation, by opposing to him a Command which excludes all Manner of religious Worship, but what is due to the supreme Being only. Therefore, if Christ be at all a proper Object of

our Worship, as all who believe the Scripture must allow him to be, he can be so in no other Sense than as he is God equal with the Father. Where then is the Popish Adoration of Saints and Angels? But to return:

Thus was the old infernal Serpent, that great Dragon which deceived our first Parents, and tempted them so successfully that they lost their Innocence and Paradise, and incurred the sad Sentence of Misery and Death for their Disobedience to their Maker, and, which was infinitely worse than Death, forfeited the Favour of God, and the Hopes of Heaven, without a Mercy greater than the Tongues of Men and Angels can express; thus was he that so fatally deceived the first of human Race, and bore such a Sway over their wretched Posterity for many Ages after, gloriously vanquished by the Seed of that very Woman, who first hearkened to his treacherous Suggestions.

Then began to be fulfilled that early Prophecy, in which God said to the Serpent, *Gen. 3. 15. I will put Enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy Seed and her Seed; it shall bruise thy Head, and thou shalt bruise his Heel*: And it was carried on, throughout the afflicted, but yet conquering, Life of the Holy *Jesus*, and completed upon his Cross, when by Death he destroy'd him that had the Power of Death, that is the Devil; and having Spoiled Principalities and Powers by those very Sufferings which Satan's Malice brought upon him, he triumph'd over them. And though the Serpent was permitted to fulfil the Prophecy in thus bruising our Saviour's Heel, yet 'twas to his own Destruction, and gave an incurable Wound to his own Head. He had the Satisfaction indeed to see the Son of God, by his Instigation, made a Man of Sorrows, and acquainted with Grief, and in his human Nature cruelly

cruelly handled by his wicked Instruments, and at length tortur'd to Death upon an ignominious Cross: But that very Cross proved his triumphal Chariot, on which he crush'd the poisonous Head of that Infernal Dragon into the Dust, and trampled him under his victorious Feet.

XV. Let us now observe the Order of Satan's Attempts on our Blessed Saviour, and what especial Trust he reposed in the last of them, when he offered him the Power and Glory of the whole World, which he thought could hardly be rejected.

As to the Order of his Temptations, when he assaulted *Jesus* in the Wilderness, and which he observes still in his Attempts upon us, he first, in a secret covert manner, throws ill Thoughts and Suggestions into our Minds, which may be as the Seed of suitable ill Actions hereafter. The Heart is the Treasury both of Good and Evil. *A good Man, out of the good Treasure of his Heart, bringeth forth good Things; and an evil Man, out of the evil Treasure of his Heart, bringeth forth evil Things, Matt. 12. 35. And from within, out of the Hearts of Men, proceed not only evil Thoughts, but they soon grow, and shoot up into vile Practices, Adulteries, Murthers, Thefts, &c. Mark 7. 21. And so Lust, when it hath conceived, bringeth forth Sin, as Sin when it is finished bringeth forth Death.*

When he hath thus prepared his way in this undiscovered Manner, than he helps us to Opportunities of committing those Sins to which Nature leads us most; and taking Advantage of our present Circumstances, observes which way our Inclinations are chiefly bent, to Riches, or to Honour, or bodily Pleasure, and plies us with Temptations accordingly. And generally he begins as he did with our Saviour, with what will please and

gratify our bodily Appetites, and tempts us first of all to Luxury, Intemperance, and ungoverned Lust, to which Youth is most prone, furnishing us with such Company as will intice us to it, and suitable Convenience to act it.

When the Season for this begins to be over, and we are cloy'd and surfeited with this fulsome way of Life, or by the Grace of God have successfully resisted his Temptations to it, then he endeavours to infect us with spiritual Pride and Presumption, and to inject high Thoughts of our selves into our Minds, with respect to our Virtue and religious Attainments, and of the great Share we have in the Favour of God, so great that scarce any Thing will forfeit it, which he thinks will make us careless and negligent, apt to run into unnecessary Dangers, and enter upon rash, unjustifiable Undertakings, in too much Confidence of the Divine Support and Protection, till we fall, and that sometimes irrecoverably, both in Notion and in Practice, into the Snares that he has laid for us, and by this means decoy'd us into. And some who have with great Bravery resisted and conquer'd the Temptations of the Flesh, have been vanquished by Satan's Persuasives to more spiritual Wickednesses, which have indeed much more of the Devil in them, and secure his Possession of us more firmly than any Thing besides.

But if Mens Inclinations don't lie this way, then he makes use of that alluring Bait the World, with the Power, and Wealth, and Glory of it, as his last Reserve, which generally takes every Body, of all Ages, Sexes, and Conditions, and seldom fails of Success. Our Desires of Things of this Nature are as sharp as the keenest Hunger, and insatiable as the most ravenous Appetite, which nothing can resist or satisfy.

If Men are poor, that they think will justify their Greediness, that they may make

make their Circumstances easy for the future; and to these, the Devil gives Opportunities of unjust Gain, first in little petty Instances, and then still further and further tempting them to lay hold of such Occasions, to which they are apt to be too easily persuaded.

To those that have Plenty already, he shews the Splendor of Abundance, and the Honour that goes along with it, and tells them what way to attain it, which is only to do some few Things which nothing but Religion forbids, and a Law or two it may be that is founded upon it: And who would let slip so fair an Opportunity of gratifying their Appetites? When once Men are thoroughly engaged this Way, and find the Sweetness of it, that enlarges their Desires of still more; and then, nothing shall be stuck at, that shall gratify their boundless Ambition, and lead to the Top of Honour, and Glory, and Empire.

Thus are we too ready to fall down and worship the Devil, to make him our God, to comply with his Temptations, and enslave ourselves to his cursed Will, for the sake of this perishing World; some in one Degree, some in another; but truly most of us more or less.

This then being the Order and Method of his Temptations, these the chief Batteries from whence he assaults us, let us be constantly upon our Guard and Defence. And in the first Place, keep our Hearts with all Diligence, from his unseen secret Injections, because from thence proceed the Issues of Life and Death respectively, Prov. 4. 23.

After this, let us be careful to flee all youthful Lusts, to mortify inordinate Affections, to be sober and temperate in all Things, and to possess our Vessels in Sanctification and Honour. Then let us always be clothed with Humility, and never without the Ornament of a meek and quiet Spirit; and the higher our Station, and the greater

our spiritual Attainments are, the more watchful should we be, lest Pride, and Arrogance, and Presumption, throw us headlong down.

Let us more and more endeavour to be dead to the World, mortify'd to its Greatness, Honour, and Power, and learn in every State therewith to be content, Phil. 4. 11. putting our Trust only in the Providence of God, in frequent Contemplation of our infinitely more glorious Inheritance in his heavenly Kingdom. And if to this we add, as we should never fail to do, our fervent Prayers for the divine Grace and Assistance, and a daily serious Conversation with the Scriptures, we need not doubt, but we shall be too many for the Tempter at last, and, as our great Master did, come off with Victory.

But then, we must withal remember, that this Life is a State of continual Warfare, and when by a vigorous Resistance we force him to depart from us, 'twill be only for a Season, as we are told he left our Lord. 'Twill become us therefore, not to be too secure, but vigilant and circumspect, and ready to make a fresh Defence, knowing what a restless and subtle Adversary we have to deal with, that goes continually about seeking whom he may devour.

XVI. Now when the Devil had ended all his Temptations, and Jesus with infinite Bravery and Honour had given him an entire Defeat, St. Matthew tells us, chap. 4. 11. that behold, Angels came and ministered unto him; to grace his Triumph, and supply what was needful to refresh him, after his long Fast and toilsome Conflict with the Prince of Darkness. In what manner they did it, we shall not pretend to say; but doubtless 'twas done effectually. Dr. Lightfoot indeed supposes, that during the forty Days of our Lord's Fast, whilst the Devil tempted him invisibly, the holy Angels ministered to him visibly; and that at the End of those Days:

Days the Devil took occasion from thence to put on the Appearance of an Angel of Light, and pretended to wait upon him, as they did. If it were so, doubtless the good Angels appeared again, after his being fatigued by Satan, in the same visible Manner, and continued their Service till, with new Vigour, and holy Satisfaction, *He returned in the Power of the Spirit into Galilee*, and entered upon his Ministry, being thus prepar'd and enabled for it; after which *he was glorified of all*.

Upon his Return, as the Gospel informs us, he repaired to *Bethabara*, where *John was baptizing*. Of this Place we have no further Account in the Scripture, than that it lay *beyond Jordan*, *John* 1. 28. and that our blessed Lord, when the *Jews* sought to take him at the Feast of Dedication, retired hither, whither many resorted to him, and believed on him. The Word *Bethabara* in the *Hebrew* Language signifies a *Passage over*. And whereas we read, *Josh.* 27. 23. that there was a *Fording-Place* over *Jordan*, not far from *Jericho*, 'tis conjectured that hereabouts stood *Bethabara*, as being the Place of Entertainment for Passengers out of *Judea* into *Perea*, or the *Country beyond Jordan*. Nay, 'tis imagined by some, that in the very same Place where the *Ark* stood, when the *Israelites* passed over, our blessed Saviour, the true *Ark* of the *Covenant* of *Grace*, was baptiz'd by *John the Baptist* and that thither he returned after he had overcome the Devil.

To conclude with a practical Remark: The Comfort and Satisfaction is inexpressible that a good Man feels, when he has baffled a Temptation, preserved his Integrity, and kept his Conscience untouched with Guilt. This inspires him with new Courage and Resolution, in the Service of the God of his Salvation; engages him with exceeding Alacrity and Cheerfulness in the Performance of the Duties of

his Station, and when there is occasion furnishes him with fresh Strength to win new Victories.

Wherefore finally, my Brethren, to use the Words of the Apostle *Paul*, *Ephes.* 6. 10. 13. *let us be strong in the Lord, and in the Power of his Might, and put on the whole Armour of God, that we may be able to stand against the Wiles of the Devil. For we wrestle not against Flesh and Blood alone, but against Principalities and Powers, against spiritual Wickedness in high Places. Take unto you therefore the whole Armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil Day, and having done all to stand. And then, the God of Peace will, in due time, bruise Satan under your Feet, Rom.* 16. 20. we shall be more than Conquerors through him that loved us, and hath conquered for us, even *Jesus*, the great Captain of our Salvation, who was himself made perfect through Sufferings, *Heb.* 2. 10.

DISSERTATION II.

A Computation of *Daniel's* seventy Weeks.

I. Time of his Appearance a certain Proof that *Jesus* was the *Messiah*. II. *Daniel's* Vision. III. To whom the seventy Weeks relate, what they were, and when accomplished. IV. When they began proved; First, from a Character in the Text. V. Secondly, from the Events predicted in it. Who was the *Darius* of *Ezra*. VI. Who the *Artaxerxes* of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, and at which of his Decrees the seventy Weeks began. *Petavius* and *Usher* confuted. VII. Explanation of the seven Weeks, the sixty two Weeks, and the one Week. VIII. Of the Events after the End of the last Week. IX. An Objection against the whole preceding System. X. Insufficiently answered by others. XI. A

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more satisfactory Answer. *XII. Conclusion of the Whole, with some additional Remarks.*

I. **I**T ought not to be wondered at, that the Christians insist strongly on the Circumstance of the Time, wherein the Messiah was to appear, according to the Prophecies of the Old Testament: For there is no Character of that great Deliverer more express than this, or that can be with more Certainty applied to *Jesus Christ*. If he were only a Man, it did not lie in his Power to be born, and to die, exactly at the Time appointed by the Prophets: Nor could he divine, without being a God, what would happen after him, in order to the more full Completion of antient Predictions. How should a mere Man have known that the Sceptre would depart from *Judab*, and that Tribe be dispersed, confounded, and entirely subtracted from the Sight of Men, in a few Years after his Death? And yet in order to the confirming of Mankind in what he taught them to believe concerning himself, all this was necessary. It would not have been in his Choice to come, by his Fore-runner, at the end of sixty nine Weeks of Years, to appear himself with great Approbation in the Middle of the seventieth Week, and to be put to Death at the End of the same, according to the Prophecy of *Daniel*; and afterwards, according to the same Prophecy, to put an end to all the publick Worship of the *Jews*, by the Destruction of the Temple of *Jerusalem*. An unprejudiced Person cannot then take a surer Method to find out the Messiah, nor a Christian to prove that *Jesus Christ* really was that Messiah, than to examine the Time, wherein, according to the Patriarchs and Prophets, he was to appear in the World. This is what we have frequently done in the Course of this Work, as Occasion has offered, and particularly in regard to the

No. XXXI.

Oracle of *Jacob*, which has been very largely explained: We shall now proceed a little farther in the same Track, by considering the famous Prophecy of the seventy Weeks, in all its Parts, as we find it in the ninth Chapter of *Daniel*. Why we have reserved it to this Place will be shewn in some of our Remarks.

II. In the first Year of *Darius*, *Daniel* computing that the seventy Years of *Judab's* Captivity, which were prophesied of by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, were now drawing to an End, earnestly prayed unto God, that he would remember his People, and grant Restoration to *Jerusalem*, and make his Face again to shine upon the Holy City, and his Sanctuary, which he had placed there, *Dan. 9. Jer. 25. 12. and 29. 10.* Whereupon, in a Vision, he had Assurance given him by the Angel *Gabriel*, not only of the Deliverance of *Judab* from their temporal Captivity under the *Babylonians*, but also of a much greater Redemption, which God would give his Church in his Deliverance of them from their spiritual Captivity under Sin and Satan, to be accomplished at the End of seventy Weeks after the Going forth of the Commandment to rebuild *Jerusalem*, that is at the End of four hundred and ninety Years: For taking each Day for a Year, according as is usual in the prophetick Stile of the Scripture, so many Years seventy Weeks of Years will amount to; which makes it the clearest Prophecy of the Coming of the Messiah, that we have in all the Old Testament: For it determines it to the very Time on which he accordingly came, and by his Death, and Passion, and Resurrection from the Dead, completed for us the great Work of our Salvation. The Words of the Prophecy, as delivered by *Gabriel* to *Daniel*, are, in our English Translation, as followeth.

Ver. 24. *Seventy Weeks are determined upon thy People, and upon thy Holy City,*

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to finish the Transgression, and to make an end of Sins, and to make Reconciliation for Iniquity, and to bring in everlasting Righteousness, and to seal up the Vision and Prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy. 25. Know therefore and understand, that from the Going forth of the Commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be seven Weeks, and threescore and two Weeks; the Street shall be built again, and the Wall, even in troublous Times. 26. And after threescore and two Weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself, and the People of the Prince that shall come, shall destroy the City and the Sanctuary, and the End thereof shall be with a Flood, and unto the End of the War Desolations are determined. 27. And he shall confirm the Covenant with many for one Week, and in the midst of the Week he shall cause the Sacrifice and the Oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of Abominations he shall make it desolate even until the Consummation, and that determined shall be poured out upon the Desolate.

Mr. Basnage wonders that so clear a Prophecy should have been variously explained: But he seems not to have been much more happy himself, in his Commentary upon it, than the Authors who had gone before him, and whose Opinions he rejects. The learned Dr. Prideaux has succeeded the best of any Author we have seen, in his Dissertation on this Prophecy: For he has taken in all that seems to have been intended by the Angel; and at the same time has made his System perfectly consistent with itself, and answered all the Objections that lay against the several Parts thereof. In his Work the Curious may find every thing worthy Notice that has been said upon the Subject; and from hence we shall transcribe the following Paragraphs, keeping close to his Words, and only cutting off such Parts of his Criticisms, as seem a little too finely spun for the generality of Readers.

III. It being of great Moment for the Conviction of Jews, and other Infidels, who reject the Faith of Christ, to have this Prophecy well cleared, and made out, in order hereto it is to be observed,

1. That this Prophecy doth relate primarily and especially to the Jews. For it expresseth the Time, that was determined upon the People of Daniel, that is the Jews, and upon the Holy City, that is, Jerusalem, the whole of which was seventy Weeks; that is, that this was the Time which God had fore-ordained and determined upon the Jews for their being his peculiar People, and upon Jerusalem for its being his Holy City; after the Expiration of which an end being to be put to the Mosaick Economy, they should be no longer God's peculiar People; and the Worship which he had established at Jerusalem being to be abolished, that City should be no longer a City holy unto him.

2. That these seventy Weeks are Weeks of Years. For among the Jews, as there were sabbatical Days, whereby their Days were divided into Weeks of Days, so there were sabbatical Years, whereby their Years were divided into Weeks of Years; and this last sort of Weeks is that which is here mentioned, so that every one of the Weeks of this Prophecy contains seven Years, and the whole Number of seventy Weeks contains four hundred and ninety Years, at the End whereof this determined Time expired; after which the Jews were no more to be the peculiar People of God, nor Jerusalem his Holy City, because then the Economy, which he had establish'd among them, was to cease, and the Worship, which he had appointed at Jerusalem, was wholly to be abolish'd. And,

3. All this was accomplished at the Death of Christ. For then the Jewish Church, and the Jewish Worship at Jerusalem, were wholly abolished, and the Christian

Christian Church and the Christian Worship succeeded in their stead; then the Time, which was determined upon the Jews for their being God's peculiar People, and upon Jerusalem for its being his Holy City, being fully expired, thenceforth began the Kingdom of the Messiah, and instead of the Jews all the Nations of the World were called thereunto, and instead of Jerusalem every Place through the whole Earth, where God should be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth, was made holy unto him. And therefore then the seventy Weeks of this Prophecy must have their Ending. For they were determined and decreed for this Purpose, and therefore in this they must have their Conclusion. And this all the Events, which are in this Prophecy predicted to be brought to pass at the Conclusion of these Weeks, do necessarily prove. In the 24th Verse we have six of them, for the accomplishing of which these seventy Weeks are there said to be determined; and therefore at the accomplishing of them, these Weeks must have their Ending. They are these following. 1st, *To finish*, or **restrain*, *Transgression*; 2d, *To †make an end of Sins*; 3d, *To make ‖ expiation*, or *reconciliation for Iniquity*; 4th, *To bring in everlasting Righteousness*; 5th, *To seal up*, or complete and fulfil, *Vision and Prophecy*; and 6th, *To anoint the most*

Holy. And all these were accomplished in that great Work of our Salvation, which *Christ* our Lord undertook for us, and fully completed by his Death, and Passion, and his Resurrection from the Dead. For being born without original Sin, and having lived without actual Sin, he was truly *the most Holy* of all, that bore our Nature. And being thereby fully fitted for this great Work, *he was anointed* with the Holy Ghost, and with Power to be our King, and our Priest, and our Prophet, for the effecting and accomplishing of it. And having as our Priest offered up himself a Sacrifice upon the Cross to make Expiation and Atonement for all our Sins, he did thereby *make an end of them*, by taking away their Guilt, and in so doing *he did work Reconciliation* for us with our God. And having as our Prophet given unto us his Gospel, the Law of *Everlasting Righteousness*, which was not a temporary Law, as was that of *Moses*, but to last for ever, and to be our Guide into all Righteousness, as long as the World should last; and also having as our King sent his Holy Spirit into our Hearts to influence and govern us according to this Law, he hath done all for us that is necessary, thereby *to restrain and extinguish in us all manner of Transgressions*, and fully deliver us from the Power of them. And in doing all this *he hath sealed up, that is*

* The Word *Lecalle* in the Hebrew signifieth to restrain, as well as to shut up or finish, and the former rather than the latter.

† Here is a various Reading in the Hebrew Text as to the Word which we translate *to make an end of*. For whereas the true Reading is *Lebatem*, that is, to finish, or make an end of, and in the next Line after there is the Word *Lachtom*, which there signifieth *to seal up*; and these two Words as to the Letters differing only in this, that the former is written with an *He* in the middle, and the other with a *Cheth*, the Similitude that is between these two Letters in the Hebrew Alphabet (for they differ very little the one from the other) led Transcribers into this Mistake, that they wrote the Word, as if it were *Lachtom* in both Places. But it is corrected in the Margin. However, this would not have altered the Sense, because the same Word which signifieth *to seal up*, in Hebrew, is also used to signify *to finish*, or *complete*, because the putting of the Seal to any Instrument or Writing completes the Matter, about which it is, and finisheth the whole Transaction.

‖ The Word in the Hebrew Text properly signifieth *to expiate as by Sacrifice*, and by such an Expiation did Christ our Lord work Reconciliation for us with our God.

fulfilled, and thoroughly finished, all that, which by Visions and Prophecies had been before revealed concerning him. And therefore all these Events being thus brought to pass, and accomplished at the Time of *Christ's* Death, this necessarily determines us there to fix the End of these Weeks, which were appointed for the accomplishing of them.

IV. The End of these Weeks being thus fix'd at the Death of *Christ*, it doth necessarily determine us where to place the Beginning of them, that is, four hundred and ninety Years before. And therefore the Death of *Christ*, as most learned Men agree, falling in the Year of the *Julian* Period 4746, and in the *Jewish* Month * *Nisan*, if we reckon four hundred and ninety Years backwards, this will lead up to the Month *Nisan*, in the Year of the *Julian* Period 4256, which was the very Year and Month in which *Ezra* had his Commission from *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*, for his Return to *Jerusalem*, there to restore the Church and State of the *Jews*. For that Year of the *Julian* Period, according to *Ptolemy's* Canon, was the seventh of that King's Reign, in which the Scriptures tell us his Commission was granted, *Ezra* 7. 7. The Beginning therefore of the seventy Weeks, or four hundred and ninety Years of this Prophecy, was in the Month *Nisan* of the *Jewish* Year, in the seventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*, and in the 4256th Year of the *Julian* Period, when *Ezra* had his Commission; and the End of them fell in the very same Month of *Nisan*, in the 4746th Year of the *Julian* Period, in which very Year and very Month *Christ* our Lord suffered for us, and thereby completed the whole Work of our Salvation, there being just

seventy Weeks of Years, or four hundred and ninety Years from the one to the other.

It is evident from the Prophecy itself, that these Weeks must have this Beginning, that is from the Date of the Commission granted *Ezra*. For 1st, they are pinn'd down thereto by an express Character in the Text; and, 2dly, they cannot agreeable to that, and other Scriptures, and the authentic Histories of the Times to which they relate, have it any where else.

And 1st, these Weeks must have their Beginning from the Date of the Commission granted to *Ezra*, because they are pinn'd down thereto by an express Character in the Text, and that Character is *the Going forth of the Commandment to restore and build Jerusalem*. For that from thence the seventy Weeks must have their Beginning, the Text is very express, *Dan.* 9. 25, and to excite us the more to observe it, introduceth it with this remarkable Preface, *Know therefore and understand*. But this Commandment or Decree was that which was granted to *Ezra* in that Commission, with which he was sent into *Judea* in the seventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*; and therefore from thence the Beginning of these Weeks must commence. For the Words in the Text, *to restore and build Jerusalem*, are not to be understood literally, but figuratively for the restoring of the State of the *Jews*, as well the Political as the Ecclesiastical, and the resetting of both according to the Law of *Moses*: And what is more usual in Prophecies, than to be given out in figurative Expressions? And what is more common in Scripture, than by *Jerusalem* to mean the whole Political and Ecclesiastical State of that People? And for the re-

* *Christ* suffered at the Time of the Passover, which was always celebrated in the Middle of the Month *Nisan*.

establishing of both these, and the settling them again upon the former Basis, from whence they had been overthrown by the *Babylonians*, and were not as yet but very imperfectly restored, the Commission granted to *Ezra* was very full.

And that this figurative Interpretation of the Words, and none other, must be the true Meaning of them, appears from hence, that they cannot be understood in a literal Sense; for if they are so to be understood, they can be applicable to no other restoring and rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, than that which was decreed and commanded by *Cyrus*, at the Release of the Captivity; for this Prophecy was revealed to *Daniel* before this Release, and therefore when it is said therein, that the *Epocha* of these Weeks was to begin from the Going forth of the Command or Decree to restore and build *Jerusalem*, of what Decree can it be more properly understood, than of that which should first be granted next after this Prophecy for that Purpose, and by virtue whereof this City was accordingly rebuilt after its having been destroyed by the *Babylonians*, and was again re-peopled, and inhabited by the same People, who had been its former Inhabitants? And that this was done by virtue of *Cyrus's* Decree, appears from many Places of Scripture. We are told in *Isaiab*, chap. 44. 28. *That it was Cyrus that should say to Jerusalem, Be thou built, and to the Temple, Thy Foundations shall be laid.* And again, it is said of the same *Cyrus*, chap. 45. 13. *That God would raise him up, and direct him, that he should build his City, and release his Captives*; where it is to be observed, that he that released God's Captives, and laid the Foundation of the Temple, was to be the Person that was to rebuild *Jerusalem*; so that he is not only by Name, but also by this Character and Description, plainly pointed out to be the Person, that was to do this Work. And therefore if these

Words of the Prophecy, *To restore and build Jerusalem*, are to be understood in a literal Sense, they can be understood of no other restoring and building of that City, than that which was accomplished by Virtue of that Decree, and the Computation of the seventy Weeks must begin from the granting and going forth thereof. But if the Computation be begun so high, the 490 Years of the said seventy Weeks cannot come low enough to reach any of those Events which are predicted by this Prophecy; for from the first of *Cyrus* to the Death of *Christ* were five hundred and sixty eight Years; and therefore if the said 490 Years be computed from thence, they will be expired a great many Years either before the cutting off or the coming of the Messiah, which ought both to fall within the Compass of them, according to the express Words of this Prophecy. It evidently therefore follows from hence, that the Words of this Prophecy, *To restore and build Jerusalem*, cannot be understood in a literal Sense. For the Sum of the whole Argument is thus. If the Words are to be understood in a literal Sense, they must be understood of that Rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, which was accomplished by Virtue of *Cyrus's* Decree, and the Computation of the seventy Weeks, or the 490 Years thereof must begin from the going forth or issuing out of that Decree. But it cannot begin from thence for the Reason mentioned, and therefore these Words cannot be understood in a literal Sense, but must be interpreted to mean figuratively the restoring and rebuilding the Church and State of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*. And this *Ezra* effected by Virtue of the Command or Decree, which was granted to him for this Purpose in the seventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and therefore here the Beginning of these Weeks must be placed; and this will be farther proved if we consider,

Secondly,

Secondly, That it can be placed no where else, so as to make the Ending comport with the Intent and Purpose of the Prophecy, and the accomplishing of the Events predicted by it. For there were four Commandments or Decrees issued out by the Kings of *Persia*, in favour of the *Jews*, from one of which, according to the express Words of the Prophecy, the Computation of these Weeks is to be begun: The first granted by *Cyrus* in the first Year of his Reign, the second by *Darius* about the fourth Year of his Reign, the third by *Artaxerxes* to *Ezra*, in the seventh Year of his Reign, and the fourth by the same *Artaxerxes* to *Nebemiah* in the twentieth Year of his Reign. That it could not begin from any of the other three, I shall shew in their Order.

And *First*, As to the Decree of *Cyrus*, the 400 Years of these Weeks cannot be computed from thence, for the Reasons already said; that is, because, if they begin from thence, they cannot by a great many Years reach the Events predicted by this Prophecy, and therefore none, who understand this Prophecy to relate either the cutting off, or the coming of the *Messiah*, do begin from thence. For according to this Computation no Chronicle can ever reconcile them to either of them.

Secondly, Neither can the Computation of these Weeks be begun from the Decree granted by *Darius*. But there having been three *Darius*'s that reigned in *Persia*, *Darius Hystaspes*, *Darius Nothus*, and *Darius Codomannus*, it is to be first enquired, which of these three it was, that granted this Decree; and then secondly it shall be shewn, that the Computation of these Weeks cannot be begun from it. And first, of these three *Darius*'s, it is certain it could not be *Darius Codomannus*. For if the 490 Years of these Weeks be reckoned from any Part of his Reign, they will over-shoot all the

Events predicted by this Prophecy by many more Years than they will fall short of them if reckoned from the first of *Cyrus*, and therefore no one hath ever said that he was the *Darius* that granted this Decree. But *Scaliger*, and many others following his Authority, have said it of *Darius Nothus*. But there are invincible Arguments against it, which unanswerably demonstrate, that it could not be *Darius Nothus*, but it must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspes*, the first of these three, that reigned in *Persia*, and none other, by whom this Decree was issued out. For he, who, according to *Ezra*, granted this Decree, is the same *Darius*, of whom mention is made in *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, but that *Darius* could not be *Darius Nothus*, but must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspes*. For first, from the Destruction of the Temple of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans* to the Reign of *Darius Nothus* were one hundred sixty and five Years. But from the Destruction of it to the Time of the second Decree, by Virtue of which the Rebuilding of it was finished, were no more than seventy Years, according to the Prophet *Zechariah*. For we find in the Book of his Prophecies, that in the fourth Year of the same *Darius*, who granted this Decree to the *Jews* (which was also the Year in which it was published at *Jerusalem*) the Fast of the fifth Month, in which they had mourned for the Destruction of the Temple, and the Fast of the seventh Month, in which they had mourned for the utter Desolation of the Land, which had been brought upon it by the Death of *Gedaliah*, had been observed just seventy Years; and no one can doubt, who thoroughly considers that Text, but that their Mourning for these Calamities had been from the very Time, that they had suffered them; and that therefore it could not be *Darius Nothus*, but it must be some other *Darius* then reigning in *Persia* within

within the reach of the said seventy Years, who granted this Decree; and since the fourth Year of *Darius Hystaspes* was just seventy Years from the Time, in which the City and Temple of *Jerusalem* were destroyed by the *Chaldeans* (as hath been before observed) this other *Darius* must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspes*. But secondly, That the *Darius*, who granted this second Decree, could not be *Darius Notbus*, but must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspes*, will farther appear from the Part which *Jeshua* the High-Priest and *Zerubbabel* the Governor acted in it. For they were the Persons who were sent to *Jerusalem* with the first Decree, that which was granted by *Cyrus*, and they also executed the second Decree, that which was granted by *Darius*. But if this *Darius* were *Darius Notbus*, supposing *Jeshua* to have been forty Years old at the granting of *Cyrus's* Decree (and less at that Time he could not be, he having then Sons in the Work of the Temple of twenty Years old and upward) and supposing *Zerubbabel* to be thirty Years old (and a less Age could not comport with his Office) the former must have been one hundred and fifty seven, and the other one hundred and forty seven Years old, when this second Decree granted by *Darius* was executed by them, which is utterly improbable. *Scaliger*, to make out the Probability of it, brings Instances of several Long-livers. I deny not, 'tis possible one in a Century may be found, who may have reached the first of these Ages, that is, that of 157. For we have had * a *Par* who hath come nigh it, and a *Jenkinson* who hath out-lived it. But that two together, and Collegues in the same Work and Business, should live so long, is not likely. But thirdly, the Improbability of this will appear much farther, if

we consider the Words spoken by God himself in the second Year of this *Darius*, which we have in the second Chapter of *Haggai*, ver. 3. *Who is left among you that saw this House in its first Glory? And how do you see it now? Is it not in your Eyes in Comparison of it as nothing?* For this Text doth plainly express, that some were then alive, who had seen the first Temple, and well remembered the Beauty and Glory of it; and therefore, if this *Darius* were *Darius Notbus*, they must have been of an Age much more beyond Belief, than either that of *Jeshua*, or that of *Zerubbabel* above-mentioned. For from the Eleventh Year of *Zedekiah*, in which the Temple was destroy'd, to the Second of *Darius Notbus*, had passed one hundred sixty-six Years; and therefore supposing these Persons, who are here said to have seen the first Temple, and remembered the Glory of it, had been then seven Years old (which is the lowest that can be allowed for such a Remembling) they must have been of the Age of one hundred and seventy three, in the second Year of *Darius Notbus*. And who can think it likely, that many (as the Text seems to express) or any at all among the People, should then be found of so great an Age? Fourthly, The Series of the Kings of *Persia*, as mentioned in *Ezra*, plainly makes the *Darius*, who granted this second Decree in favour of the *Jews*, to be the fourth that reigned in that Empire, and the fourth King therein all agree was *Darius Hystaspes*. For after *Cyrus* who was the First, succeeded *Cambyses* the Second, and after him was the *Magian* the Third, and then was *Darius Hystaspes* the Fourth. And in the same Order are these Kings mentioned in *Ezra* in respect to the Temple, and the rebuilding of it. For he tells us, chap. 4. 5. 6. 7.

* *Par* lived to the Age of 151, and *Jenkinson* to that of 169. See Sir William Temple's Tracts.

that during the Reign of *Cyrus*, though he had granted a Decree for the rebuilding of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, yet the Work was discouraged all his Reign, through the Fraud of his Officers corrupted by the Bribes of the *Samaritans*; that in the Beginning of the Reign of *Abasuerus*, who next succeeded (*i. e. Cambyfes*) the King himself being wrote to discouraged the Work, but made no Decree against it, out of respect it is supposed to his Father's Decree, which was for it. But *Artawerxes*, the next that reigned (*i. e. the Magian*), having no such regard to what *Cyrus* had ordered, made a Decree against the Work, whereon it wholly ceased (which it had not done before) for the space of † two Years, until the second Year of *Darius*. This *Darius* therefore must be *Darius Hystaspes*, and none other. For it was he that was the fourth of those Kings that reigned over the *Persian* Empire.

But, against all this, the short Time, that was between the granting of the first Decree by *Cyrus*, and the second Year of *Darius Hystaspes*, is made an Objection; and they being Men of great Name, who have thought it of Weight, it must not be passed over without an Answer, although otherwise it seems not worthy of any. They urge it thus. From the Time of the granting of *Cyrus's* Decree to the second of *Darius Hystaspes* were no more than sixteen Years, and therefore if it were then, that the resuming of the Work of the Temple gave occasion for the searching of the Records for this Decree, and if it were that *Darius*, who on the finding of the Decree granted a Confirmation of it, there would then have

been no reason for any such search to have been made at all. For, say they, what need was there of searching of the Records for this Decree before its Confirmation, after so short a Time, as that of sixteen Years? The thing might then have been well enough remembered without going to the Records for the Proof of it. *Darius Hystaspes* was himself (they proceed to argue) bred in *Cyrus's* Court, and therefore might himself well enough have remember'd this Thing without ordering the Records to be searched for it; and if not, yet many of his Counsellors and Courtiers might. And therefore from hence they infer, that it could not be *Darius Hystaspes*, that granted this Decree, but it must necessarily have been another *Darius*, reigning after him, in whose Time the granting of *Cyrus's* Decree was grown to be a thing past the Memory of Man; and that could be none other than *Darius Notbus*. The whole therefore of this Argument goes upon this Supposition, That public Records are never to be appealed to, but for Things past the Memory of Man; than which what can be more absurd? Can any that attend the *Chancery* here in *England* remember all the Grants and Decrees that have passed the Seals for sixteen Years past? Can the Chancellor himself do this, if he has been so long in Office? Or if any Decree be to be made upon the Foundation of a former Decree, though passed but sixteen Days before, will any Chancellor upon Memory only seal the latter Decree, or pass any thing in it, without having the former first laid before him? Altho' some may have a confused Remembrance in general of some Things

† So saith the Writer of the first Apocryphal Book of *Esdras* v. 73. And altho' he be an Apocryphal Writer, and is in most Things, where he doth not translate from the Canonical Book of *Ezra*, very fabulous, yet in this Particular he may well be supposed to deliver himself according to the received Tradition of the Age in which he lived, and the Histories then extant, and this was very antient. For it is certain he wrote before *Josephus*, and an antienter Evidence than this we cannot have from any Writer since the Scriptures of the Old Testament concerning this Matter.

there transacted even for sixteen Years past, yet amidst the Variety and Multiplicity of Business, which pass in such a Court, and where the quick Succession of new Matters frequently crowd out of the Mind all Thoughts of all those that precede, whose Memory can be sufficient to be depended upon for an exact Account of any thing there decreed without having recourse to the Records, where all is exactly set down and registered? And if this cannot be done for so small a Realm as *England*, how could it be done for so large and vast an Empire, as that of *Persia*,* which was above forty times as large, and therefore must have afforded occasion for Grants and Decrees forty times as many. It is scarce possible to conceive how such a multitude of Things, as must in this Case have been decreed and granted for all that Empire, could have been all distinctly remembered by any one after a Week past; and how much less after sixteen Years? And therefore nothing that is said from this Head, for the proving that it could not be *Darius Hystaspes* that granted the Decree above mentioned, can amount to as much as an Argument of the lowest Probability for it. But on the contrary they, who for the sake of this Argument put the granting of this Decree as low as the Time of *Darius Notus*, do thereby afford a much stronger Argument against themselves, than this can be for them. For this will put the finishing of the second Temple at the Distance of one hundred and eighteen Years from the beginning of it. Whereon it may be asked, when it was that the Decree of *Artaxerxes* made it cease? If they allow this *Artaxerxes* to be the third *Persian* King, as he is reckoned in Scripture, *Ezra* 4. 7. that is the *Magian*,

who reigned next after *Cambyfes*, then from the ceasing of the Work to the resuming of it again will be full one hundred Years; and in so long a Time of Intermision how could they so preserve the Beams from being rotten, and the whole Building from being so damaged and decay'd, as not to be forced to begin all again anew from the very Foundation? which it is certain they did not; for after the granting of the Decree for the proceeding in the Work, all was finished in a little more than three Years time. But if they say it was not the *Magian*, who was the *Artaxerxes* in the Scriptures, that caused the Work to cease, but he that is first named in the Catalogue, which we have of the *Persian* Kings in Prophane Histories, that is *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, then from the beginning of the Work to that ceasing of it, will be seventy one Years. And in this Case it may be asked, how it came to pass, if they had so long been permitted to have gone on with the Work, that in all that Time it had not been finished? Neither of these Questions can be answered, and therefore taking either of these ways, the Argument worketh strong against them, and farther proves that it could not be *Darius Notus*, but that it must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspes*, who granted the Decree, whereby the rebuilding the second Temple was finished. And upon this Supposition all will be easy, and free of Difficulty, and the whole Proceeding of the Matter will be thus. *Cyrus*, in the first Year of his Reign over the whole *Persian* Empire, granted his Decree to the *Jews*, for the rebuilding of the Temple at *Jerusalem*. The next Year after they begun the Work, and went on with it for about thirteen Years, till the *Magian*

* The Scripture tells us, that it reached from India to Ethiopia, and contained in the Time of *Cyrus* an hundred and twenty Provinces, and afterwards seven more were added to them. See *Daniel* vi. 1. and *Esther* i. 1.

caused it to cease. But two Years after, in the second Year of *Darius Hystaspes*, who slew the *Magian*, and succeeded him in the Throne, it was on the preaching of the Prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah* again resumed, and about a Year and a half after they obtained a Decree from *Darius* to authorize them therein; and then in a little more than three Years time after they finished the whole Work.

And thus far having shewn that the *Darius*, who granted the second Decree in favour of the *Jews*, by virtue of which the rebuilding of the Temple at *Jerusalem* was finished, could be none other than *Darius Hystaspes*, the remaining Part of the Argument is, that therefore the seventy Weeks of this Prophecy could not have their beginning from this Decree; which is demonstrated by the same Reason, whereby it hath been above shewn, that they could not begin from the Decree of *Cyrus*, that is because the four hundred and ninety Years of these Weeks reckoned from the granting of this Decree, cannot reach the chief Events, which are by this Prophecy predicted to fall within the Compass of them, that is the Coming and the cutting off of the Messiah. For this Decree I reckon was brought to *Jerusalem* in the fourth Year of *Darius*. The *Jews* indeed began again with the rebuilding of the Temple in the latter end of the second Year of *Darius*, but they had no Decree to warrant them herein till the beginning of the fourth Year of his Reign. But from the fourth Year of *Darius Hystaspes*, to the Death of *Christ*, were five hundred and fifty Years, and therefore reckoning the seventy Weeks or their four hundred and ninety Years from thence, they will expire sixty Years before the Death of *Christ*, and twenty four Years before the Birth of *Christ*, and therefore can reach neither the cutting off of the Messiah, nor the Coming of the Messiah in any Sense whatsoever that his Coming

can be taken in. And these two are the grand Events predicted by this Prophecy; and it can never be rightly interpreted, but in the accomplishing of them. And it may be farther added on this Head, that this Decree of *Darius* seems not to accord or agree with the Description of that Commandment or Decree, which is mentioned in the Prophecy. For the Words of the Text are, *From the going forth of the Commandment to restore and build Jerusalem*, which plainly imply an original Decree, which this of *Darius* was not. For it was no more than an Exemplification and Confirmation of that which was before granted by *Cyrus*. And if it be not such a Decree as the Prophecy intended, it's certain the seventy Weeks, or their four hundred and ninety Years, cannot begin from thence.

VI. *Thirdly*, Neither can the Computation of these Weeks be begun from the Decree granted to *Nebemiah* by *Artaxerxes* in the twentieth Year of his Reign. And in the clearing of this Particular, I must take the same Method, as in the former. For as there were three *Darius*'s, so also were there three *Artaxerxes*'s, which according to ancient Historians reigned over the Empire of the *Persians*, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Artaxerxes Ochus*. And therefore first it must be enquired, which of these three it was, that granted this Decree; and then secondly it shall be shewn, that the Computation of these Weeks cannot begin from it. And first, as to which of these three *Artaxerxes*'s it was, that granted this Decree to *Nebemiah*, it's certain it must be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, who reigned immediately after *Xerxes* over *Persian* Empire. For it was that *Artaxerxes*, who was contemporary with *Eliashib* the High-Priest of the *Jews*, he being High-Priest at the Time when *Nebemiah* came to *Jerusalem* with this Decree, which was in the twentieth Year of that King.

King. But no other *Artaxerxes*, but he that was called *Longimanus*, could be contemporary with *Eliashib*, and therefore none other but he could be the *Artaxerxes* that granted this Decree. For the Age, which *Joiakim* the Father of *Eliashib* must then have been of at the Time of his Death, makes it utterly improbable, that it should be *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and it would make it much more so, as to *Artaxerxes Ocbus*, who succeeded him. For supposing *Eliashib*, who was High-Priest in the 20th Year of that *Artaxerxes*, who granted this Decree to *Nebemiah*, had then been 20 Years in that Office, his Father *Joiakim*, if this *Artaxerxes* were *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, must then upon this Supposition have died in the last Year of *Darius Notbus*, at which Time *Joiakim* must have been at least one hundred fifty one Years old, which is utterly improbable. For we find in *Ezra*, that *Jeshua*, the Father of *Joiakim*, at the first Return of the *Jews* to *Jerusalem* after the *Babylonish* Captivity, had Sons of twenty Years old and upward employ'd in the Work of the Temple; and since the High-Priesthood among the *Jews* went by Succession according to the Primogeniture, and *Joiakim* succeeded *Jeshua* in it, it cannot be doubted but that *Joiakim* was one of those his Sons, who were thus employ'd, and the eldest of them; and if he were twenty Years old at this Time, he must then have been one hundred fifty one in the last of *Darius Notbus*. For from the first of *Cyrus* to the last of *Darius Notbus* were one hundred thirty one Years. The Improbability of this sufficiently proves, that it could not be *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, who granted this Decree to *Nebemiah*. And the Improbability would be much greater, if we should suppose it to be *Artaxerxes Ocbus*, who succeeded him, because then *Joiakim* must have been forty six Years older. Besides, there is this farther Argument,

that *Artaxerxes Ocbus* could not be the Person, because in Scripture there is mention made of the thirty second Year of that *Artaxerxes*, who granted this Decree to *Nebemiah*, but *Artaxerxes Ocbus* reigned only twenty one Years in all. And if it were not *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, nor *Artaxerxes Ocbus*, it must then necessarily follow that it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and none other, that granted the Decree to *Nebemiah* in the 20th Year of his Reign. And thus far the first Part of the Argument being cleared, the second is, That the Computation of the seventy Weeks cannot be begun from this Decree, which will fully be manifested by the Calculation of the Years. For reckoning from the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to the Death of *Christ*, there will be no more than four hundred and ninety Years; and therefore if the four hundred and ninety Years of the seventy Weeks be computed from thence, they will overshoot the Death of *Christ* thirteen Years, which being the grand Event to be brought to pass at the Conclusion of these Weeks, it is certain they can never there have their beginning, from whence they cannot be brought to this Ending.

But several great and learned Men having a particular Fancy to begin the Computation of these Weeks from the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, notwithstanding this Objection, they have devised several Ways and Methods for the Removal of it, and the reconciling the Ending of these Weeks, as calculated from this Beginning, with the Time of the Events predicted.

The first Way, which hath been proposed for this Purpose, is to reckon the seventy Weeks, or the four hundred and ninety Years of this Prophecy, by Lunar Years; and this hath been of a very antient Date, for it hath *Africanus* for its Author, who flourished in the Beginning of the third Century; and he is followed

by *Theodoret*, *Beda*, *Zonaras*, *Rupertus*, and others; and the Generality of the *Romish* Doctors strike in with this Opinion; into which they are chiefly led by the vulgar *Latin* Translation, which they have decreed in their *Trentine* Council to be authentick. For instead of what we read in the Beginning of the Prophecy, *Seventy Weeks are determined upon thy People, &c.* this Translation renders it, *Seventy Weeks are abbreviated upon thy People*; from whence they argue, This Abbreviation of the Years must be either in their Number, or Quality. It cannot be in their Number, for the Text absolutely determines that to seventy Weeks of Years, that is four hundred and ninety Years, and therefore it must be in their Quality or Form, that is they must be Lunar Years, which are short Years, and not Solar Years, which are longer Years. But the *Hebrew* Word in the Text will not bear this Interpretation. For the true Meaning or Signification of it in that Place is, *are decided or determined*, as in our *English* Version; and in this Sense it is used in the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, and no where in any other. I confess the Word doth not occur any where else in the whole *Hebrew* Bible, or any other Word of that Root. But this is not sufficient to justify either the Meaning, which they would put upon the Word, or the Inference, which they would deduce from it: and if it could, the Difficulty would not be removed by it. For Lunar Years would carry us beyond the Mark, as well as Solar Years fall short of it. For whereas the four hundred and seventy seven Solar Years, which were from the 20th Year of *Ariaxerxes Longimanus* to the Death of *Christ*, fall thirteen Years short of the four hundred and ninety Years, at the End of which this Prophecy doth put it; the same four hundred and seventy seven Years, when converted into Lunar Years, making four hundred ninety one Years and two hundred forty-

five Days over, do carry us one Year and two hundred forty-six Days (which is a great Part of another Year) beyond the said four hundred ninety Years. And therefore this Way of Computation doth by no means adjust the Difference, but still leaves it wide of an Argument, although not so wide as it was before. Besides, when *Daniel* had this Prophecy revealed unto him by the Angel *Gabriel*, there was not any Form of a Year purely Lunar then any where in Use. The *Chaldee* Year at that Time was most certainly the *Nabonassarean* Year, consisting of three hundred sixty five Days and the *Egyptian* Year was the same, and so was also the *Persian*. The *Jews* indeed had their common Years purely Lunar, consisting of twelve Lunar Months, and so had the *Greeks*, only with this Difference, that whereas the *Jews* Lunar Months were strictly Lunar, as being observed by the Phasis, the *Greeks* mistaking a Lunar Month to consist exactly of thirty Days, in compounding of their Year of twelve of them, made it amount to three hundred sixty Days, which exceeded its true Astronomical Measure almost six Days. But besides the common Years, they had also intercalated Years intermixed with the common Years, which reduced all to the solar Form. For what was defective of it in the common Years was restored in the intercalated Years. The *Arabs* indeed from the Time of *Mahomet* have used a Year purely Lunar, and the *Turks* do the same in Imitation of them, and so all others of their Sect. But of the Antients we find none that followed this Form. All among them that had Lunar Years, had also intercalated Years to make them amends for their Defects; and therefore whatsoever any of their Years might be in their singular Numbers, they were always Solar in their collective Sums. And who can think then that in the collective Sum of seventy Weeks, or the four hundred and ninety

ninety Years of them, the Angel should intend a Computation, which was then no where in practice the whole World over. This Prophecy concerning principally the Jews, and being written to them, it is most likely that the Computation of the Time mentioned therein should be according to the Jewish Form and none other. And there is one Argument which I think undeniably proves it to be so. The Weeks of Years, by which the Time of this Prophecy is computed, are plainly and manifestly the same with the Sabbaths of Years mentioned in *Leviticus* xxv. 8. and therefore must be reckoned by the same sort of Years; but it's certain that those Sabbaths of Years were reckoned by Solar Years, and therefore these Weeks of Years must be so too. That these Sabbaths of Years were reckoned by Solar Years is manifest. For they all begun from the first of *Tisri*, which was pinn'd down by the Feast of Tabernacles (which was always celebrated in the middle of that Month) to a certain Season of the Year, (as hath been already observed,) and from that Season in one Year, to the same Season in another, can only be measured by the Course of the Sun. And all this put together sufficiently shews that Lunar Years are not the Years which this Prophecy is to be computed by.

2. Another Way taken for the reconciling of this Difference is, by beginning the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* nine Years sooner, than where it is above placed, and ending the said seventy Weeks three Years and a half later, that is by putting the Death of *Christ* into the Middle of the last Week, and continuing the Remainder of that Week beyond it. For according to this Account the first Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* will fall in the Year of the *Julian* Period 4241, and his 20th Year in the Year of the *Julian* Period 4260, from which numbering sixty nine Weeks and an half, it will carry down

the Computation to the Year of the *Julian* Period 4746. which was the very Year in which *Christ* suffered. And thus far *Petavius* and Archbishop *Usher* agree as to the Time both of the Beginning and Ending of the Prophecy; but they differ in one Circumstance about the Beginning, that is whether this 20th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, from whence they both reckon this Beginning, and which they both put in the same Year of the *Julian* Period, where his 20th Year from the Death of *Xerxes* his Father, or his 20th Year from the Time, when it's supposed he was admitted to reign in Copartnership with him nine Years before.

For *Petavius* supposeth, that *Xerxes* nine Years before his Death admitted his Son *Artaxerxes* to reign in Copartnership with him, and that from this Admission is to be computed the 20th Year of his Reign, in which he issued out the Decree, from whence the first Year of this Prophecy did commence. And he builds this Supposition chiefly upon the Authority of *Thucydides*, who tells us, that *Themistocles*, in his Flight into *Persia*, addressed himself to *Artaxerxes* then newly reigning. But *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that *Themistocles* fled into *Persia* in the second Year of the 77th Olympiad, several Years before the Death of *Xerxes*; and therefore to reconcile these two Authors *Petavius* infers, that *Artaxerxes* must have been admitted to reign with his Father several Years before his Death, and these Years he determines to nine, because this will best serve his Purpose. But there are many Inconsistencies in this Opinion, sufficient to shew, that it can afford no sure Foundation for the Solution of any Part of this Prophecy upon it.

And therefore Archbishop *Usher* takes the other Way, and although he placeth the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in the same Year that *Petavius* doth, in order to the Solution of this Prophecy,

yet

yet he doth not compute it any otherwise than from the Death of *Xerxes* his Father; so that he anticipates the true 20th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in the same Manner that *Petavius* doth, though not by joining him in Copartnership with his Father, but by putting him in due Succession after him nine Years sooner than either *Ptolemy* or any other Author doth; and the same Testimony of *Thucydides*, which is above-mentioned, is the Ground, which he goes upon for it. But although the Authority of *Thucydides* should be allowed to be uncontestable, yet this will not infer, that the Beginning of the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* must therefore be put nine Years higher than all others have put it, since the Matter may be as well adjusted by bringing the Flight of *Themistocles* nine Years lower; and this Way Mr. *Dodwell* hath followed, and it is much the better of the two. For this only lays aside the Authority of *Diodorus Siculus*, who fixeth the Flight of *Themistocles* to the Year above-mentioned; whereas the other runs counter to that of all others, that have wrote of the Matter which it relates to. But that which looks hardest in this Opinion, is for the sake of any Historical Writer to lay aside the Authority of *Ptolemy's* Canon, which is built upon Astronomical Demonstrations. Altho' *Thucydides* be a grave Author, and of uncontestable Authority in those Matters of the *Peloponnesian* War, which he writes of (for they were done in his Time, and he was near at Hand to be well informed of them, and he himself was an accurate Observer) yet it's possible he might be mistaken in what he tells us of the *Persian* Affairs, which were done at a Distance (as this was) and before his Time. For he was just born when this Flight of *Themistocles* happened. But *Ptolemy's* Canon being fixed by the Eclipses, the Truth of it may at any Time be demonstrated by

Astronomical Calculations; and no one hath ever calculated those Eclipses, but hath found them fall right in the Times where placed; and therefore this being the surest Guide, which we have in the Chronology, and it being also verify'd by its Agreement every where with the Holy Scriptures, it is not for the Authority of any other human Writing whatsoever to be receded from.

And as these two great Men have been thus far out in placing the Beginning of these seventy Weeks, so have they been no less mistaken in fixing the End of them. For to make up the thirteen Years, which this reckoning fell short of, they have not only anticipated the Beginning of these Weeks nine Years, but have also cut them short three Years and an half in the Ending, by placing the Death of *Christ* in the Middle of the last Week, and there concluding this Part of the Prophecy three Years and an half before these seventy Weeks are fully completed, which hath this great Objection against it, that it drops the latter half Part of the last Week as void, and of no Significancy. But no Word of God is given in vain; every Part of it hath its Significancy, and every Word of Prophecy therein contained must have its Completion. For what our Saviour saith of the Law, is also true of the Prophets, and as not one Jot or Tittle of the former was to pass away without being fulfilled, so neither can one Jot or Tittle of the latter ever pass away without being accomplished. And therefore every Part, as well as the first Half Part, must have its Significancy, and also its Completion; and accordingly every Part of it had, as well as all the rest, as shall hereafter be shewn.

And thus far having shewn, that the Commandment or Decree mentioned in the Prophecy, for the restoring and rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, cannot be understood either of the Decree of *Cyrus*, or

of that of *Darius*, or of that granted to *Nebemiab* in the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes*, it remains, that it must then be understood of that granted to *Ezra* by the same *Artaxerxes*, in the seventh Year of his Reign, and of none other. For besides the three Commandments or Decrees above-mentioned, there was no other Commandment or Decree ever granted by any of the Kings of *Persia*, for the Restoration of the *Jews* in *Judah* and *Jerusalem* after the *Babylonish* Captivity, but this only, that was granted to *Ezra*. And therefore, if it cannot be understood of any of the other three, it must then necessarily be this fourth, and none other. And from thence to the Death of *Christ*, are exactly four hundred and ninety Years to a Month. For in the Month *Nisan*, was the Decree granted to *Ezra*, and * in the Middle of the same Month *Nisan* *Christ* suffered, just four hundred and ninety Years after.

VII. And thus much being said for the fixing of the Beginning and Ending of these seventy Weeks, it remains that for the fuller Explication of all other Particulars, that are in this Prophecy contained, I farther observe that the whole of it, as delivered to us in the 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th Verses of the ixth Chapter of *Daniel*, contains three Branches or Parts. The first foretells Events to be accomplished within seventy Weeks in general, and to be fully compleated and brought to pass at the End of them; the second, Events to be accomplished precisely at the End of three particular Periods, into which the said general Number of seventy Weeks is divided; and the third, Events to be brought to pass after the Expiration of the said seventy Weeks in the Times immediately following thereupon.

The first Branch or Part of this Pro-

phesy is that which is contained in the 24th Verse, and foretells the six Events above-mentioned, which were to be accomplished within the said seventy Weeks in general, and to be fully compleated and brought to pass at the End of them.

The second Branch or Part of this Prophecy, is that which is contained in the 25th Verse, and in the former Part of the 26th Verse, and in the former Part of the 27th Verse. This divides the general Number of seventy Weeks into three particular Periods, and assigns particular Events to be precisely accomplished at the End of each of them. These three particular Periods are seven Weeks, sixty two Weeks, and one Week, that is forty nine Years, four hundred thirty four Years, and seven Years; and the particular Events to be accomplished at the End of each of them are, 1st; The restoring and building of the Street and Ditch of *Jerusalem* in troublous Times; 2d, The coming of the Messiah, and 3d, His confirming of the Covenant of the Gospel with many of the *Jews* for one Week, his causing Sacrifice and Oblation to cease in the half of that Week, and his being cut off at the End thereof. And therefore applying these particular Events to their proper Periods, the Prophecy will be clearly thus: That numbring the said seventy Weeks from the going forth of the Commandment or Decree to restore and build *Jerusalem*, (that is to restore and establish the Church and State of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*) there should be first seven Weeks of that Number, that is forty nine Years, and then the said Church and State (here figuratively expressed by the Streets of the City) should be thoroughly reformed and restored, and all such † good Constitutions and Establishments (here figuratively expressed by the

* For *Christ* was crucify'd in the Beginning of the Jewish Passover, and that always begun in the Middle of the Month *Nisan*.

† It is a celebrated Saying among the *Jews*, and of ancient Date among them (For it is in *Pirke Aboth*,

the Ditch) should be made and settled, as should be necessary for the fortifying and preserving of the same, and that all this should be done in troublous Times, and amidst great Opposition from Enemies. That after sixty and two Weeks from the End of the said seven Weeks, that is four hundred and thirty four Years, the Messiah should come. And that after this having for one Week, the last of the said seventy Weeks, (that is for the Space of seven Years) confirmed the Covenant of the Gospel with many of the *Jews*, he should in the half Part of that Week (that is in the latter half Part of it) cause the Sacrifices and Oblations of the Temple to cease, and in the Conclusion of the whole, that is in the precise ending of the said seventy Weeks, be cut off and die. And accordingly all this was exactly fulfilled and brought to pass.

1. As to the Period of seven Weeks, it must be acknowledged, that the particular Event of restoring and rebuilding of *Jerusalem* with its Streets and Ditch in troublous Times, (by which I understand the restoring and settling of the Church and State of the *Jews*) is not apply'd distinctly thereto in the Prophecy. For in the End of the 25th Verse both the two first Periods being mentioned together, *i. e.* that of the seven Weeks, and that of the sixty two Weeks, the Event of restoring and building of *Jerusalem* with its Streets and Ditch is subjoined to both of them without any distinct Application to either; but the Words immediately following in the next Verse, appropriating the Time of the Messiah to the Period of sixty two Weeks, this necessarily leaves the other, that is the restoring and building of *Jerusalem* with its Streets and Ditch, to be appropriated to

to the Period of seven Weeks. And accordingly within the Compass of the said Period of seven Weeks, or forty nine Years, this Event was accomplished, in the full restoring and establishing of the Church and State of the *Jews* in *Judab* and *Jerusalem* after the *Babylonish* Captivity. For this was begun by *Ezra*, by Virtue of that Commandment or Decree, which was granted to him for it in the seventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, King of *Persia*, and afterwards carried on by *Nebemiah*, by virtue of another Decree granted to him for this Purpose by the same *Artaxerxes* in the 20th Year of his Reign. And from the Beginning of this Restoration of the Church and State of the *Jews* by *Ezra*, to the Ending and Perfecting of it by *Nebemiah* in that last Act of his Reformation, which is spoken of in the xiiiith of *Nebemiah*, (that is from the 23d Verse to the End of the Chapter,) were forty nine Years. For during all that time this Work was carrying on, and the great Opposition, which these good Men met with herein, not only from the *Samaritans*, and other Enemies abroad, but also from false Brethren and wicked Men at Home, who hated all Reformation, was the true Cause that it was so long a doing; and that there were such Oppositions in the doing of it, this sufficiently verieth the Prophecy in its Prediction, that it was to be done in troublous Times. And it is observable, that at the same Juncture of Time, where the Restoration of the *Jewish* Church and State ended, there the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament do end also. For this last Reformation of *Nebemiah*, which I have mentioned, and where I place the full Completion of the said Restoration, is the

Aboth, which is one of their Tracts in their *Mishna*) That the Constitution of their Elders are an Hedge to the Law, that is, to fence, preserve, and keep it from being broken in upon, and violated. But a Ditch is as much made Use of for a Fence, as is an Hedge; and therefore the Constitutions which fence the Law from being violated, may be figuratively expressed by one, as well as by the other.

last Act which is recorded therein; and therefore this ending of the Period is of sufficient Remark for this Reason, as well as the other, to be taken notice of in the Prophecy, which can scarce be said of any other, that is assign'd for it. And

2dly, From these seven Weeks, or 49 Years, reckoning 62 Weeks, or 434 Years more (which is the Term of the 2d Period) this will lead us down to the coming of *Christ* the Messiah, who is here in the Prophecy predicted to come at the End of the said sixty two Weeks. For the Words of the Prophecy are, *From the going forth of the Commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven Weeks and threescore and two Weeks*; that is, there shall be seven Weeks for the completing and finishing of the Work, for which that Commandment or Decree was granted, and from thence sixty two Weeks more to the coming of *Christ* the Messiah here intended, that is to the Time of his first Appearance on the Ministry of the Gospel. For his coming here predicted must be interpreted either of his coming at his Birth, or of his coming on his Ministry. No one saith it of the former, neither will the Term of Years predicted of it ever meet it there. And therefore it must be understood of the latter, that is his coming and first appearing in his Ministry; and here the Years predicted in the Prophecy will exactly find it. For the seventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, from whence these Weeks do begin, being coincident with the Year of the *Julian* Period 4256, if we reckon from thence seven Weeks and sixty two Weeks, that is sixty nine Weeks, or four hundred eighty three Years, this will lead us down to the Year of the *Julian* Period 4739, which was the very Year in which the Ministry of the Gospel first began. This *Christ* executed at first, and therein made his Appearance as the Messiah, by his

No. XXXIII.

Fore-runner *John the Baptist*, for the space of three Years and an Half, and after that by himself in his own Person for three Years and an Half more. And these two being put together make up the last Week of this Prophecy, which begun exactly at the ending of the said sixty two Weeks. And therefore here this Prophecy concerning the coming of the Messiah had its Completion. *St. Luke* tells us, chap. 3. 1, 2. *The Word of God first came to John in the fifteenth Year of Tiberius Cæsar, Emperor of Rome.* And from the coming of that Word to *John*, and his preaching of it to the *Jews*, was the Beginning of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, and the first Appearance of his Kingdom here on Earth. And this *Christ* himself tells us: For his Words are, *The Law and the Prophets were until John; since that the Kingdom of God is preached,* Luke 16. 16. That is, the *Jewish* Economy under the Law and the Prophets lasted until the coming of *John*, and his preaching of the Baptism of Repentance for the Remission of Sins. But from the time of his coming on this Ministry, which was the Ministry of the Gospel, the Kingdom of the Messiah began. For as in the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, by the Kingdom of Heaven, so here by the Kingdom of God, is meant the Kingdom of the Messiah, the Church of *Christ*, which he has here established among us. And therefore this Kingdom thus beginning with the Preaching of *John*, there must we necessarily place the first coming of that King, *Christ our Lord*, who founded this his Kingdom here among us. And this was, as hath been said, in the 15th Year of the Reign of *Tiberius Cæsar*.

3dly, From this coming of our Saviour began the third Period of these seventy Weeks, that is the one Week which is spoken of in the 27th Verse, the Events whereof as there predicted are, that for that Week the Messiah should confirm the

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Covenant

Covenant with many, and in the Half Part thereof (for thus it ought to be rendered, where in our *English Translation* we read *the Midst*) *should cause the Sacrifice and the Oblation to cease*: And so accordingly it came to pass. For during these seven Years of his Evangelical Ministry he did first by his Fore-runner, the Messenger, whom he had sent before him, and then by himself in his Personal Ministry confirm the Covenant of the Gospel with many of the *Jews*, who were converted, and admitted thereto; and then in the half part of the said Week, that is in the last Part thereof, when he appeared in his own Person in the same Ministry on which *John* was sent before him, he caused the Sacrifices and Oblations of the Temple to cease, that is first by his preaching of the Gospel, which was to supercede them, and then lastly by that great Sacrifice of himself, which he once offered for all in his Death upon the Cross at the End of this Week, whereby they were all absolutely and finally extinguished for ever. For all other Sacrifices and Oblations till then being only Antetypes and figurative Representations of this great Sacrifice after to be offered, and of no Virtue or Efficacy but as they referred to it, when this was offered, all others vanished of Course, as the Representative doth at the Appearance of the Principal, or the Type, or Figure at the Presence of the Thing that is typified or expressed by it; and the Virtue and Propitiation of this one Sacrifice hath sufficed for all ever since.

The whole therefore of this second Part or Branch of the Prophecy is thus: The seventy Weeks being divided into three Periods, that is into seven Weeks, sixty two Weeks, and one Week, the first reacheth from the Time of the going forth of the Commandment to *Ezra* for the restoring of the Church and State of the *Jews* in the seventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to the finishing of

that Work by *Nebemiah* forty nine Years after; the second from the End of that Period to the coming of the Messiah four hundred thirty four Years after; and the last from that his coming to his cutting off by his Death on the Cross, which was one Week, or seven Years after. And all these put together fully make up the seventy Weeks, or the four hundred ninety Years of this Prophecy, and according to this Computation every Particular of it hath been truly verify'd in a Completion exactly agreeable thereto; and the whole Number of Years pointed out thereby exactly answered to a Month. For as the going out of the Commandment to *Ezra*, from whence they began, was in the Month of *Nisan*, so the Crucifixion of *Christ* was also in the same Month just four hundred and ninety Years after.

VIII. After what is predicted of these three Periods follows the third Branch, or Part of the Prophecy, which is contained in the latter End of the 26th, and in the latter End of the 27th Verse, and foretells Events to be brought to pass after the Expiration of the said seventy Weeks in the Times immediately following thereupon, that is, *the Destruction of the City and Sanctuary by the People of the Prince, that was to come*, who with their Armies and desolating Abominations should invade *Judea* as with a Flood, and by a terrible and consuming War, bring utter Ruin and Desolation upon it, and all the People of the *Jews* that should dwell therein, and consummate the same upon them in an absolute Destruction. All which accordingly came to pass, and did in a very signal Manner verify the Prophecy in a full Completion of every Particular thereof. For on the End of these seventy Weeks, which were determined upon that People, and their Holy City, they having slain the Lord of Life, they were thereon cast off by God from being

his peculiar People, and the Gentiles were called in their Stead, so that thenceforth they were no more his People, nor their City *Jerusalem* any longer holy unto him, but both were given up and destined to utter Ruin and Destruction. For immediately on their having executed the Sentence of Death upon *Christ* our Lord, this Sentence of Condemnation passed upon them, and from that Time all second Causes operated towards the Hastening the Execution of it, till at length the *Roman Armies*, the People that were to come, under the Command of *Titus* their Prince, invaded them as with a Torrent, and begirt *Jerusalem* with their Ensigns, the Abomination of Desolation, which our Saviour from this Prophecy forewarns his Disciples of. For they were idolatrous Images, abominated by the *Jews*, under which those People marched against them, invaded their Land, besieged their Holy City, and by a most calamitous War brought utter Desolation upon both; which according to the Relations of *Josephus* (who was an Historian of their own Nation, and present in all the Actions of the War) they executed in the most terrible and tragical Manner of Destruction, that was ever brought upon any Nation, and consummated it to such a Degree upon them, that they have never been able to recover themselves ever since, even to this Day, tho' now above 1660 Years have passed, since these Judgments were by the just Hand of God thus executed upon them.

IX. But for the full clearing of all that hath hitherto been said in the Explanation of this Prophecy, there still remains one great Objection to be answered. For it is urged, that the *Artaxerxes* who granted the Commission to *Ezra* in the 7th Year of his Reign, from whence we begin the Computation of the seventy Weeks, was the same *Artaxerxes*, who in the twentieth Year of his Reign grant-

ed another Commission to *Nebemiah*. For the Scriptures making *Ezra* and *Nebemiah* contemporary, render this beyond Dispute. But that this *Artaxerxes* should be *Longimanus*, the Age, which *Nebemiah* and *Samballat* must then have lived to, makes it, they say, wholly improbable. For *Nebemiah* in the Book of Holy Scripture called by his Name (which all acknowledge to have been written by him) speaking of the Reign of *Darius Codomannus*, King of *Persia*, and of the Days of *Jaddua*, the High-Priest of the *Jews*, as of Times past, he must have been alive after the Death of both of them; but *Jaddua* not dying till two Years after the Death of *Alexander the Great*, in the Year of the *Julian Period* 4392, from the twentieth Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to that Time, had passed 123 Years, to which if we add thirty Years more, for the Age of *Nebemiah*, when he came to be Governor of *Judea* (which is the least, that can be allowed to qualify him for such a Trust) he must have been at the least 153 Years old, when he wrote that Book, if the *Artaxerxes*, from whom he had his Commission, were *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. And though we suppose the writing of this Book to have been while *Darius Codomannus* and *Jaddua* were both alive, and put it up as high as we can, that is, into the first Year of the Reign of that *Darius*, yet this will not much mend the Matter. For on this Supposition *Nebemiah* must have been an hundred and forty Years old, when he wrote that Book, which is still a very improbable Age in those Times, and consequently infers the Supposal, on which it is built (*i. e.* that it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, from whom he had his Commission) to be very improbable also. And the Age of *Samballat* upon the same Supposal, will not only be as improbable, but also much more so. For when *Nebemiah* came into *Judea*, in the 20th Year of

Artaxerxes, he found him Governor of *Samaria* under the King of *Persia*, and he was alive, as *Josephus* tells us, till the besieging of *Gaza* by *Alexander the Great*, in the 4th Year of *Darius Codomannus* at which time he died. And therefore if that *Artaxerxes* were *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Sanballat* at the Time of that Siege could not be less than 148 Years old. For from the 20th of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to the 4th of *Darius Codomannus*, according to *Ptolemy's Canon*, were 113 Years; and when *Nebemiah* came to *Jerusalem*, *Sanballat* having been for some Time, perchance for several Years, fixed in the Government of *Samaria*, he cannot be well supposed to have been less than thirty five Years old at that Time; and putting both these Numbers together they make 148 Years. And both these Ages, that is, that of *Nebemiah*, and this of *Sanballat*, it must be acknowledged, seem very improbable, and most especially that of the latter. For as to *Nebemiah*, an extraordinary Blessing upon that good Man may be alledged for such an extraordinary Age in him; but this cannot be said of the other.

X. It hath been said by some 1st, as to *Nebemiah*, that in that Passage of his Book, where the Reign of *Darius the Persian*, and the Days of *Jaddua* the High-Priest of the *Jews* are mentioned, that Reign of *Darius* was the Reign of *Darius Notbus*, and those Days of *Jaddua* were his Days from his Birth, which might very well have happened in the Reign of the said *Darius Notbus*. And 2dly, as to *Sanballat*, that there were two of that Name, the first of which was the *Sanballat* spoken of by *Nebemiah*, and the second the *Sanballat* spoken of by *Josephus*. But neither of these Answers can possibly hold good. For

1st, It's manifest, that the Text of *Nebemiah*, where the *Levites* are spoken of, that were in the Days of *Eliashib*, *Joi-*

ada, *Johanan* and *Jaddua*, cannot be understood to mean any other Days, than those wherein they were High Priests. For the High-Priest among the *Jews* was the Head of the Priests and *Levites*, and after the Captivity, when there was no King in *Judah*, he had the absolute Supremacy over them in all Affairs relating to their Office. And therefore it was then as proper for them to reckon all such Affairs by the Times of their High-Priest, as it is now with us to reckon all Actions in the State by the Times of our Kings; and consequently when any thing is said to have been done in such an High Priest's-Time, it is altogether as improper to understand it of any other Time than that of his High-priesthood, as it would be when any thing is said to have been in such a King's time, to understand it of any other time than that of his Reign. And therefore to refer what is here said of the Days of *Jaddua* as far back as to his Days from his Birth is a very forced Sense, which the Text cannot naturally bear. When such a thing is said to have been in the Time of King *Henry VIII.* will any one understand it of the Time before his Reign, or think it any other than an Absurdity so to construe it? And is it not altogether as absurd to understand what is here said of the *Levites* to have been in the Days of *Jaddua*, of any other Days than of those wherein he was High-Priest?

XI. And thus far I have shewn, that neither Part of the Objection above-mentioned is removed by either of these Answers. But to come to the Truth of the Matter, I answer,

1st, As to the Age of *Nebemiah*, that the Text from whence this Objection is made doth not infer it. For notwithstanding what is said therein, *Nebemiah* might have been dead, as no doubt he was, a great Number of Years before it was written. For all that is contained in the said 12th Chapter of *Nebemiah* from the Beginning

ginning of it to the 27th Verse of the same was never written by *Nebemiah*, but is an Interpolation there inserted long after his Death, by those who received this Book into the Canon Scripture. For as *Ezra*, as far as he went in that Collection, which he made of the Holy Scriptures, inserted in several Places such Interpolations as he thought necessary for the clearer understanding them, so they who laboured after him in the perfecting of the said Collection, did the same in the Books which they afterwards added to it, till they had completed the whole about the Time of *Simon the Just*. For he being the last of those whose Labours were employ-

ed in the settling of the Canon of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and this Book being the last that was received into it, as being the last that was written, it's justly reckoned to have been in his Time, that it was first thus received into the Number of the sacred Books, and then this Interpolation was added by him, and those who were assisting to him in this Work. And that this is an Interpolation, the Interruption which is made thereby in the Sense and Connection of that Part of the Book, doth sufficiently shew, and most learned Men that have so considered this Matter are now convinced that is so.

C H A P. III.

I. *The Calling of Andrew and another of John's Disciples.* II. *Of Simon Peter.* III. *Of Philip.* IV. *Our Lord's Conversation with Nathaniel.* V. *He is invited to a Marriage at Cana.* VI. *He changes Water into Wine.* VII. *Goes to Capernaum, and resides there a few Days.*

I. **T**HE two Disciples that were with *John* when he bore his last Testimony concerning *Jesus*, having taken notice of the repeated Tokens of Respect and Veneration shewn by their Master to this unknown Person, were resolved if possible to get acquainted with him, and to that End followed him at a Distance as he passed along. Perhaps they might be expressly directed by the *Baptist*, to apply themselves to this new Master, who was shortly to succeed him in the Office of a public Minister, and infinitely to surpass him in the Execution thereof, *Jesus* looking back upon them, demanded, in a courteous and friendly Manner, the Reason of their thus following him. To which they replied, in the most respectful Language they were Masters of, that they were desirous of learning the Place of his Habitation, that they might know where to wait upon him at a more convenient Opportunity; it being then within two Hours of Sun-set, *Jesus* told them they might satisfy themselves if they

would go along with him, and thereupon forthwith admitted them into his Conversation, and took them with him to his Lodgings, where they continued the remaining part of the Afternoon, and probably all the following Night.

II. One of these two Disciples was *Andrew*, the Brother of *Simon*, who was afterwards called *Peter*: And the other is thought to have been *John* the Evangelist, whose Custom it is not to name himself when he speaks of any Matters wherein he was concerned. The heavenly Discourses of *Jesus* had such an Effect upon their Minds, that they were now fully convinced of the Truth of what the *Baptist* had said concerning him: Whereupon *Andrew*, either that Evening or early next Morning, took care to find out his Brother *Simon*, that he might reveal to him first the glorious Discovery they had made. *We have met*, says he, *and conversed with the Messiah*, or, as his Name signifies in Greek, *the Christ*; that is, *The Anointed of God, whom we have*

so long expected as the Redeemer of Israel. Simon being ravished at the News, immediately desired to be brought where Jesus was; which was accordingly done: And when Jesus beheld him, he said, *Thy Name at present is Simon, the Son of Jona; but hereafter thou shalt be called Cephas, or Peter, which signifies a Rock, or Stone.* By which Change of Name Jesus hinted to him the Change that should shortly be made in his State of Life; and perhaps also he might thereby give him to understand, that by his preaching he should be instrumental in laying the Foundation of the Church.

III. The next Day after these things were transacted, Jesus, determining to go into Galilee, as he passed along, met with Philip, a Native of Bethsaida, and a Fellow-Citizen of Andrew and Peter: And finding by the good Disposition of his Heart that he was worthy to be a Disciple, immediately said unto him, *Follow me.* Philip having promised Obedience, and being overjoy'd at the Honour he had received, not long after met with Nathaniel, an intimate Friend of his, and told him, that he and some of his Fellow-Citizens had seen the wish'd for Messiah, concerning whom there was so much recorded by Moses and the other Prophets, and that Jesus of Nazareth, commonly called the Son of Joseph by those who were ignorant of his Divine Generation, was the very Person, a Man in Appearance like one of the People. But Nathaniel argued against this from a known Observation among the Jews, that Nazareth being in Galilee, and Galilee, as they conceived, looked upon by God as a mean and despicable Place, out of which never any Prophet arose, it was therefore incredible, that any one born there should be the Messiah. *Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?* says he, *John 1. 47.* To which fallacious Objection Philip returned no other Answer than this, that he

only desired him to come and see the Person of whom he spoke, and he would then leave him to judge for himself.

IV. Nathaniel instantly complied with Philip's Request, and making his approach to Jesus, as soon as he came within Hearing, Jesus broke out into this Commendation of him: *Behold a Man who is truly an Israelite, a Man of that Simplicity and Integrity towards Men, which is highly valued by God, and who also worships God in Sincerity and Truth!* Nathaniel was amazed at hearing these extraordinary Praises of himself from one whom he had never before seen, and who he did not imagine could have any Knowledge of him, and therefore asked our Lord why he had so good an Opinion of a Stranger; or, if he was not a Stranger, by what means he became acquainted with him, since for his own part he could not remember any Interview that had ever been between them. Jesus only replied, *that he saw him under a Fig-Tree, before he was called by Philip:* Which Words contained in them a Secret, it was impossible for any but a Divine Person to know; for Nathaniel thereby perceiving that Jesus was indeed the Messiah, as Philip had told him, tho' he came prejudiced against such an Opinion, and accordingly he the next Moment acknowledged him in that Character. *Rabbi,* says he, *thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel.* To which Jesus replied, *Believest thou in me because I said I saw thee under the Fig-tree? Thou shalt see much greater and more wonderful things: For the heavenly Angels, God's own Ministers, shall descend from Heaven and return thither, employ'd as Messengers between the Father and me, tho' I now appear to thee as a mere Man, and differ not from others in my outward Form.*

V. In this Journey of our Lord into Galilee, on the third Day after his calling of Philip and Nathaniel, he arrived at the Town

Town of *Cana*, where there was a Wedding-Feast, to which himself, and his Mother *Mary*, and some of his Disciples, were invited. Here the Wine happening to fall short sooner than was expected, the blessed Virgin took notice of it, and being troubled for the Disgrace that would thereby come upon her Friends, address'd herself to her Son, and desired him to supply the present Deficiency; she having seen him perform Miracles on other Occasions as great as that of turning Water into Wine, tho' no such Miracles are recorded, and tho' this be called by the Evangelist his *Beginning of Miracles*. But *Jesus* told her, that *She had no need to put him in Mind of whatever was fitting for him to perform: Besides, that the Time was not yet come in which he was to work Miracles in publick; but that, notwithstanding, he was ready to comply with her Request in this particular*. Upon this Answer, the blessed Virgin called aside the Servants, (who being conscious that the Wine was spent, must all of necessity be Witnesses of the Miracle which she expected) and bid them go to *Jesus*, and do whatsoever he commanded them.

VI. Now there stood in the House where this Marriage was celebrated, six Water-Pots, or Cisterns of Stone, which were wont to be filled with Water, in order to draw forth for every Man's Use, according to the Manner of the *Jews*, who constantly wash before Meals, and are subject to a great Number of daily Purifications. Each of these Vessels contained about two or three Firkins, which, upon a Mean, made the Content of them all amount to fifteen Firkins, *English Measure*. *Jesus* ordered these Pots to be filled with Water, which the Servants immediately executed, filling them up to the Brim. This being done, he commanded them to draw out some

of the Liquor, and carry it to the * Master of the Feast; who tasting the Liquor they had brought him, and not knowing from whence they had it, (for the Servants did not tell him that they drew it out of the Water-Pots) went directly to the Bridegroom, and told him, that 'twas the usual Custom to present the Guests with the strongest and richest Wine at the beginning, and to give them the worst when by long drinking they had made themselves unable to distinguish; *but, says he, you, on the contrary, have preposterously kept the best Wine till the latter end of the Feast, to give it us when nobody expects so good Entertainment*.

VII. The Bridegroom knew as little of the Matter as the Master of the Feast, and doubtless was as much surprized when he tasted the Water that was changed into Wine: But both their Admirations was heightened, when, upon the Question's being put, the Servants related what they had done, and at whose Command. Then the Divine Power of *Jesus* was adored and magnified by all present; for from this Miracle they concluded he was a Prophet sent from God, and thereupon believed on him, not as on a common Teacher, but a Divine Person. This Miracle at *Cana* in *Galilee*, was the first of those Miracles which he performed before any considerable Number of Witnesses, and by means of which he got the publick Reputation of being a Prophet. After this he departed from *Cana*, together with his Mother, his Relations, and his Disciples, to *Capernaum*, a Town situated near the Lake of *Gennesareth*, which was afterwards his usual Place of Residence. But at present they continued there only a few Days (at most not above a Fortnight or three Weeks) before *Jesus* thought proper to go up to *Jerusalem*, to the great Feast of the Passover,

* An Officer chosen from among the Priests, to preside at Festivals, and restrain all Intemperance. which

which was at hand when the Miracle above related was performed. What happened to him during his Stay at the holy City, and what Proofs he there gave of his Divinity, will be the Subject of the next Chapter.

DISSERTATION.

Of the Miracles of our Blessed Lord in general, and a particular Defence of his first Miracle at Cana in Galilee.

I. *Miracles defined. False Miracles.* II. *Miracles to be examined. True ones; What they prove.* III. *The Miracles of Jesus Christ testify his Authority.* IV. *Not to be understood in an allegorical Sense.* V. *Origen understood them literally.* VI. *Yet, as well as some others, gave too much into Allegory.* VII. *The Absurdities that attend an Explanation of the Miracles merely allegorical.* VIII. *Miracles of Jesus Christ easily distinguished from the pretended ones of Impostors.* IX. *The ancient Apologists understood them literally.* X. *Mystical Way of interpreting Scripture, whence derived, &c.* XI. *The Miracle at Cana defended. The Rabbi's Objections answered; To our Lord's being present at a Wedding-Feast.* XII. *To his making so large a Quantity of Wine.* XIII. *To the Answer he gave his Mother.* XIV. *Defence of the Virgin Mary.* XV. *Chrysostom's Account of the Feast at Cana.* XVI. *The Rabbi's last Objection.* XVII, XVIII. *Allegories of the Fathers, &c. on this Marriage, and the Marriages of the Patriarchs, considered.*

I. **B**EING now come to the Miracles of our blessed Lord, which he wrought for the Confirmation of his Messiahship, 'tis necessary before we pro-

ceed, to consider the Nature of a Miracle in general, and what Authority is sufficient to convince us that a Miracle is true. This will be found not only a necessary Preface to a particular Vindication of those Miracles of our Lord, which have been separately objected to, but also a general Guide in our forming a Judgment of all the rest, and in our distinguishing those wrought by him, and his Disciples, from the Tricks and Illusions of Pretenders and Impostors, who have endeavoured to imitate those mighty Works.

The Words Miracle, Sign, and Wonder, are in Scripture often synonymous, and signify some Action, Event, or Effect, which is superior to the general and known Laws of Nature. And, according to this Definition, the Name is applied, not only to the true Miracles wrought by Saints, by Prophets sent from God, but also to the false Miracles of Impostors, to Wonders wrought by wicked Men, by false Prophets, or by Devils. Moses, for Example, speaks of the Miracles of Pharaoh's Magicians, in the same manner that he speaks of those which he wrought himself, in the Name and by the Power of God. And our Saviour foretells in the Gospels, that false Christs and false Prophets should arise, and perform Wonders, capable of deceiving, if possible, even the Elect themselves. And St. John in the Revelations, speaks of a Beast that came out of the Earth, which performed such Prodigies, as even to make Fire come down from Heaven upon the Earth, in the Presence of many Men, and which seduced a great Number of Persons, because of the Miracles that God permitted to be wrought in their Presence. And in the same Book he speaks of the Spirits of Devils, working Miracles, which go forth unto the Kings of the Earth, and of the whole World, to gather them to Battle; and also

also of a false Prophet, who wrought Miracles to seduce those who had received the Mark of the Beast. Therefore Miracles and Prodigies, much less what is sometimes received for such, are not always sure Signs of the Sanctity of those who perform them, nor are they Proofs of the Truth of the Doctrine they deliver, or certain Testimonies of their Divine Mission.

II. *Jesus Christ* not only allows us, but even commands us, to examine Miracles, and those who perform them. *Then if any Man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there, believe it not: For there shall arise false Christs, and false Prophets, and shall shew great Signs and Wonders, in so much that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very Elect.* And *Moses* says, *Deut. xiii. 1, 2, 3. If there arise among you a Prophet, or a Dreamer of Dreams, and giveth thee a Sign and a Wonder, and the Sign or the Wonder cometh to pass, whereof he spake unto thee saying, Let us go after other Gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the Words of that Prophet, or that Dreamer of Dreams; for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your Heart, and with all your Soul.* It may therefore be affirmed, that the Proof of Miracles is not always certain, but sometimes equivocal. How then shall we distinguish the true from the false; To the Miracles of any one who sets up for a Person sent from God, must be added Purity of Doctrine, Innocence of Life, a firm Understanding, and a Concurrence with those whose Life, Mission, and Doctrine, have been already approved. His Miracles must be strictly examined, to see if they are true ones, and not juggling Tricks, or magical Operations; also, whether they lead us to God, to Peace, to Righteousness, and to Salva-

tion. They must appeal to our Senses in the most direct Manner, and leave us no just Room to suspect that we are imposed upon. If all these Marks and Characters are to be found in a Teacher, and in the Miracles he works, we may without Danger allow such an one to be a Messenger sent from God.

And since this is the Case with respect to *Jesus Christ*, and his Miracles, (which cannot be said of any Pretender) the Advice of a Right Reverend + Prelate is excellent, when among the several Rules which he gives his People, to preserve them from the Infection of Infidelity, he expresses himself thus: Let your chief Regard and Attention be to the Testimony of Miracles, those mighty Works which were wrought by *Christ* and his Apostles. For this is in its Nature a most sure, plain, and easy Proof, which the meanest Capacities are capable of apprehending and entering into; and which therefore was evidently intended to be the principal Means of convincing all Mankind of the Truth of Christianity. To deny that our Saviour wrought many and great Miracles, on all Occasions, during the whole Course of his Ministry, before Multitudes of People, in the Presence of Enemies as well as Friends, with a bare Word, and with real and permanent Effects, is to deny the Evidence of Sense, and to destroy at once the Truth of all History whatsoever; and in this Particular it is to deny that which the bitterest Enemies of Christianity of old had not the Hardiness to deny. To say (as the *Jews* did) that those Miracles were wrought by the Assistance of evil Spirits, is to fall into the Absurdities with which our Saviour justly charges them, viz. *That Satan casts out Satan*: That a Person whose Life was most holy, and his Doctrine divine, pure, and heavenly, was all the while carrying on the Work of the

Devil; and that a Preacher of Righteousness, Justice, Mercy, Charity, Truth, Meekness, Patience, and Peace, could be enabled to work Miracles by any Power but what was divine."

'Tis true that a Miracle of itself proves nothing, unless this only, that there is a Cause equal to the producing the Effect we see. Suppose you should see a Man raise one from the Dead, and he should go away and say nothing to you, you would not find that any Fact, or any Proposition, was proved or disproved by this Miracle. But should he declare to you, in the Name of him by whose Power the Miracle was wrought, that Image-worship was unlawful, you would then be possess'd of a Proof against Image-worship. But how? Not because the Miracle proves any Thing, as to the Point itself, but because the Man's Declaration is authoriz'd by him who wrought the Miracle in Confirmation of his Doctrine. And therefore Miracles are directly a Proof of the Authority of Persons, tho' not of the Truth of Things.

III. Upon this Foundation only, the Miracles of *Jesus Christ* prove all that is necessary, and all that ever he required Mankind to believe concerning him. That he was a Teacher of extraordinary Abilities, that his Doctrine was pure and divine, that his Life was innocent and holy, these are Points that his greatest Enemies never pretended to dispute. With all these Qualifications he called himself the Son of God, the Messiah spoken of by the Prophets, who was to introduce a new Dispensation and State of Things. All that was here wanted, and that the *Jews* ever demanded of him, was the concurrent Testimony of the divine Being, manifested in visible Signs and Wonders, in such a Manner, and upon such Subjects, that the Reality of them could not be questioned. Of these he produced so many, that the Prejudices, Obstinacy, and Incredulity of the *Jews*, must have

been very extraordinary, that they did not all surrender to the Evidence of them. When *Christ* himself cometh, said they, will he do more Miracles than these, which this Man hath done? Here we have, from their own Confession, an Assurance that they had sufficient Reason to receive *Jesus* for the Messiah: And we find, says the Prelate quoted above, that *Christ* himself often appeals to his Works, or the Miracles wrought by him, as full and convincing Testimonies of his coming from God. For Instance, It is said of *John the Baptist*, that he wrought no Miracles; upon which our Saviour argues thus with the *Jews*. *John* v. 36. *I have greater Witnesses than that of John; for the Works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same Works that I do, bear Witness of me that the Father hath sent me.* At another time, when the *Jews* came about him and said, *John* x. 24, 25. *How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly;* his Answer was, *I told you, and ye believed not; the Works that I do in my Father's Name, they bear Witness of me.* And again, to the same Effect, *If I do not the Works of my Father, believe me not; but if I do, though you believe not me believe the Works:* And in another Place, *John* xiv. 11. *Believe me for the very Works sake.* And a little before his Ascension, he tells his Disciples, *Acts* i. 8. *Ye shall receive Power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and ye shall be Witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and to the utmost Parts of the Earth.* Agreeably to which *St. Mark* tell us, *chap.* xvi. 20. *that they went forth, and preached every where; the Lord working with them, and confirming the Word with Signs following.* And it is said in the *Acts*, that the Lord gave Testimony unto the Word of his Grace (i. e. the Gospel) and granted Signs and Wonders to be done by their Hands. The Miracles they were enabled to work, were the proper and standing Evidences

Evidences of the Authority of their Mission, and consequently of the Truth of their Doctrine.

Nor does Christ only appeal to his Works, and enable his Apostles to do Signs and Wonders in order to the Propagation of the Gospel, but he grounds the great Guilt of the Jews who rejected him, on their having seen his Works, and yet not been convinced by them: *If I had not done among them the Works which none other Man did, they had not had Sin:* And elsewhere he upbraids the Cities wherein most of his mighty Works were done, because they repented not. And the Apostle to the Hebrews reasons thus; *Heb. ii. 3. How shall we escape if we neglect so great Salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him; God also bearing them Witness, both with Signs and Wonders, and with divers other Miracles, and Gifts of the Holy Ghost.* On the other Hand, we are told by St. John, chap. ii. 23. that when Christ was in Jerusalem, at the Passover, many believed in his Name, *When they saw the Miracles which he did.* And Nicodemus, a Ruler of the Jews, addresses himself thus to Christ: *We know that thou art a Teacher come from God; for no Man can do those Miracles that thou doest, except God be with him.* Again, *Many of the People believed on him, and said, when Christ cometh will he do more Miracles than these which this Man hath done?* And in another Place, the Multitude who were fed with the Loaves, when they had seen the Miracles which Jesus did, said, *John vi. 14. This is of a Truth that Prophet which should come into the World.* And when the Chief Priests and Pharisees had assembled a Council to consider what they should do, their Reasoning was this: *What do we? For this Man doeth many*

Miracles. If we let him thus alone, all Men will believe on him. Upon which St. Peter might well say, *Acts ii. 22. Ye Men of Israel, bear these Words: Jesus of Nazareth, a Man approved of God among you, by Miracles and Wonders, and Signs, which God did by him in the Midst of you, as ye yourselves also know.*

IV. These Appeals which our Saviour makes to his Miracles, (continues the same Right Reverend Author,) together with the immediate Convictions wrought by them, are joint Testimonies of the Propriety and Efficacy of the Argument drawn from thence. And since Miracles could be no Testimony at all, if they were not true and real, those Appeals and Convictions are of themselves sufficient to shew the Vanity and Wildness of a late Attempt, to prove that our Saviour's Miracles were merely allegorical; in which it is hard to persuade one's self, that the Author, if in his right Mind, can be serious and in earnest. But since the Notion he has vented, is industriously made use of by Scepticks and Infidels, to stagger and perplex unwary and ignorant People, who easily see, that if Christ wrought no real Miracles, Christianity has no real Support; for their Sakes, and on no other Account, I will proceed to shew the Absurdity of that Notion; without any Design to convince the Author himself, who either is not in earnest, or not capable of Conviction.

What he undertakes to prove, is, that the Miracles of our Saviour, as we find them in the Evangelists, however related by them as historical Truths, and without the least Intimation that they are not to be understood literally, were not real, but merely allegorical, and that they are to be interpreted, not in the literal, but only in mystical Senses; which strange and

† Woolston, against whose Discourses we shall introduce the Substance of such Answers as have been made, as we come to the several Miracles which he has handled, in their proper Order.

enthusiastical Scheme, he has pursued throughout, in a most prophane and ludicrous Manner. His Pretence is, that the Fathers considered our Saviour's Miracles in the same allegorical way that he does; that is, as merely allegorical, and exclusive of the Letter: An Assertion so notoriously false, that it requires the greatest Charity to think that he himself did not know it to be so. Some of the Fathers indeed, in their Explications of Scripture to the People, of which their Sermons in those Days chiefly consisted, being willing to use all Means, and to omit no Opportunities of exciting in them a Spirit of Piety and Devotion, did not confine themselves to the bare Letter, but endeavoured upon the Foundation of the Letter, to raise spiritual Meanings, and to allegorise upon them by way of moral Application; and this, not only upon the Miracles of our Saviour, but upon almost all the historical Facts which are recorded either in the Old or New Testament; and the same was also a received Method of Instruction among the *Jews*. But would he have us suppose, that the primitive Fathers intended to deny the literal Facts of our Saviour's Miracles, or to make them merely allegorical, when he has not produced any one Authority out of the whole Body of the Fathers of the first three hundred Years after Christ, except *Origen*, who can be pretended to countenance his excluding the literal Sense? He has indeed heaped together a Number of Quotations, chiefly out of the Fathers and Writers of the fourth, fifth, and following Centuries; but many of the Passages he quotes, either expressly affirm, or evidently suppose, the literal Truth of our Saviour's Miracles; and others of them tell us, that we must not rest in the Letter, but endeavour to find out mystical and spiritual Meanings. Now, as such Quotations are far from denying the Truth of our Saviour's Miracles according to the Letter, they can

be of no Manner of Service to his Cause; and therefore it is hard to say for what End he produced them, unless it was to amuse his *English* Readers with the Appearance of a great Variety of Authorities, which he must needs see were nothing to his Purpose.

V. And as to *Origen* himself, though he went further into the allegorical Way than any other, yet so far was he from not believing and allowing our Saviour's Miracles in the literal Sense, that in many Parts of his Book against *Celsus*, which consists, not of popular Discourses, but of just and sober Reasonings, he directly argues from them in Defence of Christianity.

“In answer to *Celsus's* Boastings of the Precepts and Discipline of the *Greeks*, he urges, that Christianity has a more divine Demonstration, which the Apostle calls the Demonstration of the Spirit, and of Power; and he explains Power to be the Miracles of *Christ*; which, says he, we believe to have been wrought, as from many other Arguments, so particularly from this, that the Footsteps of the same Power do still appear. In several Places, he takes notice of *Celsus's* ascribing the Miracles of our Saviour to Art-Magic; and having particularly mention'd the restoring of Lunatics, casting out Devils, and curing Diseases, in the Name of *Christ*, he adds, that *Celsus*, not being able to resist the Evidences arising from the wonderful Works wrought by him, of which those he nam'd were a few out of many, ascribed them to Art-Magic; and then he shews at large the Absurdity of that Supposition. He takes notice, that both *Moses* and *Jesus* did wonderful Works, and such as exceeded human Power, and then expostulates with the *Jews* for believing the Things which *Moses* wrought, though recorded singly by himself, and rejecting the Miracles of *Christ*, upon the Testimony of his Disciples; while the Christians,

Christians, as he adds, were the more ready to believe the Miracles of *Christ*, as recorded by his Disciples, on account of the Prophecy of *Moses* concerning him. He argues for the Reality of the Descent of the Holy-Ghost upon our Saviour, from the Miracles which he wrought, and mentions the casting out of Devils, and the curing Diseases in his own Time, as one Argument of the Truth of those Miracles. In Proof that *Jesus* was the Son of God, he urges his healing the Lame and the Blind, according to the Prophecy concerning him; and then proceeds to shew the Reality of what the Evangelists relate concerning his raising Persons from the Dead, and why he raised no more; and adds, that his Miracles were intended, not only to be Figures or Symbols, but also the Means of converting Multitudes to the Christian Faith; thereby plainly acknowledging the literal as well as the allegorical Meaning. He proves the Truth of *Christ's* Miracles, from others attempting to work the like; and makes the same Difference between their Works and *Christ's*, that there was between the Miracles of *Moses*, and the Magicians; and says that a Jew who defends the Miracles of *Moses*, is as perverse as the *Egyptians*, if he reject those of *Christ*. --- He speaks of the Miracles of *Moses* and *Christ*, as converting whole Nations; and observes that *Christ* was to overthrow the Customs in which the People had been educated, and to deal with a Nation that had been taught to require Signs and Wonders, and therefore had at least as great need to shew them, in order to gain Belief, as *Moses*, who had not those Difficulties to overcome. --- He says, --- that whoever should embrace the Christian Religion, was required by *Christ* and his Disciples, to believe his Divinity and Miracles. He speaks of the wonderful Works of *Christ* (however disbeliev'd by *Celsus*) as the Effects of a divine Power. And as to the

Apostles, he shews how absurd it would have been in them, to attempt the introducing and establishing a new Doctrine in the World, without the Help of Miracles.

Judge now, whether *Origen* ought to be produced as one who did not believe the Miracles of *Christ*, according to the literal Sense, and as full and proper Testimonies of the Truth of the Christian Religion; and let this Instance convince you, how unsafe it is to take the Opinion of the Fathers, or of any other Writers, from particular Passages and Expressions which may be picked out of them, without attending to the Occasions upon which they were written, or comparing them with the other Works of the same Authors. A Liberty which has been much used of late; and if allowed, would put it in the Power of designing Men to make almost any Writer speak what Opinion they please.

VI. At the same Time it must be owned, that *Origen*, and some others, indulged themselves farther in the allegorical Way, than was consistent with sober Reasoning and sound Judgment; for which he in particular was greatly blamed, both in his own Time, and by many of the Fathers in the succeeding Ages. But their Intentions were certainly pious; and it could not be imagined, that there ever would be such a Man in the World, who should make it a Question, whether any Father believed the Facts literally understood, who in his Defence of the Christian Religion against *Jews* and *Heathens*, appealed to the Miracles of our Saviour in their plain and literal Sense, as the great Evidence of his being sent from God. And as they practised the allegorical Method, not only in the Point of Miracles, but in almost all the historical Parts of the Old and New Testament, they are as good Authorities for entirely destroying the whole Historical Truth

of both, as that of Miracles.

Though therefore it were granted, that all the ancient Fathers of the Church had unanimously indulged themselves more or less in the allegorical Meanings, it would not at all help this Writer, unless he could make it clear, that they also denied the literal Meaning; and to say that any one who urged the Miracles of our Saviour as the great Vindication of Christianity, could at the same Time deny the literal Sense of them, is a flat Contradiction; since, as I observed before, Miracles can be no Evidence at all in any other Meaning but the literal. Much less will we find any Thing in the Fathers to countenance that ludicrous and blasphemous Way in which he has treated *Christ* and his Miracles.

VII. The Truth is, the Supposition of an allegorical and mystical Meaning, exclusive of the literal, carries in it so many strange Absurdities, that nothing could lead any one into it, but either great Weakness of Understanding, or great Disorder of Mind, or very strong Prejudices against the Christian Religion. For Instance, That when *Christ* appealed to his Works, as he often did, to prove his divine Mission, he meant only allegorical and not real Works; that when the People ask'd one another, whether the Messiah *when he came, would do greater Works than these*, they did not mean real, but only imaginary Works; that when *Christ* had the Disciples of *John the Baptist* tell their Master, what Cures they had seen him work, in order to satisfy him that he was the Messiah, as working the same Cures which the Prophets had foretold the Messiah should work, neither the Prophets nor *Christ* meant real Cures; that the great Number of *Jews* who were converted upon seeing *Christ* healing the Sick, and raise to Life those who had been dead, did not see them first to be sick or dead, and then alive or whole

again, and so had no real Ground for their Conversion; that when the Multitudes came to be healed, upon their having seen the miraculous Cures that *Christ* had wrought upon others, they had really seen nothing to induce and encourage them to come to him; that when the Leper came back to thank our Saviour, he was not really healed, but came to return Thanks for nothing; that when the People were amazed to see the Miracles he did, they were amazed at nothing; that when the *Jews* feared the Success of his Miracles, and called a Council to prevent it, they were afraid only of Shadows, and consulted about nothing; that when they persecuted him, and sought to slay him, for healing a lame Man on the Sabbath Day, he had really wrought no Cure; that when the People intended to make him a King, on account of his extraordinary Works, they had seen no Works, but what any other Man might have done; that when it was urged by the *Jews*, that he wrought Miracles by the Help of *Beelzebub*, any Thing could have driven them to that Shift, but that they knew the Facts themselves to be real and undeniable; that when the People were filled with Wonder and Amazement at the Cure of the lame Man which was wrought by *St. Peter*, they did not see him leaping and walking, who before was laid daily at the Gate of the Temple to ask Alms; and when the Country could say nothing against it, nor could deny that a notable Miracle had been done, no such Thing as a Miracle had been wrought, but both Council and People were deceived; that when *Simon Magus* desired to purchase the Power of healing Diseases, he meant to purchase no Power but what he had before; that when the People of *Lystra* accounted *Paul* and *Barnabas* to be Gods, they saw nothing in them more than common Men; that when the People out of every Nation were filled with Wonder,

Wonder, to hear the Apostles speak every one in their own proper Language; there was really nothing to be wondered at; that the Conversions made in all Nations by the Apostles, of great as well as small, learned as well as unlearned, were all made by them without giving any real Testimony of a divine Mission; that when the Writers of the Church asserted the Truth of Christianity upon the Evidence of the Miracles wrought by our Saviour and his Apostles, the Jews and Heathens, against whom they wrote, if they could have called in Question the Reality of those Miracles, would not have fixed their Foot there, but put themselves to the Difficulty of inventing other Causes than a divine Power to which they might ascribe them: In a Word, that the whole History of the Old and New Testament, which is all equally capable of being run into Allegory and Mystery by Enthusiastic Heads, has no Meaning at all, but such as every one shall think fit to allegorise it into, by the mere Strength of Fancy and Imagination.-----These are some of the shocking Absurdities, which attend that wild Imagination of Miracles wholly mystical and allegorical, and without a literal Meaning."

VIII. But, on the other Hand, it is pretended that the Miracles of *Jesus Christ*, if literally understood, imply Absurdities and Incredibilities, as great as any of these, and that they are not to be distinguished from the lying Wonders of *Antichrist*: Whence 'tis inferred, that they are not a sufficient Proof of his divine Authority to found a Religion. The Persons mentioned on this Occasion, and opposed to *Jesus*, as performing miraculous Cures of Bodily Diseases, and other extraordinary Works, not distinguishable from his, are *Apollonius Tyaneus*, *Vespasian*, and *Greatrak*. But of how little Service these Instances are, will be seen in the following Extracts from Bishop

Smalbrook's Vindication of the Miracles of our blessed Saviour.

I. As for *Apollonius*, there was but one Voucher of all his pretended Miracles, the credulous *Damis*, who appears throughout the History of *Philostatus*, and is acknowledged by that Writer in plain Words, to have been a weak and ignorant Person, and consequently very capable of being imposed upon by so artful a Juggler. But the Miracles of our Lord were performed before great Numbers of People, Enemies as well as Friends, and Persons of Penetration and Judgment, as well as the more credulous and ignorant Sort. Besides, what *Damis* did actually vouch for his Master we know not, since the Memoirs of him are now lost, and what Part of them *Philostatus* made use of is altogether uncertain. Thus much indeed is clear, that the Memoirs of *Damis* were delivered to *Philostatus* by the Empress *Julia*, Wife of *Severus*, at the Distance of more than an hundred Years from *Apollonius*, in order to their being digested and adorned with a rhetorical Style by that Sophist, whose Work is no better than a Romance founded upon the said Memoirs. But the Gospels were written by those who were Eye-Witnesses of what they related, or who, at least, received their Informations from such Eye-Witnesses: And, which is more, they were produced to the World, when all Mankind were in a Temper to contradict what they affirmed, if the Truth of it had not sufficiently been attested; whereas *Philostatus* was set to work and encouraged by an Empress, who professed no small Zeal for Paganism, at a Time when the Heathen World would have supplanted *Jesus Christ*, by opposing to him a Wonder-worker of their own, whom they were willing to make his Superiour, or at least his Equal.

But further, besides the Weakness of their

their Authority, the pretended Miracles of *Apollonius* are for the most part ridiculous, unworthy of a Prophet, and full of Follies and monstrous Tales. 'Tis true, the same is pretended concerning the Miracles of our Lord; but how justly, we shall shew in the Progress of this Work. Even when *Philostratus* gives the greatest Instance of the miraculous Power of his Hero, namely in his restoring the Life of a young Woman, (no doubt in order to rival the like Performance of *Jesus*) that Writer himself questions, as he says the Company did, whether or no she were really dead. Could such a Doubt arise concerning a Man, who had lain four Days in the Grave, as *Lazarus* had when he was raised by our Lord? But, above all, the Doctrines taught by *Apollonius*, his great Zeal for Idolatry, his excessive Pride, Ambition, and Affectation of divine Honours, most evidently shew that his Miracles were false, and his most surprizing Performances mere Delusions: And consequently the Miracles of *Jesus Christ* are, in their Nature, Tendency, and End, as well as in the Excellency of their Performer, most clearly distinguishable from the pretended Miracles of *Apollonius*, that Ape of *Jesus Christ*, as he is justly styled by some of the Antients.

2. The Instance of *Vespasian* may be evinced to be as weak as that of *Apollonius*, with which it seems to have some Connexion: For we find in *Tacitus*, that the two Cures of the Blind and the Lame by *Vespasian*, are pretended to have been wrought at *Alexandria*: and if there be any Credit due to *Philostratus*, *Vespasian* went thither on purpose to meet *Apollonius*, in order to have his Judgment on the dubious State of his Affairs at that time. It seems *Dion* and *Euphrates*, two eminent Philosophers there, were for *Vespasian's* restoring the Commonwealth; but *Apollonius* was for his assuming the

Empire, and *Vespasian* followed his Advice: Which makes it probable, that *Apollonius* might be one of the Flatterers mentioned by *Tacitus*, that persuaded *Vespasian* to make use of the pretended Miracles which *Tacitus* records, in order to recommend himself to the People as a Person favoured by the Gods. In short, as *Apollonius* was accustomed to these Tricks, it lookt very much like an Artifice of his, that *Vespasian* should perform Miracles at this critical Juncture, to raise his Reputation in the World, suitably to the new Station of Life which he was going to accept by *Apollonius's* Advice: And it is not unlikely that *Vespasian's* Physicians, who were consulted about the Possibility of those Cures, were Confederates with *Apollonius* in this Imposture; for we find, they concurred with those that flattered *Vespasian*, and laboured to persuade him that the Cures were feasible. The Reasons they gave on that Occasion are so very weak as to betray the Artifice; especially when they add, that perhaps *Vespasian* was appointed for this Work by the Divine Direction; which is only a manifest Compliment to his rising Greatness. And as for the *Alexandrian Jews*, it is natural to imagine, that out of Opposition to *Jesus*, they would join in such a Compliment to *Vespasian*, as their own *Josephus* had before given him in *Judea*, by ascribing to him what was part of the known Character of their Messiah, the miraculous Cure of desperate Diseases.

But allowing that the Miracles ascribed to *Vespasian* were really performed, they will be yet very distinguishable from those of *Jesus Christ*. The most that can be said of the one, is that they were providentially designed by God to give a superior Character to the Person, who was appointed to be an Instrument of the divine Vengeance in the *Jewish Nation*: And accordingly he made Use of these Miracles

cles only in a political View, to recommend himself to the People; not pretending to any divine Commission, or to establish any new Doctrine, in consequence of them. But our Lord's miraculous Cures were professedly performed to establish his Divine Authority; for which Reason he constantly appeals to his wonderful Works, as a Proof that his Pretensions were just, and consequently his Doctrine true. Whether *Vespasian's* Cures were true or false, since a true Miracle cannot prove a thing for which it is not appealed to, it follows that no Comparison ought to be made between them, and those of *Jesus*, which were wrought only for the sake of the Appeal.

3. The last Instance, produced to shew that the Miracles of *Jesus Christ* are not distinguishable from those of others Persons, is that of the famous *Greatrak*, who, it is pretended, cured Diseases in an equally miraculous Manner with *Jesus Christ*, by stroaking the Parts affected. But it is evident, from an original Letter of his, that this Person thought more modestly of his own Performances. He pretends indeed, in the said Letter, to cure the King's Evil, and a few other Diseases, from a Divine Impulse; but why he cured those only, he does not pretend to say: Neither did *Stubbe* the Physician, who wrote an Account professedly in favour of him, pretend that he could restore any Decays of Nature. The Examiner of *Greatrak's* Pretensions, *David Lloyd*, asserts, that he was frequently unsuccessful in his Attempts; and instances in particular Cases; in one of which, instead of curing, he put the Patient to great Misery. Besides, that he usually rubbed the Parts with some Violence: that in some Cases he pinched the Ulcers very severely, and in others used Plaisters and other Medicines; and that he often had recourse to Physic and Surgery, in those very Distempers which he pretended to cure by Divine Assistance.

No. XXXV.

Now, what became of his miraculous Healing, when he sought Assistance from the known Rules of Art? Admit that by giving some new Motion to the Part affected, certain Indispositions were removed from one Part of the Body to another, and even by insensible Perspiration entirely out of the Body, the Effect of so forcible a Friction may, perhaps, be accounted for in a mechanical Manner. Is such a gradual and limited Performance to be compared with the lasting Effects of one powerful Word of our Lord, which, either present or absent, immediately healed the most inveterate Distempers, and restored not only the greatest Decays of Nature, but even Life itself? Nothing but Malice or Ignorance could form so unjust a Comparison. But to come close to the Point: Did *Greatrak* pretend to lay the Foundation of any new Doctrine? If he did not, whatever Cures he wrought, they were merely providential; and consequently, whatever Hypothesis may be form'd from his Cures concerning mechanical Operations, his Case is entirely foreign to that of the miraculous Cures of *Jesus Christ*.

There is nothing in all these Instances, that can justly be put in parallel with the Miracles of *Jesus Christ*, which, both with respect to their Subject Matter, and the Manner of their Performance, evince a Power equal to that of Creation. What less than Omnipotence could restore a withered Hand, give Sight to one born blind, or raise the Dead to Life; and that by the Touch of his Finger, or even of his Garment, or by a mere Word spoken either when he was present or absent? As to the Objection, That there are Beings in the spiritual World capable of performing Things above the Power of Men, and therefore amazing to Mankind, it is justly answered, That no created Beings, who in Consequence of their Creation must be Agents of a limited Power, are capable of performing

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forming such proper and real Miracles as those of *Christ* were, independently of God; since great as their Power is, it is not infinite, and therefore cannot perform those Operations, which, either as to the Matter or Manner of them, require Omnipotence. It necessarily follows therefore, that whatever Performances evil Spirits can naturally and independently of God exert, they must be mere Signs and Wonders, and inferior to true Miracles, which are above, or contrary to, the known Laws of Nature. The Workers of these Wonders may, by lower Instances of Power, surprize weak and wicked Men, and afford an Handle to those who are otherwise incredulous to the true Miracles of *Christ*: But they cannot perform such Works as are mentioned in the Gospels, by their own natural Ability; and there are several moral Reasons, for which we cannot suppose they have a divine Power communicated to them: Consequently, therefore, if they seem in any Case to perform what appears miraculous, it must be Fallacy, Juggle, and Delusion; since they are incapable of it both in a natural and moral Sense. And indeed the most surprizing Actions of evil Spirits will unavoidably distinguish themselves from those performed by God, or any Agents commissioned by him, by the wicked Doctrines, Tendencies, and Ends, that are visibly served by those wonderful Works, and likewise by the Immorality of those Men that are the Instruments of evil Spirits in performing them.

Hence it evidently follows, that since real Miracles are incapable of being performed by any but God, or Agents commissioned by him, those Persons, that, in Proof of their Authority as derived from God, and of the Truth of their Doctrine as worthy of God, perform miraculous Actions for good Ends, and with a suitable Holiness of Life, exhibit to the World a rational Seal of their Commission from

God, and justly demand the Assent of Men, that either are personal Spectators of them, or are informed of them by credible Testimonies. "Wherefore, says *Origen*, we examine by certain *Criteria* those that promise such Miracles, to know whether they perform them by the Help of Evil Spirits, or by a divine Power: Which *Criteria* are taken from their Lives and Morals, and the Tendencies and Consequences of the Miracles themselves, whether they are prejudicial to Men, or whether they reform their Morals." And to the same Purpose *Austin* observes, "That where we see a visible Miracle, we should not imagine there is always an invisible Wisdom and Sanctity." Which is a Caution naturally arising from the Words of our Lord in the Text, on which that Father here comments. *Many will say to me in that Day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy Name? and in thy Name have cast out Devils? and in thy Name done many wonderful Works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: Depart from me, ye Workers of Iniquity.* Where our Lord plainly insinuates, that wicked Men were capable of working Wonders, but were to be guarded against, and known or distinguished by their Fruits, or Works. But when moral Qualifications are united with miraculous Performances, they unavoidably distinguish a true Prophet from an Impostor; and by this Test the divine Authority of *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles may be known from the Pretensions of any other Person.

'Tis true, we have before said, that wicked Spirits and their Agents, are not capable of performing a true Miracle; and therefore it may be asked what Occasion there is of any other Testimony to the Authority of a Prophet, when the Miracles he works are apparently true ones? In answer to this, it must be confessed, and we have already proved it, that

that many of the Miracles of our Lord were of themselves, and in their very Nature, apparently true ones: They must be received as such by all that were Witnesses of them, or that believe the Testimony of the Gospels; and consequently, they were sufficient Proofs of his divine Authority to the Spectators of them. But the Rule here laid down, for judging of Miracles by the Morality of their Author, is nevertheless good: For the sensible Evidence of a true Miracle, may not always be equally certain even to those who see it performed, and that Evidence to some Persons loses much of its Strength when handed down to a great Distance. But the Doctrine established by a Miracle, and preserved among the Disciples of its Author, may be certainly known from the Writings and Discourses in which it is delivered; and the Actions of a Person, who distinguishes himself by being the Author of a new Religion, will commonly be transmitted to Posterity, between his Friends and his Enemies, in the best and worst light they can bear. And this Part of the Test is equally certain with the other: For as we are sure that God will not give Power to work a Miracle to the immediate Hurt of Mankind, so may we be that he will not employ any but good Men therein, nor suffer any Doctrine to be propagated by a true Miracle, which is not from himself. And that we are capable of judging whether a Doctrine be from God, or no, is evident in this, that we are exhorted to make use of such a Judgment; which Exhortation would have no Meaning at all, if there were not certain visible Characters of the divine Will, to which we should have Recourse on all Occasions, and by observing which we may be kept from Error.

IX. But all this was plainly enough seen by those who have endeavoured to invalidate the Miracles of *Jesus Christ*: They knew, that upon the fairest Examination,

the Evidence of these would set them far enough above the pretended Miracles of any Impostor that ever lived: and therefore they pretend to maintain, that the Miracles of *Jesus Christ*, however great, do not sufficiently prove his Authority to found a new Religion. But how weak a Pretence this is, will appear from only reflecting on the Nature of a true Miracle, that it requires an Omnipotent Power to perform it; and farther, that the Miracles of *Jesus Christ* were evidently the Effect of such a Power, and that he appealed to these Miracles for this very End, that People should believe he was sent by the Father. We need not repeat what has been already said on this Head, since every reasonable Person must look upon it as sufficient. But we may here add to the Quotations from *Origen*, a few Passages from the other antient Apologists, in order to prove that none of them excluded a literal Interpretation of the Facts in the Gospels; which is the more necessary in this Place, before we consider any of the Miracles separately, because the greatest Stress of the late Scheme to overthrow the Miracles of our Lord, is laid in the Authority of the Fathers for a mystical and allegorical Exposition of the evangelical History. These Apologies of the antient Fathers, as they are some of the best of their Productions, so are they the most certain Standards of the Sense of the primitive Church, with regard to the Nature and Grounds of our Holy Religion: For they surely who composed solemn Vindications, and presented them to the highest Powers upon Earth, must necessarily be presum'd to be perfect in the Reasons of the Religion that they so defended.

The earliest Apologist, of whose Writings any thing concerning the Miracles of our Lord now remains, is *Quadratus*, an immediate Disciple of the Apostles, who in an Apology presented to the Emperor
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Adrian,

Adrian, about the Year of *Christ* 123, has these Words: "The Works of our Saviour were always visible and conspicuous, for they were true and unfeigned. They that were cured of their Diseases, and they that were raised again from the Dead, were not only seen by all when they were cured and had rose again, but afterwards were always present. They not only appeared whilst our Saviour stay'd upon Earth, but they lived long after his Departure from it: So that some of those very Persons have continued in being even till our own Times."

The next eminent Apologist is *Justin Martyr*, who in his former Apology to *Antoninus Pius*, about 140 Years after *Christ*, writes to this Effect: "We cannot but believe what was foretold of *Christ's* Miracles, — because we see with our own Eyes, or know by the ocular Evidence of other credible Persons, that those wonderful Works have been wrought, and are now performed, as they were foretold; which, we believe, will appear even to you the greatest and most certain Demonstration." Likewise in the same Apology he mentions again the antient Prophecies concerning *Christ's* curing all manner of Diseases, and raising the Dead, inculcating it, that he actually did such Things, and appealing to the Acts of *Pilate* for the Confirmation thereof.

Tertullian, another Apologist, a Person of extraordinary Parts and Learning, is very express for a literal Interpretation of the Scripture, and particularly of the Miracles of our Lord as related in the Gospels. This fully appears from his Apologetic, composed in the Reign of *Alexander Severus*, near 200 Years after *Christ*, in which he writes thus: "That Person whom the *Jews* had vainly imagin'd from the Meanness of his Appearance to be a mere Man, they afterwards, in consequence of the Power he exerted,

considered as an uncommon Person (or *Magician*) when he with one Word ejected Devils out of the Bodies of Men, gave Sight to the Blind, cleansed the Leprous, strengthen'd the Nerves of those that had the Palsy, and with one Command restored the Dead to Life; when he made the very Elements obey him, assuaged the Storms, walked upon the Seas, demonstrating himself to be the Word of God." And again, speaking of the Passion of *Jesus*, he says, "In the same Moment the Day it self withdrew, when the Sun was in its meridian Height. Those Persons thought it to be an Eclipse, who did not know that such a Darkness was foretold concerning *Christ*. Others have denied the Fact, as being ignorant of the true Reason of it: And yet you have that great Event which happened, recorded in your own Archives. *Pilate*, and he himself in his own Conscience now a Christian, sent an Account of all those things that happened with regard to *Christ*, to *Tiberius*, the then Roman Emperor."

There are several Passages more to the same Purpose, in other Writings of this Apologist, and those very emphatical ones, but too long to be transcrib'd. In one Place, after assigning several Instances of ancient Prophecies relating to the Birth, Sufferings, and Death of *Christ*, he goes on thus. "What Figures are here to be found in *Isaiab*? What Images in *David*? What Prophetical Riddles in *Jeremiab*? who have not so much as spoke of his Miracles in a parabolical Manner." And then running over several of our Lord's miraculous Cures, he says, "Which Things though I myself have been accustomed to interpret in a spiritual Manner, by their Analogy with moral Cures, yet since these Prophecies have been fulfilled in the bodily and literal Sense, they evince that the Prophets foretold Things of both kinds, but with this Salvo, that there are more Expressions in their Writings

ings clear of all allegorical Cloud, than there are of a mystical Nature." Of which literal Sense he gives several Instances, and says, that these " Things want a little Review rather than an Interpretation."

Arnobius, who wrote in Defence of the Christian Religion under *Diocletian*, about the Year of *Christ* 300, is very clear and copious in apologizing for the Reality of our Lord's Miracles, in their plain and literal Sense. After proving that the wonderful Works of our Lord cannot with the least Shew of Reason be imputed to Magic, and that no Magician that ever appeared in the World could perform the thousandth Part of what he did, and likewise that they were little mischievous Things that had been wrought by the most eminent Magicians, he at length breaks out into so holy as well as rhetorical a Rapture on *Christ's* Performances, that it is scarce capable of being translated with Justice. He there mentions most of the miraculous Facts recorded in the Gospel, in their literal and obvious Sense, yet with the greatest Transport imaginable; enlarging much on the wonderful Gift of Tongues, the speedy Propagation of the Religion of *Jesus* throughout the World, and his Communication of the same Power to others that he had exercised himself. The Reason he gives for our Lord's performing so many Miracles is worth inserting, namely, " That these things were really performed by *Jesus*, not to gratify a vain Ostentation of Power, but that the most incredulous Persons might be convinced that his Doctrine and Promises were true, (or, that what was promised in antient Prophecies was really fulfilled in him,) and that they might likewise be informed, by the beneficial Tendency and Goodness of the Works he wrought, what is the Nature of the true God."

Lactantius naturally follows his Master *Arnobius*. He wrote, or began to write,

his *Divine Institutions*, both against Paganism, and by way of Apology for Christianity, during the Persecution of *Licinius*, in the Year 320. In the fourth Book of this Work he writes, " That from the Time of his Baptism *Jesus* began to exert the greatest Power imaginable; not by magical Tricks and Illusions, which, with all their Boast, have nothing true and solid in them; but by an heavenly Operation: Which Works of his were long before foretold by the Prophets. They were indeed so very numerous, that they cannot all be comprized in one Volume." He then runs over the Heads of our Lord's miraculous Cures, and afterwards observes, " That he performed all these mighty Works, not by any manual Operation, or medicinal Remedy, but by his mere Word and Command. Neither is it to be wondered at, says this Father, that with one Word he wrought such Miracles, since he was the Word of God, and was endued with Divine Power. Neither was it thought sufficient for him to give Strength to the Weak, Soundness to the Maimed, and Health to the Diseased, unless he likewise had raised even the Dead, as if they were awaken'd out of Sleep, and called them back again to Life. Which Works of his when the *Jews* saw, they pretended indeed that they were performed by a diabolical Power, tho' their own Prophecies mentioned, that all these Things should be so performed, as in Fact they were." After this, *Lactantius* cites a Passage from *Isaiab*, chap. 35. 3, 4, &c. and relates pretty largely the Circumstances of two or three of our Lord's Miracles; but it would be superfluous to transcribe any more from him, since what is already introduced sufficiently proves that he understood the Gospels in a literal Sense.

To the Apologists already cited, might be added the Testimony of *Eusebius*, in the Beginning of the fourth Century, who has

has given a long Catalogue of *Christ's* miraculous Facts, which, he says, "were celebrated every where, and even received and assented to by himself after mature Deliberation and exact Enquiry into their Credibility, and were therefore considered by him as solid Proofs of the Divinity of the Author of them." But there is no need to repeat from *Eusebius* what has been already quoted from other Fathers, it being certain, that the Passages here transcribed from the Prelate to whom we have all along referred, together with those from *Origen* in a preceding Extract, will be more than sufficient to prove, that none of the Fathers excluded a literal Interpretation of the Gospel-History.

X. It has not been denied indeed that many of the Fathers did, in Fact, interpret Scripture in a mystical Sense, but only that they never substituted the Mystery in the Place of the Letter. To make this Distinction a little clearer, it may be necessary to consider somewhat more particularly what relates to the Practice of those Times in interpreting Scripture; and first, to recollect whence the mystical Way of Interpretation was derived, that we may the better learn of what Authority it is. Now there are two Accounts of the Original of this Practice to be assign'd, which perhaps will appear to have both concurred: The one is, that the Christian Fathers derived it from the *Jewish* Interpreters; and the other, that they received it from the more learned Gentiles. And since there is now extant but little Interpretation of Scripture, by way of Commentary, antienter than the Days of *Origen*, who is therefore called the Father of mystical Interpreters, let us consider whence he, in particular, appears to have derived his Method. *Photius*, the great Critic of the Antients, assures us that *Philo* the *Jew* taught the Way of allegorizing Scripture to the Christians. Now

it is known that *Clement* of *Alexandria*, who was *Origen's* Master, cultivated this mystical Way, which he certainly derived from *Philo*, whom he not only imitates, but transcribes; and it is therefore presumed, that *Origen* had it more immediately from *Clement*. Among the *Jews* it seems to have been of greater Antiquity than *Philo* himself, and to have been much used by the *Essenes* of *Alexandria*, whose antient Books are said to have been full of allegorical Interpretations of Scripture. The other Account of the Beginning of mystical Interpretation among Christians, is that given by *Porphyry*, who asserts, "that *Origen* was conversant in the Writings of the Stoics, and from them learned the Art of allegorizing Scripture, agreeably to the Custom of the *Greeks* in explaining their Mythology." 'Tis true, that *Origen* seems to have much studied not only the Stoics, but also *Plato*, and *Numenius* the *Pythagorean*, with other mystical Writers; upon which Account *St. Jerome* asserts, "that *Origen* in his *Stromata*, confirmed all the Doctrines of our Religion out of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Numenius*, and *Cornutus*;" most of whom, with other Writers of the same kind, are mentioned in the Pieces of his which are now extant. This may serve for an Account of the Original of the allegorical Method of interpreting Scripture, and also to shew that *Origen* seems to have copied both *Jewish* and *Gentile* Writers.

But we must not forget that *Philo*, tho' so great a Master of this kind of Interpretation, always acknowledges the Reality of the Facts, whenever he allegorizes any scriptural History; as for instance, when he turns into Allegory several remarkable Parts of *Abraham's* Life; where he first allows the Truth of what is related concerning him, and then adds a mystical Exposition thereof: And accordingly, *Clement* of *Alexandria* and *Origen* agree in imitating

imitating *Philo*, as much in acknowledging the Truth of scriptural Facts, as in putting mystical Senses on them.

'Tis certain however, after all, that *Origen* has frequently expressed his Sentiments of the literal Sense of Scripture with too little Caution, and allow'd himself excessive Liberties in comparing it with his mystical Interpretations; and since, in so doing, he has shielded himself under the Authority of *St. Paul*, it deserves Consideration, how far *St. Paul* will defend him on this Head. Now 'tis confessed, that this Apostle has, in Fact, allegorized several Passages of the Jewish Law and History: But then it must be considered, not only that such an Accommodation of them was very agreeable to the Oriental Notions of that Time, but also that the particular Applications made by *St. Paul*, receive in him a great Weight, because they were influenced by the same Spirit who dictated the Passages thus applied; a thing which cannot be affirmed of *Origen*, or any other Father, who wrote mystical Expositions in imitation of this Apostle. Besides, *St. Paul's* allegorical Exposition of any Passage in the Old Testament, cannot support any such Exposition of the New: because the Law of *Moses* was entirely and essentially typical of the Gospel, in the Dispensation of which it is fully compleated: But it cannot be said of the Gospel, that it is typical of any future Dispensation; for the *Body* and *Substance* is Christ, who came once for all, whose Priesthood is unchangeable, and whose Ministry therefore cannot be allegorical. And as the Practice of *St. Paul* cannot, so neither can, any Expression that may be abusively cited from his Writings, afford them any Support, who endeavour to turn the Miracles of our Lord into Mystery.

The Use and Authority of allegorical Interpretations of the Scripture, and particularly of the New Testament, as practised by the Fathers, are reducible into a

narrow Compass; it being an easy Inference from what has been already alledg'd, that they subsist upon weak and precarious Reasons. As to their Use, we may consider it either with Regard to the Time when they were made, or with regard to our own Time.

1. In antient Times these mystical Expositions, with which the Homilies abounded, gave an agreeable Entertainment to popular Auditories, and warmly affected the Imagination with a sort of spiritual Wit that was then much in Fashion. These Exercises of Wit were applied to religious Subjects more particularly by *Origen* and *Austin*, who being Persons of extraordinary natural Abilities, knew how to find out some surprizing Connexions of scriptural Ideas, some apt Similitudes, pretty Allusions, and amusing Mysteries in Etymologies and Numbers. But all this was no more than mere Wit, too curiously employ'd in sacred Matters, attended with the Love of making Discoveries of a sublimer Nature, and designed to strike strongly upon the Fancy, and inflame the pious Affections of the Hearers. Such Discourses are generally far from being judicious; as Wit upon other Occasions is known to join together many superficial, but bright, Ideas, which it is the Business of Judgment to separate. However, it is no more to be wonder'd at, that, notwithstanding the Opposition made by some Fathers of better Judgment, such an injudicious Affectation of Allegories prevailed for some time, thro' the contagious Influence of some great Examples, and particularly that of *Origen*, than that Bishop *Andrews* and others, that were Men of Sense and Learning, gave too much into the pious Conceits and devout Jingles that were fashionable in the Pulpit in their Days.

2. The other Use of this mystical Method of Interpretation, which regards all Ages, and more especially our own, is this;

this; That such mystical Expositions of Scripture, and more particularly of the Miracles of our Lord, necessarily presuppose the Reality of the Facts that are thus allegorized. For otherwise such mystical Expositions have no Foundation, but are merely imaginary Things. If the *Mosaic Law* or *History* was allegorized, 'tis evident there was really such a Law and such an History. For otherwise, how could the Law itself be appealed to, as the Ground of *St. Paul's* own Allegory? Says he, *Do ye not bear the Law?* Gal. IV. 21. What would the Allegory of *Sarah* and *Hagar*, and their Sons be, if there had been no such real Persons? And how was the *Jewish History* written for our Instruction, if it did not consist of real Facts that might admonish us? The same Application may be made to the Gospel. For what are mystical Interpretations of our Saviour's Miracles, but ingenious Amusements, if they are not really grounded on miraculous Facts? Without such a solid Foundation, they unavoidably degenerate into Trifles, or rather vanish into nothing. Mystical Interpretations therefore of our Saviour's Miracles have this Use, contrary to the End for which they have been so strongly urg'd, that they establish the Reality of those Facts upon which they are grounded. But the Absurdity of excluding the literal Sense, because a mystical one has been built upon it, was before exploded in that excellent Quotation from the Bishop of *London's* Pastoral Letter.

To prove the little Authority of mystical Interpretations, (even as they were innocently practised by some of the Fathers, without an Intent to undermine the literal Sense,) we need only add two Quotations; the one from *Arnobius*, a Christian Father, and the other from *Maimonides*, a celebrated Jewish Rabbi. *Arnobius*, speaking of the Uncertainty of the allegorical Interpretations of the Pagan Mythology, uses Words that may as properly be turn-

ed against the Patrons of Mystery among Christians. "Whence it is evident to you, says he, when you explain those Allegories, that in your Interpretations of them you have the same Sentiments that the Writers of the Histories relating to them had in their own Thoughts, and which they did not express in Words suitable to their proper Sense, but to figurative Significations? — Another mystical Interpreter may fancy a more probable and ingenious Sense than yourselves; a third may discover another Meaning; and a fourth a different one from all three; and according to the Qualifications of the several Interpreters, every thing may be explained with an infinite Number of pretended Expositions. For since all Allegories are taken from Things that are dark and concealed, and do not aim at any certain End that can unmoveably fix one's Opinion of the Thing itself which is treated of, every one is at Liberty to affirm his own Conjectures to have been originally designed. And if this be the Case of Allegories, how can you draw any thing certain from what is uncertain in itself, and assign to it any one unalterable Signification, when an infinite Variety of Expositions may be equally drawn from it?" — The Words of *Maimonides* are to this Effect: "Our Rabbies are wont, as is well known to all that are acquainted with their usual Practice, to be mightily delighted with Allegories, and to use them frequently; not that they are of Opinion that the allegorical is the true Sense of Scripture, but that it has somewhat enigmatical in it that is pleasant and entertaining." These Quotations, especially the former of them, sufficiently prove how little mystical Interpretations of any kind were antiently regarded by the Judicious. To what purpose then is the Practice of the Fathers brought as an Argument on this Occasion? The Fathers of the apostolical Age, or those who lived soon after it,

it are, indeed, proper Witnesses of the Truth of the miraculous Facts of *Jesus Christ*, and likewise of the Authority of those Books that recorded them. The Fathers of the three first Centuries are competent Witnesses of the Miracles that were then wrought in the Church, and some of them of the Gifts of the Spirit that were then continued. In such Instances as these their Testimony should be depended on, as they were learned and sincere Persons. But their particular Methods of Instruction need not therefore be drawn into Precedents, much less should they be brought to prove what was never intended by them.

XI. Having treated thus largely upon Miracles in general, and not only distinguished those of our Lord and his Apostles from the Tricks of Impostors, but also established the History of them in its plain and literal Sense, we now proceed to what may properly be called a second Part of this Dissertation, that is the particular Consideration and Defence of our Lord's first Miracle at *Cana of Galilee*, the History of which is given in the preceding Chapter. And here (to use the Words of the Prelate from whom we have extracted so great a Part of this Discourse) we shall consider the Argument, and not the Buffoonery, of the pretended *Jewish* Rabbi, into whose Mouth the prophane Author of the *Discourses on the Miracles of our Saviour*, has put his Objections against the said Miracle.

The first of these Objections is, *That it did not become such serious Persons (as Jesus, and his Mother, and his Disciples, are represented to be,) to be present at the Diversion of a Marriage Feast.* But before he passed this Censure, our pretended *Jew* ought to have recollected that *Marriage is an honourable State, instituted by God in the time of Man's Innocency*; And our mystical Interpreter should have formed more favourable Sentiments of that State,

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if it were only for the sake of the Mystery included in it, that of the spiritual Union between *Christ* and his Church. Let them recollect the great Feast of *Abraham at the Weaning of Isaac*, Gen. 21. 8. the *Wedding Feast of Jacob for seven Days*, Gen. 29. 22. the Example of *Samuel's giving a Feast to Saul* and others, 1 Sam. 9. 19. *Solomon's Dedication of the Temple*, attended with a Feast of all the People, who are said to have been glad and merry in Heart for seven Days, 1 Kings 8. 65, 66. and likewise the pious *Hezekiah's Feast*, which was kept with great Gladness, 2 Chron. 30. 21. In fine, the Rabbi should have remember'd the solemn annual Feasts of seven Days, appointed in his own Law to be kept before the Lord with national Rejoycings; not to mention the usual Feasts upon Sacrifices among the antient *Jews*. With how ill a Grace does a *Jew* pretend to call it indecent in *Jesus*, considered as a *Jewish* Prophet, to appear at an Entertainment made in consequence of a religious Institution, when these Precedents of the old Prophets, and of the greatest and holiest Men among the *Jews*, are duly reflected on? This Consideration is of itself a sufficient Apology for the Presence of *Jesus*, his Mother, and his Disciples, at a Wedding Feast: And more especially if we reflect, that *Jesus* had not publicly assumed the Character of a Prophet, it was introductory to those occasional Instructions, which he delivered in familiar Conversation, for him to accept of an Invitation from his Friends, or probably his Relations, who were now marry'd.

But it is further said, *That this was a voluptuous Feast, and therefore it was not decent for our Lord to appear at it*: In Proof of which Assertion the Authority of the Empress *Eudocia* is produced, who, it is pretended, gives a Description of this Feast as of a very sumptuous and volup-

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trous one. But, besides the low Shift of quoting a poetical Description to support an historical Fact, it appears that this Quotation is made from a faulty *Latin* Version, which at most only says that there was Musick, both vocal and instrumental, with Dancing, at this Marriage-Feast. Certainly all this was very allowable at a Ceremony, in the Observance of which no People in the World were more magnificent than the *Jews*. However, our Lord suffers no more in this Misrepresentation, than he formerly did from the *Jews*, when they called him a *Man gluttonous, a Winebibber, and a Friend of Publicans and Sinners*, Matt. 11. 9. How just the imputation is in this Place, even allowing that *Eudocia's* Poem contains only a Narrative of Matters of Fact, may be seen by those who read her whole Description of this Marriage-Feast: For she informs us that the Company was so sober as to mix Water with their Wine (which is agreeable to the *Eastern* Practice both antient and modern) and that *they broke up at Sun-set, and retired to their respective Homes and Beds in good time*. Probably, therefore this was but a short and sober Entertainment, since a Supper was more frequently used than a Dinner among the *Jews*: And even supposing it was a Dinner, yet it happened but a little before the Passover, at a time of the Year when the Days were short, if the Company broke up at Sun set, as *Eudocia* assures us they did, the Feast was certainly free from any Excesses, notwithstanding the Multiplication of Wine by our Lord. The concluding Words of the Empress's Description are these: "The Sun set, and the Streets or Ways grew dusky; the Guests thought of their Repose, and enjoyed the Benefit of Sleep."

'Tis farther urged, in order to make good the Charge of Voluptuousness at this Feast, that the Company were *drunk* when *Jesus* changed the Water into Wine. This,

'tis pretended, is implied in the original Word of St. *John's* Gospel, which in our Translation is rendered, *have well drunk*. But in answer hereto, it has been largely proved, that the *Greek* Word here used frequently signifies no more than a *free use of Wine* without Drunkenness. And farther, that even supposing it here signifies absolutely *a being drunk*, since it is spoken by the Governor of the Feast, not of the Company then present, but of the usual Practice at such Entertainments, the whole Criticism depends upon a plain Falsification of the Text, which, in its natural Sense, proves the direct contrary of what it is here brought for. For the Governor being under some Surprise at the Change of Wine, speaks very properly to this Effect. "It is the usual Practice of Entertainers to give their best and noblest Wine at first, and when Men have drunk somewhat to Excess, gradually to abate the Strength of the Wine, and supply them with some of a smaller sort, either to prevent ill Consequences, or to impose upon their vitiated Taste: You, the present Entertainer, have acted a very different Part; for you have changed your Wine before Men have drank too much, and you also have kept your best Wine till the last." Here the Sobriety of the present Company is very plainly intimated: And indeed their concurring with the Governor in acknowledging the superior Goodness of this new Wine, and ascribing a Miracle to *Jesus* in consequence of an Examination of the Servants, are manifest Proofs that they were at that Time capable of distinguishing good Wine from bad: And if they were sober when the Miracle was wrought, it is not to be supposed that they would so far lay aside their Reverence for the Worker of it, as in his Presence to affront him by drinking excessively of his own miraculous Wine: For certainly whatever Opinion the Company might have of him before,

before, they could not but pay, upon their Conviction of the Reality of this Miracle, such a Veneration to him as would awe them from all Intemperance afterwards.

XII. The next Objection to this Miracle, is taken from *the Quantity of Wine which Jesus made, as being disproportionate to the Company, and therefore as what promoted Excess.* In answer to this Objection, the true Sense of St. John's Original Expression, concerning the Capacity of the Vessels that were filled with Water, has been largely treated of by the Learned. But as it still remains uncertain, whether the Greek Word, which is translated *Firkin*, signifies a Syrian Measure, containing somewhat less than our Wine Gallon, or an Attic Measure of ten times the Content, and equal to our *Englisch* Firkin (tho' the latter Opinion seems to be founded upon the best Authority) we shall not trouble the Reader with a long Detail of the Enquiry; especially since it is by no means necessary to determine this Point, because neither of the Suppositions is inconsistent with the Sobriety of the Company that were present at the Marriage Feast.

On Supposition of the greater Quantity (which in the whole amounts to two or three Hogsheads) it may be reasonably supposed, that as some small Share of it was design'd to promote innocent Cheerfulness on that particular Day, so the far greater part was design'd for the remaining Days of the Marriage Festival. For if, according to some, we are to understand by the *third Day*, at the Beginning of this Chapter, the third Day of the Feast, it follows that there were four Days of Feasting more to be kept, agreeably to the Jewish Custom of keeping seven Days on such Occasions. But as this is only Conjecture, and we have already made the third Day mentioned by John to signify another Thing, we must still find

some other Solution of this pretended Difficulty. And here, supposing the Festival was kept but one Day, or that this was the last Day of the seven, we would ask, Whether or no such a Quantity of Wine was not a very proper Present to the Bride and Bridegroom, who are generally imagined to have been People of but mean, or at best of but middling Circumstances? Our pretended Rabbi cannot with Justice object against this Question, since it is well known, not only that the Jews at this Day make Presents at nuptial Feasts, but likewise that some of the ancient Prophets relieved the Necessities of the Indigent in the like generous Manner. Thus *Elijah* did by the *Barrel of Meal*, and the *Cruise of Oyl*, which failed not for a long Time: And thus *Elisha*, his Successor, multiplied the *poor Widow's Pot of Oyl* into so many Vessels-full, that she not only paid her Debts thereby, but she and her Children lived upon the rest. Why then might not Jesus, a Person more benevolent than either of those Prophets, and who no more abounded with Money than they did, make a nuptial Present to his Relations in this modest though miraculous manner? His own Apostles *Peter* and *John*, bestowed their Alms in a like Way, when, instead of *Silver and Gold*, they gave *Health and Vigour to the lame Man who lay at the Gate of the Temple*. And as to that Part of the Objection, which insinuates, that the mere Production of so large a Quantity of Wine was an Encouragement to Excess, it may be answered, That it was no more so than if the Bridegroom were supposed to have been in so plentiful Circumstances as to have been Master of two or three Hogsheads of Wine in his own Cellar; which, tho' they were capable of being abused to Intemperance, cannot by any necessary Consequence be proved to have been so, if he had been Possessor of them. For if so, Persons of Wealth must unavoidably

be intemperate, which is a very absurd and uncharitable Position.

Temperance was required and observed at Wedding Feasts, among the antient *Jews*, even of Men of good Estate, on Account of the Continuance of those Entertainments for seven Days successively: The Governour of the Feast, who presided for that Purpose, and was, as we before observed, of the Sacerdotal Order, exacted Temperance of the Guests; and there were Persons appointed to break Glas-Vessels, to give the Company notice when they had drank enough. As it cannot therefore be proved, so ought it not to be inferr'd, that the Wine produced by our Lord was entirely drank, or that the Company went into Excesses. Nay, we may add, that if the Temperance of the *Galileans* bore any Proportion to the Modesty and Decorum of that People, there can be no room to doubt that their Behaviour at this Feast was more sober and regular than was usual with the other *Jews* on like Occasions. All this ought to have been considered, before any Reflections had been made at random on *Jesus*, for his being present at an Entertainment among the *Galileans*.

On the other Supposition, that our Lord converted no more than about ten Gallons and a half of Water into Wine, according to the *Syrian Metretes* above mentioned, though this is a much smaller Quantity than the former, it yet does not seem credible that more than forty of our Quarts should have been drank at that Meeting, after the Company had well drank, or with some Degree of Chearfulness. And if some of this lesser *Syrian* Quantity be supposed to have been left till the following Days, or given as a small Present to the Bridegroom, it must likewise be allowed that Sobriety might as well have been preserved, though the greater *Attic* Quantity had been given by *Jesus*, as a more noble Benefaction, and

more worthy of his miraculous Bounty. So that, in fine, it cannot any ways be justly inferred, that an intemperate Abuse was made of our Lord's miraculous Favour, shewn both to the Bridegroom and his Company.

On this Occasion, it cannot be improper to observe, that Mr. *Woolston* has made an unjust Reflection on our *English* Translation of the Word *Metretes*, as signifying a Firkin, when he says, that two or three Pints are a Measure as agreeable to the Original as two or three Firkins. For however unaccurate our Translation may be in some other Respects, yet here his Criticism is very ill placed, on Supposition that the *Attic Metretes*, be here understood, which answers to *Cadus*, a Vessel of about nine Gallons. And if their lowest *Syrian* Measure, which sunk the *Metretes* into a *Congius*, that is, a Vessel of nine Wine Pints, be here understood, there was a Quantity of more than four Quarts in each *Metretes* of the Water that was made Wine by *Jesus*. So that it is evident that two or three Pints a-piece is a very wrong Translation of this Measure. But as this was an ill-guarded Piece of Criticism, so the Design of it was more to expose the Miracle than the Translation.

XIII. But our Author and his Rabbi go on to insinuate, that not only the Company were drunk, but that *Jesus* and his Mother bore a Part in their Revellings; which is what they express in mean, vulgar Terms, that deserve the utmost Contempt. And to support this blasphemous Insinuation, the Author has falsified a Passage in St. *Chrysostom*, as mentioning an Objection of some in his time, "Who accounted this Feast not only riotous, but most of all blamed *Jesus*, his Mother, and his Disciples, for bearing a Part in the Revellings of the Company, and that by the Change of so large a Quantity of Water into Wine, when Men had well drank."

drank." But there is not a Word in St. Chrysostom's Homily here referred to, concerning any Objection made about Jesus, his Mother, and his Disciples, as bearing a Part in the Revellings of the Company; the most that the Father there says, being, "That some Persons endeavoured to expose this Miracle as wrought in an Assembly of Drunken Men, upon whom some Art might be practised with regard to the Wine that was supplied by Jesus." And so conscious was our Author of his having used an unfair Artifice in this Quotation, that he only cites the Beginning of it, with an &c. After this Misrepresentation, indeed, he professes his own Inclination to believe with St. Chrysostom, that "If Jesus did grace this Wedding with his Presence, there was no Excess encouraged, or so much as suffered, at it." Which Acknowledgment, if sincere, is inconsistent with his repeated Charge of Intemperance on Jesus, as well as on the rest of the Company. But that this Concession was counterfeit, and therefore both frivolous and malicious, appears immediately after, when he sarcastically says, that "If Jesus was present, it was for the Opportunity of making a proper Discourse to the People of Conjugal Duties, though we read not of one seasonable good Word spoken at it."

Here it may be proper to take notice, that if this Writer had been of Opinion that Jesus made no other occasional Discourses than what are recorded in the Gospels, he would have done well to have perused what St. Luke intimates of Jesus's Discourse to his Disciples immediately before his Ascension, when he commented on the several Passages in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning himself, particularly concerning his Sufferings, and his Resurrection on the third Day; and also what the same Evangelist says of his Discourse to the two Disciples who were journeying

to Emmaus on the Day of his Resurrection, when beginning at Moses, and all the Prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the Things concerning himself. These divine Sermons, if the Evangelists had thought fit to record them, would no doubt have been very edifying to all Christians as well as they were to the Apostles, since they would have equally contributed to the Opening of our Understanding, that we too might more perfectly understand the Scriptures. But as the Omission of these two Discourses is no Argument that they were never made, so neither can we conclude that Jesus used no occasional Discourse at the Feast of Cana, but that concerning his Miracle, because we read of no other Discourse of his at that Entertainment.

By the way, the Comparison between the imaginary Repast of Apollonius Tyanæus, and this real Entertainment given by Jesus at Cana, which is made by Mr. Woolston in his Reflections on this latter, is so far from being just, that the Author of it appears to be perfectly ignorant of what Philostratus relates in his Life of Apollonius, tho' he frequently mentions that Impostor in his Discourses. The magical Entertainment which he seems to have in View, was not given by Apollonius, to his Friends, but by Jarchas the President of the Brachmans to the King of the Medes and Apollonius. 'Tis true, this is a Matter of no Consequence in itself, and would not have been at all worth taking notice of, had it not been to shew how little the Author of the Discourses on the Miracles of our Saviour is to be depended on in his Quotations.

To proceed: Our Rabbi pretends, that the Answer of Jesus to his Mother was neither dutiful nor pertinent, and that therefore he was not sober when he made it. But that this Suggestion is no less than impious, will, we hope, appear, when we have a little considered the Meaning of our Lord's Answer: In order to which, the

the Occasion of it must be repeated. At a Marriage Feast, where the Mother of *Jesus* was present, probably as a Manager of the Entertainment, and *Jesus* and his Disciples were also present as invited Guests, there happened to be a Deficiency of Wine. *And when they wanted Wine, the Mother of Jesus saith unto him, They have no Wine, John ii. 3.* Here she seems to expect from him some miraculous Production of more Wine for the Company, in favour of the Modesty and low Circumstances of the new-married Couple. *Jesus* on this Occasion said to her, *Woman what have I to do with thee? Mine Hour is not yet come.* And these are the Words which have given Commentators so much Trouble, and of which Infidels have taken so much Advantage: Let us see the different Senses that have been put on them.

Whitby says, We never find this Phrase, *What have I to do with thee*, used in Scripture any otherwise than by way of Objurgation or Reprehension: As when *Jephtah* says to the King of *Ammon*, *What have I to do with thee, that thou comest to fight against my Land, Judg. 11. 12.* And *David* to the Sons of *Zeruiah*, *What have I to do with you, 2 Sam. 16. 10.* And *Maldonate* confesses that most of the antient Fathers, either openly or obscurely, intimate what *Irenaeus* plainly expresses; *That she was guilty of some Fault or Error, in inciting her Son to this Miracle unseasonably.* The same Opinion is espoused particularly by *Chrysostom*, *Eutychius*, and *Theophylact*.

On the other hand, it is affirmed, that *Woman* in this Place is a Word of Respect, and that our Lord uses it here to his Mother in the same Sense as he afterwards did upon the Cross, when he called his beloved Disciple *her Son*, *John 19.* So that the Sense of this Phrase runs thus: "Mother, Why do you interpose in an Affair that affects my Prophetical Autho-

riety. Where that is concerned, you should have considered that the Relation of a Mother is superseded; and that I am exempted from the Submission that is due to an earthly Parent, when acting in the superior Character of the Son of God.

To this *Jesus* added, *Mine Hour is not yet come.* By which Expression, according to the Bishop of *Litchfield*, he meant his last Hour, when he was again to shew that filial Duty and Respect to his Mother, which would be suspended during the time of his Ministry, by making a suitable Provision for her; as in fact he did, when in his last Moments he recommended her to the Care of *St. John* his beloved Disciple: But *Dr. Lightfoot* thinks this is spoken because *Christ* was to begin his publick Ministry, and to confirm it first with Miracles, at *Jerusalem*; for which Reason he elsewhere says, *My time of going up to Jerusalem is not yet, John 7. 8.* Others, as *Dr. Hammond*, say, this Hour signifies the Time of doing Miracles publickly, which was not yet come; and therefore tho' he did this Miracle, he did it so privately, that neither the Governor of the Feast, nor the Bridegroom, nor the Guests, but the Servants only, knew that he had done it. Lastly, it is observable that *Gregory Nyssen* reads the Words by way of Interrogation, thus: *Woman, what have I to do with thee? I have begun to gather Disciples, and to act as one sent from God, and is not the Hour of my Exemption from thy Authority yet come?*

Which soever of these Opinions may be nearest to the Truth, of this one thing we may be certain, That no Duty or Respect was wanting in our Lord, as far as it was consistent with his higher Obligations. For our own part, we cannot think any Exposition of this whole Passage is more natural, and has a better Appearance, than that which we have introduced

introduced in our historical Paraphrase on it, and which is there said in a Note to be taken from M. Le Clerc. He told her, that *She had no need to put him in mind of whatever was fitting for him to perform*: That is, he told her so, not in a harsh and unrespectful Tone, tho' in such Words as might intimate to her, that considering his Character as the Son of God, she went a little beyond the Bounds of her maternal Authority, in seeming to require that of him which was no Part of his Duty to her. Besides, that the Time was not yet come, in which he was to work Miracles in publick. This Interpretation we believe to be supported by as many great Authorities as any other that has been put on the latter part of our Lord's Words; and it is, moreover, the most agreeable of all to our System of the Years of his publick Ministry, which supposes that he did not personally appear therein till three Years and a half after *John* began to preach, when that Forerunner of him was cast into Prison by *Herod*. As to the additional Words in our Paraphrase above referred to; wherein we make *Jesus* tell his Mother, that, notwithstanding the proper Time for him to work Miracles was not yet come, *he was ready to comply with her Request in this Particular*, they are certainly a very easy Inference from the subsequent Part of the Relation, which proves that the blessed Virgin was content with his Answer, and satisfied thereby that he would do what she desired: For otherwise she would not immediately have applied to the Servants, and ordered them to do what *Jesus* commanded them; which, without doubt, she knew would be something relating to a new Supply of Wine for the Company.

In a Word, since it appears that the

blessed Virgin herself took the Words of *Jesus* in a good and kind Sense, since the Evangelist assures us that *Jesus* instantly complied with her Request, and since it is plain that he afterwards lived with her as her Son in a private Capacity, when *he went down to Capernaum, he, and his Mother, and his Brethren, and his Disciples*, 1 John 2. 12. since all this is evident, we would fain know how this Want of filial Respect in *Jesus*, which has been so strongly insisted on, can be made to appear from his Answer to his Mother; as related by St. *John*. But if this cannot be done at all, or, which is as bad, if it cannot be done from better Arguments than those already produced, we must still continue to affirm, that the said Answer of *Jesus* was not only pertinent, but dutiful, as far as his Duty to an earthly Parent was consistent with his superior Duty to his heavenly Father.

It is not worth while to offer up a serious Confutation of the * burlesque Exposition of this Answer of *Jesus* by the Rabbi, who is here very facetious, but out of Character, about the Time of breaking up of the Company. It may not only be observed, that this merry Person needs no other Confutation of his libertine Supposition of Want of Sobriety in *Jesus*, than what he gives himself in the Sequel of his Exposition, when he insinuates that *Jesus* put a Trick upon the Company in his pretended Change of Water into Wine. Could a Person that was not sober play so artificial a Trick, as not only to make a sort of counterfeit Wine, and impose it upon the Company for genuine, but even to make it be acknowledged for better Wine than what they before drank? Not to mention that the Burlesque of our Rabbi, is very unna-

* Disc. 3. p. 33. Where he affirms that the Words, *Woman, what have I to do with thee?* might have been translated, *Woman, what hast thou to do with me?* To which he adds this Paraphrase, *I'll not be interrupted in my Cups, nor break Company; for mine Hour is not yet come to depart.*

rally brought in, and founded upon a Supposition that *Jesus* mistook what his Mother said. 'Tis easy to turn the gravest Subject in the World into Ridicule, especially if we might be allowed to invent what Circumstances we please, in order thereto. But Laughter at any Person or Thing, when the Point of Ridicule is only in the Fancy of him that laughs, and not in the pretended Subject, will be far from taking with People of good Sense and Honesty.

XIV. But it is not only our blessed Lord himself, who has been taxed with Want of Sobriety in this Feast; The same Charge is also brought against his Virgin Mother: But certainly our Rabbi and his Friend were very much distressed to make it good, when they had recourse to the old *Jewish* Calumny concerning her Want of Chastity, in order to infer that she also loved drinking, as a necessary Consequence. By this means also they thought farther to asperse her Son, as being one of spurious Birth, and that loved drinking in an hereditary Way from a Soldier. Whatever Modesty Mr. *Woolston* may pretend to, in order to introduce his Rabbi's Invective, it is surely the most consummate Impudence to pretend that there were such Stories on this Occasion, which might be true. 'Tis no Excuse that this vile Imputation is thrown out by a personated *Jew*, the known Author being in this Case as much answerable for his profane Scandal, as *Celsus* was to *Origen*, for what he likewise produced in the Person of a *Jew*. Let us repeat *Origen's* Answer to *Celsus* on this Occasion. "The whole Story of one *Pantbera*, says he, as the Debaucher of *Mary*, the Mother of *Jesus*, is a downright Falshood, maliciously forged to expose the miraculous Conception of *Jesus* by the Holy Ghost; and the blind Authors of this Fable have

betrayed the Weakness of their Cause to any that are capable of the Examination of Fables." After this, *Origen* argues on the Impropriety of supposing such a polluted Original of a Soul, that was sent into the World to teach Justice, Chastity, and all other Virtues, and to support its Doctrine with Miracles; and shews likewise that this Supposition is inconsistent with the Prophecy of *Isaiab*, that *Christ* should be born of a Virgin.

'Twould, indeed, have been a sufficient Answer to these Blasphemies of the Opposers of Christianity, to have passed over them entirely in Silence, if the pernicious Discourses in which they are contained had not been still industriously dispersed, and the Publick put in Mind by † fresh Advertisements that such Writings are yet to be procured; which, perhaps, would never have been imagined without such publick Notice. Whilst this Method is continued, 'tis necessary that the Arguments in Defence of our blessed Lord, and his Actions, should also be revived; and we should have thought ourselves inexcusable, if in a Work of this Nature, we had not said sufficient to guard the Reader against the evil Influence of such profane Insinuations as are contained in the *Discourses on our Saviour's Miracles*.

The *Jews* have preserved these Imputations against *Christ* and his Mother, which were taken notice of by *Celsus*, in Books written for that Purpose; but they have done it with so little Art, that a Person who is but moderately acquainted with the Histories of those Times wherein *Christ* was born, will need no other Arguments than the Blunders of the Authors, to convince him of the small Credit of the Pieces wherein these Imputations are contained. That the Reader may be able to judge for himself, we will give a short Account of these Per-

† *Woolston's Works* have been lately advertised in six Volumes.

formances, of which Mr. *Basnage* mentions two that are most remarkable, both published under the same Title, one by *Wagenfeil*, the other by *Huldricus*. Probably the latter may not so justly be called a distinct Piece, as an Improvement of the former, which is here purged of some of its grossest Absurdities; though at the same Time new Absurdities are added, and many old ones left, as we shall make appear.

Whether it be that the *Jews* were afraid, lest some among them might at last get the better of their Prejudices, and ascending to the essential Characters of the Messiah, as delivered by the Prophets, should come to acknowledge them as visible in the Person of *Jesus Christ*, or whether it were Malice and Obstinacy that influenced them, we shall not enquire; but thus much is certain, that they have endeavoured to make *Jesus Christ* odious both to *Jews* and Christians, by disguising the Actions and Miracles of the Messiah whom we adore, after having read the History of them in our Gospels. To this Purpose they have been labouring many Ages to perfect the Work above quoted; which, in Imitation of the Beginning of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, they call *Toldos Jeschu*, or *The Generations of Jesus Christ*; a Piece which, after all the Pains that have been taken with it, betrays the Ignorance of its Authors, and is in Fact a most ridiculous Production. This Work was at first published under the Name of *Jonathan*, a Scribe of *Jerusalem*, contemporary with *Jesus Christ*; yet it speaks of *Jews* settled at *Worms*, who were called to *Herod's* Council, which is such an Anachronism as effectually lays open the whole Imposture. In it are Blunders also about the Time, when *Jesus Christ* was born, and about divers of their own Customs, so very gross, that some *Jewish* Doctors have been forced to

disown the Book, tho' composed purely for the Service of their Nation.

To give an Idea of the Work itself, we shall transcribe from Mr. *Basnage* a short Abstract of it. This Writer says, That tho' they call it *the Generation of Jesus*, it begins with his Birth, and so goes thro' the History of his Life and Death, without giving his Genealogy at all. The Author relates that "one named *Pandera*, living at *Bethlehem*, fell in Love with a young Tire-woman, who had been married to *Jochanan*. He debauched her, and had a Son by her; then fled into *Babylon*, leaving the Child upon the Mother's Hands, who called him *Jehoschu*. Being sent to School, the Boy had the Impudence to lift up his Head, and shew his bare Face before the Priests; whereas it was the Custom to be veiled in their Presence. This Boldness gave Occasion to enquire after his Birth, which was judged impure. After he had remained some Time in *Galilee*, he went to *Jerusalem*, and resolved to steal away the Name of God. But to prevent such a Theft, two Lions were made by Magick, and placed before the *Holy of Holies*, one on the Right-side, and the other on the Left. These two Lions roared every Time that any one went out; and their Roaring was so frightful, that it scared those who heard it, and made them lose their Memories. *Jesus* the Son of *Pandera* escaped this Snare, by cutting a Hole in his Skin, and slipping under it the Name of *Jehovah*, which he had stolen in Writing. He went from thence immediately to *Bethlehem*, the Place of his Birth, where, by Virtue of this Name, which he repeated, he raised one from the Dead, and cured a Leper. The Noise of those Miracles drew a vast Multitude after him, who led him to *Jerusalem* in Triumph, upon an Ass.

The Priests being met together, petitioned *Helena*, or *Oleina*, who at that Time reigned with her Son *Mombus*, or *Hircanus*, and demanded that *Jesus* might be punished. He appeared before her, and by some new Miracles won her over to his Party: At which the Priests being amazed, consulted how they might entrap him; and one of them, called *Juda*, offered to learn the Name of *Jehovah* also, provided they would take upon themselves the Sin which he thereby committed. They consented; he procured the Name, and to working of Miracles they went, both *Jesus* and he, by Way of Emulation. Both the one and the other, by pronouncing the Name raised himself up into the Air, where *Juda* attempted to make his Enemy fall, but in vain, till he had puffed upon him; when the Virtue of the Name being over, they both fell to the Ground, because they were both defiled. *Jesus* immediately washed himself in *Jordan*, and wrought new Miracles; and *Juda*, who would not be baulk'd, put himself among his Disciples, observed all his Proceedings, and revealed them to the Sages. As *Jesus* was coming into the Temple, they took him, with many of his Disciples, while the rest fled to the Mountains. He was now fastened to a Marble Pillar in the City, and there whipt; after which he was crowned with Thorns; then they gave him Vinegar and Water to drink, because he was thirsty; and lastly, the *Sanhedrim* having condemned him to Death, he was stoned.

After he was stoned, they attempted to hang him upon Wood; but the Wood broke, because *Jesus*, foreseeing the Manner of his Death, had enchanted it by the Name of *Jehovah*. However, *Juda* disappointed the Effect of this Precaution, by taking a great Cabbage out of his Garden, and hanging the Body thereon. And now fearing lest the Disciples of *Jesus* should proclaim that he was risen from

the Dead, *Juda* took away his Corpse from its Grave, and having diverted a running Stream, buried it in a Ditch. Nevertheless, it was reported that *Jesus* was risen from the Dead, because his Body was not found in the Sepulchre. Queen *Helena* believed it, and declared that he was the Son of God; but *Juda* discovered the Cheat, by producing the Body. It was then fastened to the Tail of a Horse, and dragg'd before the Palace of the Queen, who was confounded, because she had said that he was the Son of God. His Hair was then pluck'd off, and therefore the Monks are shaved: But the *Nazarites* were so provoked at this, that they made a Schism upon it among the *Jews*.

Notwithstanding this, their Religion was spread abroad every where, by the Ministry of twelve Persons, who preached it through all Countries. The Wise-men being mightily concerned at their Progress, deputed one *Simon Kepha* to stop it; who taking with him the Name *Jehovah*, transported himself into the Metropolis of the *Nazarites*; where, after he had wrought several Miracles, he engaged the People to promise him to do whatsoever he ordered them. He then forbid them to use the *Jews* ill, and commanded them to celebrate the Festival of the Stoning of *Jesus*, instead of the *Passover*, and the fortieth Day after his Death, instead of the *Pentecost*. They promised to observe his Directions, provided he staid among them: In order to which, they built him a Tower, where he shut himself up, and lived upon Bread and Water six Years, and then died. This Tower, or at least the Stone on which *Simon* sat, is yet to be seen at *Rome*, and is called *Peter*. *Elias* came afterwards to *Rome*, and declared that *Simon* had deceived them, for that he was the Person whom *Jesus* had entrusted with his Orders. He then enjoined Circumcision, and commanded the Observance of the first Day of the

the Week instead of the Sabbath. But at the very Instant that he was preaching this Doctrine, a Stone fell upon his Head, and crushed him to Pieces. *May this be the End of all God's Enemies!*--- This is an Extract of that famous Book, the *Toldos Jeshu*; which is a Romance, where in some Parts of the Life of Christ are inserted, and others obscurely alluded to.

Some learned Christians, notwithstanding their Conviction of the Falseness of this Piece, have yet taken Part of it to ground their Conjectures upon. *Celsus* is excusable, because a Heathen; in having upbraided the Christians with the Story of the Virgin's being forced by the Soldier *Pandera*: But *Epiphanius* is much to blame for pretending that *Jacob*, the Father of *Joseph*, was surnamed *Panther*. The learned *Grotius* also makes an Advantage of this Tradition, as if it were well grounded, tho' there is all the Reason in the World to believe, that not only the Story, but even the Name, was invented only to make the Birth of the Messiah more odious. *Panther* is a Greek Word, and therefore could hardly be a Sirname in the Family of our Lord. But the Male *Panther* is a savage and cruel Beast, that couples with a Lioness, and from thence proceeds a Leopard: So, say they, *Jesus Christ* sprang from a Greek Soldier, and a Jewish Woman. And it was for the Sake of this Allusion, which is as pitiful an one as ever was made, that the Name of *Panthera* was introduced on this Occasion.

To refute this whole Fable, and prove the Ignorance of its Inventors, we need only consider the Inconsistencies that are obvious in one small Part thereof. The Birth of *Jesus*, which they pretend was in the Reign of *Alexander Jannæus*, is by them placed an hundred and fifty Years before the Reign of *Helena*, Queen of the *Adiabeni*, who, if any of that Name, must be the Queen before whom *Jesus* was brought. But this Queen never reign-

ed in *Judea*, nor had she any Authority there, and therefore it is ridiculous to drag *Jesus* before her, in order to demand Sentence against him from her and her Son. And again, *Monobasus* was the Name of *Helena's* Son: but he is here called *Mombus*, and confounded with *Hyrcanus*. In a Word, *Jesus Christ* was not born till about eighty Years after the Time to which they fix his Birth, and was put to Death above forty Years before the Time when they make him pass thro' an Examination before a Person who never had any Authority in *Judea*. The taking Notice of this Blunder, which may be confirmed from the Histories of those Times, is making as much Answer as the whole Book deserves.

The Author of the *Toldos Jeshu* published by *Huldricus*, has followed the Gospel closer, and without speaking of *Helena* "makes *Jesus Christ* to be born in the Reign of *Herod*. Nay, he pretends that the Complaints against the Adulteries of *Pandera* and *Mary* were carried before this Prince; and that being exasperated against the Guilty, who were fled into *Egypt*, he went to *Bethlehem*, and massacred the Children of that Place." This Relation is in Truth much more judicious than the former, but has nevertheless many considerable Faults, of which we shall produce a few.

First, it makes *Jesus* to be born at the Beginning of *Herod's* Reign, and to be put to Death under the same Prince, who pronounces Sentence against him: Whereas every Body knows that *Herod* died immediately after the Birth of *Jesus*, who was not crucified till the Reign of *Tiberius*, when there was no more Kings in *Jerusalem*. These Facts cannot be contradicted, because they are taken from profane History, of which our fabulous Author was wholly ignorant.

Secondly, it makes *Joshua* the Son of *Perachia*, who had studied under *Akiba*,

to be the Preceptor of *Jesus*; and yet *Akiba* himself did not live till the Reign of *Adrian*, which was an hundred Years after the Death of Christ.

Thirdly, it affirms that *John the Baptist* was a Disciple of *Jesus*, instead of being his Forerunner.

Fourthly, it talks of a War between *Herod* and the King of *Cæsarea*, about Image-Worship, which, 'tis pretended, was practised by the Followers of *Jesus*. Where this *Cæsarea* lay, is what no Body can certainly tell; (though the Author gives Room to think he means *Germany*) but it is certain that there was not any such War carried on at that Time, neither was Image-Worship then introduced among Christians.

Fifthly, It brings in besides a whole Parcel of Infidel Kings, who designed to make War against *Israel*; and says, that this was made a Pretence for keeping a solemn Fast, though the real Design of it was, to beg of God to deliver up *Jesus*, who by the powerful Name above mentioned, kept himself out of their Hands.

What a Heap of Inconsistencies are here? And yet these are but a few in Comparison of what might be collected from this boasted Work. Is it not surprising that any Man, who knew so little of the State of his own Nation when *Jesus* lived, and of the true Actions of *Jesus* and his Apostles, should yet pretend to write their Histories? Let the Reader judge how much he is to depend upon such Books as these for the Characters of the blessed *Jesus* and his holy Mother, and consequently how impious it is to produce any Passages from them in the Dispute about the Miracles of our Messiah. Can an unprejudiced Person be persuaded to think that these Fables, which so manifestly destroy themselves, have any Manner of Force, when opposed to all that Modesty, Humility, and Holiness, which appear in the true History of *Mary*

the Mother of *Jesus*? And whether it be not a Sin against the Holy Ghost, the true Author of the miraculous Conception of *Jesus Christ*, as well as a blasphemous Imputation on *Jesus* himself, to bring in the Story of this *Pandira*, or *Panthera*, and set it against the Authority of the inspired Writings, is a Matter worth the serious Consideration of those who can give themselves such Liberties.

Upon the whole, we must not dismiss this no less ill-grounded than wicked Story, without taking Notice, that notwithstanding all the inconsistent Variations of the *Toldos Jeshu*, both in itself and in the different Editions of it, the Author or Authors of it do expressly acknowledge, that *Jesus* actually performed many and great Miracles, such as restoring Sight to the Blind, recovering confirmed Paralytics, and raising the Dead. For though these and other Miracles are absurdly said to be wrought by the mysterious Name *Jehovah*, the *Tetragrammaton*, as stolen out of the Temple, yet the miraculous Facts themselves are plainly confessed, though upon that false Supposition: And therefore stripping the Story of that ridiculous Part of it that relates to the Power of a mere Word, it is granted in it that *Jesus* performed real Miracles in the Name and by the Power of the supreme God. So that the most virulent *Jews*, as well as *Celsus*, *Mahomet*, *Julian the Apostate*, and other Infidels, are Witnesses to the Truth of the literal Sense of *Jesus's* Miracles. And this being so, of what Service the impious Insinuation concerning *Panthera* can be to an allegorical Scheme, is hard to see. Which makes it probable that this Story was here produced with the same View as it was formerly by *Celsus* and the *Jews*, not to fix another and a more sublime Sense upon the Actions of *Jesus*, but to prove that *Jesus* himself was really an Impostor, and consequently all his Actions mere juggling Tricks; a Design

sign that can never be reconciled with the Character of a Christian, to which our Author so strongly pretended.

Our Rabbi on this Occasion goes on to cite St. *Austin* against some antient Hereticks, who inferred from this Expression, *Woman, what have I to do with thee?* that *Mary was neither a Virgin, nor Jesus her Son*; which, he says, gave Perplexity to that Father, as to the Explication of this Expression consistently with her Virginity and his Filiation. And though the Rabbi calls this a Quibble, yet after so bold an Insinuation, we shall set the whole, as a Matter of some Consequence, in a true Light from St. *Austin* himself. That Father says, that there were some that derogated from the Truth of the Gospel, and pretended that *Jesus* was not born of the Virgin *Mary*, and palliated their Errors with a shew of Reasoning from this reproving Passage in St. *John*, saying, How could she be his Mother to whom he said, *Woman, what have I to do with thee?* On this Occasion the good Father speaks thus, "What is the Meaning of this? Did he come to the Marriage-Feast to instruct Men in throwing Contempt on Mothers? Undoubtedly, my Brethren, there is some secret Meaning in this. I fear your Minds are corrupted from the Simplicity and Purity that is in *Christ*, by some who derogate from the Gospel, and say that *Jesus* was not born of the Virgin *Mary*, and endeavour to argue from hence in favour of their Error; and ask, How was she his Mother, when he says, *Woman, what have I to do with thee?* ---- Some Persons from hence have corrupted the Faith of the Church, and they who seem so to honour *Christ* as to deny that he assumed a real Body, make him a Lyar." ---- He adds, "If, *Mary* was not his true Mother, the Body he assumed was not a real one, his Death was not true, the Wounds given him at his Passion were not true,

and the Scars of those Wounds shewn at his Resurrection were not true, &c. *Austin* therefore here opposes with Zeal the Error of those that denied from hence that our Lord had assumed the true human Nature.

XV. But our Author proceeds to another Objection against the Miracle of turning Water into Wine, and quotes St. *Chrysostom* on the place for it, as saying, "That great Offence was taken at the Story of this Wedding at *Cana*, and the Presence of *Jesus* at a riotous Feast; and that *Jesus*, when the Company was drunk, used some Artifice in putting false and counterfeit Wine upon them. But at the same time that he cited *Chrysostom* as reporting the Objection, he should in common Honesty have reported that Father's Solution of it: But this, though highly reasonable, was not agreeable to the principal Design of his Scheme, namely, to calumniate *Jesus*; and to asperse the Honour of his Miracles. However, to set this Matter in a true Light, and to give an Answer from *Chrysostom* himself to the Objection proposed, we shall cite both the Objection and Answer out of his Homily on the Place. Now they stand thus. "Some again here scoff, and say this was an Assembly of drunken Men, and that the Senses of the Judges were vitiated, and were not capable of forming a right Judgment of what was transacted; so that they could not know whether it was Water or Wine that was pretended to be made. For, say they, that the Company were drunk, the Governour of the Feast shewed by what he said. But this is a very ridiculous Pretence; besides, the Evangelist has cut off this Suspicion of theirs: For he says, that it was not the Guests that gave their Judgments upon the Fact, but it was the Governour of the Feast, who was sober, and as yet had tasted nothing. For it is well known that

that they who are chiefly entrusted with the Management of such Entertainments are eminently sober, as being only solicitous about the good Order and Decoration of the Feast. And therefore the Sobriety of the Governor of the Feast was appealed to by *Jesus*, in testimony of the Reality of the Wine then made." And again, he adds, "That the Words, according to the manner of the purifying of the Jews, were not inserted without some View in this Narrative, but indeed were so in order to prevent the Suspicion of certain Infidels, namely, *That some Lees of Wine were left in those Pots, which being mixed with Water poured upon them made a very small sort of Wine.* And therefore says the Evangelist, *This was according to the Purification of the Jews*, to shew that those Vessels never had been Receptacles of Wine." That is, in short, that some Infidels calumniated this Fact of *Jesus*; but that the Offence which they took at it was very unseasonable: Consequently, that the Company had lost their Taste so as not to distinguish between Wine and Water. And *Chrysostom* very judiciously observes thus afterwards in this Homily; "That Christ really turned the Water into Wine, the Servants who drew the Water, and filled the Pots with it at his Command, were Witnesses; and that it was good Wine which was so made out of Water, the Governor of the Feast, to whom by the Command of Christ the same Servants filled it out and carried it, was a competent Witness; as was likewise the Bridegroom, to whom the Governor recommended it as good Wine, tho' his Suffrage was not thought necessary by the Evangelist to be added.

In a Word, *St. Chrysostom* is here quoted for a Gentile Objection against the Truth of the miraculous Change of Water into Wine, by the fraudulent Mixture of some Lees of Wine with Water: An Objection, which has now not only been

answered by *Chrysostom*, but which is contrary to the Supposition, which has been now confuted, of making the Company drunk, since those pretended Lees would be so much diluted by so great a Quantity of Water as to be incapable of making them so: And that Part of the Objection which supposed them to have been drunk before, has been already considered. But indeed, besides the suppressing of *Chrysostom's* own Answer, the old Gentile Objection as recorded in *Chrysostom*, is quite altered. For the Rabbi pretends, which the old Gentiles did not in *Chrysostom*, that *Jesus* palmed a false Miracle by the help of the Governor of the Feast upon a drunken Crew. The Gentiles did not so much as pretend, according to their Objection in *Chrysostom*, that *Jesus* used any Collusion with, or practised it by the help of, the Governor of the Feast, in order to establish his Miracle. This too is explain'd as done by the help of some spirituous Liquors, which he had at Hand, and mingled with a Quantity of Water, which the Governor of the Feast vouched to be incomparable good Wine, miraculously made by *Jesus*. Whereas no such thing was pretended by the old Gentiles in *Chrysostom*; but that the Lees or Remains of Wine in the Vessels, being mixt with Water, made a small sort of Wine. They, however, forgot that those Vessels were Water-pots set there for Purification, and therefore could not be Wine-vessels that might be supposed to have some Lees or Remains of Wine in them. And as to the inconsistent Additions of the Rabbi, they are capable of being answer'd in as solid a manner as *Chrysostom* did the real Gentile Objection. For the pretended Rabbi was sensible that the Testimony of the Governor of the Feast stood in his Way, since *Chrysostom* had shewn he was sober when he gave his Judgment of the Goodness of *Jesus's* Wine; so his Testimony was necessarily to be attacked, in order

order to invalidate the Truth of the Miracle. This indeed is a Step taken beyond the old Gentile Objection, by a Person so full of endless Suspicions as to form an imaginary Combination between *Jesus* and the Governor, in order to weaken his Testimony. But the old Gentiles were more reasonable than to fancy any such thing, since there is no manner of Ground for such a Suspicion of Collusion and Fraud in the Governor: On the contrary there appear all the Marks of Sincerity possible in his Testimony, and the Circumstances of it. One of those remarkable Circumstances is, that it is expressly mentioned when the Governor of the Feast tasted the Wine, and gave his Testimony of the Goodness of it, *he knew not whence it was*; for this clearly shews, that his Testimony was not given in favour of *Jesus*, since he was then ignorant whence and how it was produced. And consequently this Testimony was not given by Collusion, but very sincerely, upon the Conviction of his own Taste and Judgment. It is said indeed, that *the Servants who drew the Water knew whence the Wine was produced*; but it is evident they had not then discovered that Change made from Water to Wine by *Jesus's* Order. Another Circumstance is that of the Governour's Speech to the Bridegroom, which plainly evinces that the Governor was then wholly ignorant of the Miracle that was wrought by *Jesus*; for all that he aimed at in that Speech was to compliment and comfort the Bridegroom on his unexpected good Wine. And this is as much a Confirmation of the Sincerity of his Testimony, that it unavoidably follows, that the Testimony of the Governor was not given in Combination with *Jesus*, as is vainly pretended.

XVI. The last Objection of the Rabbi is, "That if *Jesus* had really and miraculously made Wine, which no Power or Art of Man could do, he should, to

prevent all Suspicion of Deceit in the Miracle, have done it without the Use of Water." And afterwards he adds, "This Subject-matter of Water spoils the Credit of the Miracle." And again, "that a rational Answer ought to be given to so reasonable a Question, as why did not *Jesus* create Wine without Water, if he could do so? since that would have been an unexceptionable Miracle, and which no Infidels could have cavilled at, &c." Now on this Occasion he cites *Chrysostom* for this Objection, as if he himself had made it, or had returned no Answer to it; whereas *Chrysostom* did not make it, but the Gentiles, who made the former recorded and answered by him. For after that Father had answered those Infidels, who supposed the Fraud was committed by making a small sort of Wine, by a Mixture of some Lees of Wine and Water, he immediately delivers thus another Objection of the Infidels; "And why did he not perform the Miracle before he filled the Pots with Water, which would have been a much more wonderful Work? For the Change of the Quality of the Subject-matter, and the Creation of a Substance out of nothing, are two different Things." Surely as this Objection is cited out of *Chrysostom*, the Rabbi should have acted so fairly as to have reported at the same time the Answer to it that occurs in *Chrysostom*; which since he has not done, we will supply it from *Chrysostom* himself, and not from *Theophylact*, his Abridger, who alone is here cited. It is this; "Such a Creation it is true would have been a Thing more wonderful, but it would not appear so credible a Miracle to the Majority of Mankind. For this Reason therefore *Jesus* frequently lessens with Design the Greatness of his Miracles, that they might be more easily received and believed.

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Here we find it is granted, and that very justly, by *Chrysostom*, that the Creation of Wine out of nothing, would have been a greater Miracle than the Change of Water into Wine. But was not *Jesus* a free Agent? Might not he chuse what Degrees of miraculous Power he thought fit to exert? Are all his other Miracles equal to one another? Tho' he might, if he pleased, have created Wine out of nothing, yet probably he thought it not proper, on that Occasion, to exert his creating Power; and indeed, there are some Reasons assignable why he chose at that Juncture rather to transmute than to create. One of them is, that as this was the first publick Miracle that *Jesus* wrought, so it was most proper and modest to discover gradually, and by Way of Inference, in the present Case, his miraculous Power, and not to display the highest Instance of Omnipotence at his very first Appearance in the World. And another Reason is, that whereas the Rabbi pretends that the Creation of Wine would have been freer from Suspicion than the Change of Water into Wine, the Reverse of that Assertion is true; since such a supposed Creation of Wine would have been liable to the Suspicion of a secret Conveyance of a Quantity of natural Wine, as supplied by *Jesus* at his Expence or Order: And such a Suspicion would no Doubt have been severely aggravated by Infidels into a Piece of Legerdemain. And again, this Change of Water into Wine, tho' a Miracle confessedly inferior to that of Creation of Wine, has a considerable Advantage over the supposed Miracle of Creation of it, as the former is a Thing of a more sensible and demonstrable Nature than the latter, and therefore must have been more convincing, tho' less astonishing than the other. For the Servants, who drew the Water, drew also the Wine made instantly out of that very Water, and therefore knew

when the Change was made. This Change therefore is confirmed by the Testimony of their Senses, with Regard to the whole Process of the Miracle; which an unaccountable Creation of Wine could not have had, and therefore had been more liable to the Suspicion of Fraud and Collusion than the other.

But in Answer to *Theophylact's* Reason, "that a Miracle, by its Greatness, might be less credible," our Rabbi objects farther, "that a Miracle can't be too great in itself, when well attested, to transcend Credit." This is true in general, but it admits of some Exceptions in particular Cases, that is, as the Miracle happens to be circumstantiated. And thus the Miracle of turning Water into Wine is a less Miracle than that of creating Wine; but it must in the Circumstances of the Wedding-Feast have been more credible than the other, as it has been shewn to be of a more sensible Nature, and of a Process capable of better Testimony. The Attestation of the greater Miracle must bear a due Proportion to the Greatness of it; whereas the Attestation is greater in the Change of Water than in the Creation of Wine, as well as more agreeable to the Expectations and Notions of Men about the first Miracle of a Prophet not yet shewn to the World, who may reasonably be thought to begin with some lower Sort of Miracle.

But tho' this Miracle was performed in so private and humble a Manner, that it was left to be discovered by the Testimonies of the Servants then employed; and tho' this Transmutation of Water into Wine was confessedly a Work inferior to that of Creation of Wine; yet such a Transmutation was as real and unexceptionable a Miracle in itself as the Creation of Wine, tho' it be not of so high a Kind. And in Proof of this Assertion, we shall offer the Judgment of a late learned Physician, *Dr. Connor*, since the Opinion

nion of such a Person is of greater Authority with some People, than that of professed Divines. For as he shews that a Miracle is an Effect produced by the remarkable Suspension of some known Law of Nature, and that as the Laws of Nature were established by God, they can be suspended by him alone in any eminent Degree, and that therefore God alone can perform a real Miracle, or communicate a Power of doing so; so the Transmutation of the Nature or Essence of any Body into the Nature or Essence of any other Body, is such a Suspension of the established Laws of Nature, as is miraculous, and consequently is produced by God; who alone, as he was the Author of Nature, can change the Motion and Texture, and Figure, and Bulk of the Particles of Water into those which specifically constitute Wine. Such a Transmutation therefore is a real Miracle upon philosophical Principles; and this very Change of Water into Wine is particularly referred to by that Writer. And indeed, when we consider, by way of Illustration of this Miracle, that all the Wit and Industry of Man, for so many Ages, has not been able to discover the Art of transmuting the Nature or Essence of any Body whatsoever into the specifick Nature and Qualities of Gold; so perfect a Change of the Nature of Water into that of Wine ought to be consider'd as a supernatural Effect, and therefore when proved by credible Testimonies as a miraculous Operation.

XVII. Having thus vindicated the miraculous Change of Water into Wine from the Objections offered in the pretended Rabbi's Invective, as to all the rational Parts of it, consistently with the Letter, we now proceed to the Consideration of his Authorities of the Fathers in favour of the mystical Sense of this Miracle. And as we have already not only introduced, but established, such Authorities

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of the Fathers as happen'd to be intermixt with Argument, we may hope to reduce the remaining Authorities of them into narrower Limits. For if the Fathers that are cited acknowledge the Truth of the Miracle in its literal Sense, the Citation of their additional Allegories upon it is entirely foreign and useless to the allegorical Cause. However, they shall now be animadverted on in their due Order.

The Author of the *Discourses* runs out into a Digression about the Marriages of the Patriarchs as understood literally, and cites *Justin Martyr* and *Origen* about them in the mystical Sense. But how pertinent this Excursion is, is very obvious, when he does not so much as produce one Citation of those Fathers about the Miracle performed at the Marriage in *Cana*, which is our immediate Subject. But since he cannot actually cite their Judgment about it, he tells us what they might possibly have been cited for. This is no doubt a very convincing Way of producing Authorities! But remote as it is from the Subject, it is all a Misrepresentation of the Authors any way cited by him. For tho' this Author pretends that *Justin Martyr* says, "It is absurd to take the Stories of the Marriages of the Patriarchs in a literal Sense," it cannot be proved that *Justin Martyr* denies the literal Sense of those Marriages to be true. For that Father repeats their History, and then moralizes it. For Example, he says that the Marriages of *Jacob* were Figures and Types of what was to be performed by *Christ*. Then he mentions the Story of *Jacob's* serving *Laban* for his two Wives; which he acknowledges in the plain literal Sense. After this he makes *Leah* to signify the Jewish Synagogue, and *Rachel* the Christian Church; an Allegory which he explains at large. But if according to the literal Sense *Jacob* really had those two Wives, tho' *Justin* afterwards allegorizes the Story, what is all this to their Purpose,

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who, upon Principle deny the Truth of the literal Sense of Scripture, and particularly of this and the other Miracles of *Jesus*, and convert it into mere Allegory? But we have before taken Notice that *Justin Martyr*, here cited, does not only in his Apology, but in this very Dialogue, most clearly acknowledge the Truth of the Miracles of *Jesus*, in their literal Sense. And therefore *Mr. Woolston* might have been more cautious in his Quotations of this Father.

But our Author goes on to inform us, that on account of the Lusciousness of the scriptural Relations of the Marriages of the Patriarchs, (that is, because they were wrote with a Simplicity suitable to the Times of the Patriarchs) *Justin Martyr*, and *St. Paul*, and *Philo Judeus*, turn these Stories into Allegories. How *Justin Martyr* has turned them into Allegory, we have already seen; and shall now consider how *St. Paul* and *Philo Judeus* understood this Matter. As for *St. Paul*, it has been shewn, that when he allegorizes the Marriage of *Abraham*, he does not deny that *Abraham* had two Sons, the one by the Bond-Woman, and the other by the Free-Woman, in the plain literal Sense, tho' he afterwards gives an allegorical Accommodation of it both to *Jews* and *Christians*; which has been confessed by the two greatest allegorical Fathers, *Origen* and *Austin*. The like allegorical Turn does *Philo* give; for he first cites and acknowledges the Truth of the History of *Abraham* and *Sarah* his Wife, in the literal Sense; and after that says, that notwithstanding this literal Story he had heard of an apt and apposite Allegory of it, which was drawn from the Etymology or Signification of the Words, *Abraham* and *Sarah*. But we have already shewn that it does not follow from thence that *Abraham* and *Sarah* were not really married, according to *Philo*, because he

had heard of a mystical Marriage as implied in their Names.

The same, or a worse, Fate attends our Author's Translation of a Passage in *Origen* about Marriages, and particularly that of *Abraham*, to which he refers his Reader. For he has falsely translated some Part of it, and the rest of it is inconsistent with his avowed Opinion. He cites *Origen* on *Matthew* in these Words: "Since the Law is a Shadow of good Things to come, and writes sometimes of Marriages, and of Husbands and Wives, we are not to understand it of Marriages according to the Flesh, but of the spiritual Marriage between *Christ* and his Church." Whereas *Origen* says expressly in this very Passage, "That the Law is not to be principally understood of the merely carnal Marriages mentioned in it, but of such future Marriages in the other World as that between *Christ* and the Church." Where it is most evident, that by omitting the Word *principally* in his Translation, a false Turn is designedly given to the Sense of *Origen*; which was not to exclude entirely the literal Sense of the Scripture, in which carnal Marriages are mentioned. And again, whereas in this Translation it is the very Marriage of *Christ* and the Church, that is said to be understood by carnal Marriages in Scripture, we find in *Origen* himself only this, that carnal Marriages were morally to be understood of such or like Marriages as that between *Christ* and the Church. *Origen* goes on immediately to the Explication of his Sense by that of *St. Paul*, in these Words: "For Instance, *Abraham* had two Sons, the one by a Bond-Woman, the other by the Free-Woman; and he who was by the Bond-Woman, was born according to the Flesh; but he by the Free-Woman was born according to the Promise. It is not at all necessary for me to dwell on the Mean-

ing of the carnal Marriages of the Free-Woman and the Bond-Woman; but these may signify different things by other Marriages. Now this is no more than what St. Paul says, viz. That this History of Abraham's two Sons is capable of being allegoriz'd. But does either St. Paul or Origen say, that Abraham had not literally two Sons as the Foundation of the Allegory? It is certain they say the very reverse, namely, that he had two real Sons. St. Paul says expressly *Abraham had two Sons*, and Origen first acknowledged the History of them to be literally true, though he did not stop there, but carried that History farther to a mystical Meaning.

The plain Truth of the Matter is this, that Origen throughout this whole Homily speaks of the Error of those that imagined there would be carnal Marriages after the Resurrection; and to those mistaken Notions he opposes spiritual and moral Marriages. After he had said, The "*Sadducees* thought that all things will hereafter be there as they are in the present World, namely, Husbands and Wives, Fathers and Children; He adds, "But if there is in that State any Father or Brother, or any Thing of that relative kind, yet it is not according to any carnal Birth. But I am of Opinion, that there are not only Fathers and Children in that State according to the Spirit, not capable of Passion, but also Wife and Husband in the Unity of the Spirit; agreeably to that Parable which says, *The Kingdom of Heaven is like to a King that made a Marriage for his Son*. Therefore the King's Son at the Resurrection of the Dead will make a Marriage quite different from all Marriages which the Eye sees, and the Ear hears, and above the Comprehension of the Heart of Man; and those Marriages will be chaste, and divine, and spiritual; and celebrated in mystical Words, which it is not lawful for Men to utter." And again;

"For this Cause shall a Man leave his Father and Mother, and shall cleave to his Wife, and they two shall be one Flesh. We ought not so to consider what is here said, as if no Mystery were pointed out in it, for great is that Mystery concerning Christ and the Church. And there are a thousand other Places in Scripture about Marriages, and every Place includes a chaste and divine Meaning of Marriages, according to their moral Interpretation. Whoever therefore reads the Scriptures, and their Account of the Marriages of Husbands and Wives, and thinks that nothing more is pointed out in them but simple Marriages, is mistaken about them, as not knowing the Scriptures nor the Power of God; as the Sadducees were mistaken when they read of Marriages in the Scriptures, and understood them in the carnal Sense. For which Reason that Text, *You err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the Power of God*, seems to me not capable of being otherwise understood, than by a moral and figurative Interpretation of the Scriptures; and as shewing in what respect the Scriptures speak any Thing of Husbands and Wives, and how they are mistaken, who, not understanding the prophetic Writings in a moral Sense, think that after the Resurrection Men will eat and drink carnal Food, because the prophetic Writings have some Expressions of that kind; in like Manner as they who understand what is wrote about the Marriages of Husbands and Wives in the literal Sense, think that we shall also after Death have carnal Marriages." From all which it is evident, that Origen spoke only of such a moral or spiritual Exposition of the carnal Marriages mentioned in Scripture as is agreeable to the future State, and not to the present one: And consequently, all that Mr. Woolston cited from him was improperly produced, since Origen's Opinion of the

Marriage at *Cana in Galilee* cannot be known or inferred from it.

XVIII. We now go on to set right his other mystical Authorities of the Fathers, and particularly those of *St. Austin*, several of which he here cites, but not at all to his Purpose. For if it were granted that *Austin* assigns some mystical Interpretations of *Jesus's* turning Water into Wine, what Advantage does our Author's Cause gain from this Concession, if it is likewise evident (as it demonstratively is) that *Austin* acknowledged the Reality of this Miracle in the literal and obvious Sense? Now the Case of *Austin* on this Occasion is this: There are two Homilies of that Father now extant upon this Miracle, in his Commentary on *St. John's* Gospel: In the former of these he acknowledges this Miracle as a Fact, and explains some Difficulties of it in the literal Sense; in the latter he gives several mystical Interpretations of it. These latter mystical Senses then are founded on the former literal ones; and they are so far from destroying them, that they necessarily presuppose them. And that this may not be thought a precarious Assertion, we will select a few Passages out of both those Homilies to confirm it.

Austin even begins the former Homily with an express Acknowledgment of the Truth of this Miracle, in these Words: "The Miracle of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, in making Wine out of Water, is not surprising to those who know that he was God who made it so. For it was he made Wine that Day at the Wedding in those six Water-pots, which he commanded to be filled with Water, who every Year makes Wine in Vines." Upon which he breaks out into Admiration of the wonderful Works of Creation and Redemption, as both were performed by the Word of God. And again, says this Father, "When therefore we see such great Things performed by *Jesus* as God, why

do we wonder at the turning Water into Wine by the Man *Jesus*?---It was he that performed this, who performed all the other Works: Let us not therefore wonder that God performed this; but let us love him because he performed these Works among us, and for our Recovery." To which he immediately adds *Mr. Woolston's* own Citation, which turns directly against himself. "For he intimates somewhat to us even in the Facts themselves. I don't believe he came to the Marriage-Feast without some good Reason. Besides his Performance of the Miracle, there is some Mystery couched under the Fact itself." So that it is most evident from this very Passage, as well as others, that *Austin* acknowledged the Reality or literal Sense of the Fact itself, or that the Water was truly turned into Wine by *Jesus*, though he afterwards superadded some figurative and mystical Expositions of that miraculous Fact. And therefore it is a sufficient Answer to all other Citations of *Austin* in the mystical Way, (such as his Enquiries what is meant by the six Water-pots, and the Water as turned into Wine, who is the mystical Governor of the Feast, and what the other Persons and Circumstances mean) that he calls all this the Mystery of this Fact. If the Bridegroom in *St. Austin* is *Christ*, it is only as he resembled *Christ*; as the Goodness of the Wine of the one resembled the Goodness of the other's Gospel. But does it follow from this Resemblance, that there was no real Bridegroom? Or because *Austin* says, the Governor is or resembles *Moses*, that therefore there was no real Governor at this Marriage-Feast? And if the six Water-pots represent the six Ages of the World, containing Prophecy belonging to all Nations; if the two Firkins are *Jews* and *Gentiles*, or the three Firkins *Noah's* three Sons, does it follow at all from these gross Resemblances, that there were no such Things as six Water-pots that

that contained two or three Firkins a-piece? Surely these arbitrary Interpretations do by no Means destroy the Matters of Fact, by their near Resemblances of other Things and Persons. And therefore though some of these mystical Senses should be allowed to be ingenious, as others of them must be granted to be flat and dull; yet they do no Manner of Service to the allegorical Cause, after *Austin's* Acknowledgments of the Miracle in its literal Sense, which have been already produced.

As for the other Quotations of *Austin*, they prove nothing but that this Father recited the Circumstances of the Fact, and then allegoriz'd them. All this is readily granted, but it is all foreign to our Author's Purpose for the Reasons now assigned. For his Business was not to shew, that the spiritual or mystical Sense of the Gospel is to be adhered to, in Opposition to the literal Sense of the Gospel; but he here only shews, that the spiritual or mystical Sense of the Law of *Moses*, that is, the Gospel, is to be adhered to, in Opposition to the literal Sense of the Law. But of the former St. *Austin* does not here speak a single Syllable. And as to the latter, he speaks no more here or elsewhere than what St. *Paul* does about the Letter that killeth, and the Spirit that giveth Life; which the whole Context evinces to be no Opposition between the Letter and the Spirit of the Gospel, but between the Letter and the Spirit of the Law.

Theophilus of *Antioch* is next cited, as saying, "That by this Marriage is meant the Conjunction of Christ and his Church, as it is the Tradition of the Old and New Testament; and that *Jesus* himself is the Bridegroom, and *Moses* the Governor of the Feast." But this is so imperfect a Citation even of a spurious Writer, as to amount to a Demonstration of the Truth of the literal Sense, when set in a true

Light. For that Writer really speaks thus: "*Woman, what have I to do with thee? my Hour is not yet come.*" Because he was about to perform a mystical Operation by turning Water into Wine, he asserts that he has nothing in common with his Mother, that is, that he was about to perform no human but a divine Work. For by this Marriage we ought to understand the Conjunction of Christ and his Church, as delivered in the Old and New Testament. By the Governor of the Feast is meant *Moses*, and Christ is the new Bridegroom; and by the Water turned into Wine, is signified that the Faithful do by Baptism desire to be Partakers of his bloody Passion." Now is it not most plain and obvious that *Theophilus*, or whoever was the true Author, acknowledged that Christ performed Miracles, that in particular he turned Water into Wine, and that he herein performed a divine Work? And therefore, notwithstanding the mystical Application of this Story, in which *Jesus* is the Bridegroom, and *Moses* the Governor of the Feast, the Truth of the miraculous Fact of turning Water into Wine by *Jesus*, is acknowledged by the pretended *Theophilus*.

It is proper to observe in passing, that our Author has misrepresented the Sense of *Clemens Alexandrinus*; whom he quotes as speaking of the "Fowls of the Air as invited to the Marriage of the Lamb, that is, of spiritual and heavenly-minded Christians, who soar and fly aloft, in their divine and sublime Contemplations on the anagogical Sense of the Scriptures." But for this in the Place cited there is not the least Foundation. For as *Clemens* just before says, "That our Lord stiled those Men Foxes, who dug Riches out of the Earth, and buried them there," that is, who mind nothing but earthly Riches; so he presently after says, that he called those "the Fowls of the Air, who are distinguished from others by a real Purity, and

and a Readiness to fly out in Pursuit of heavenly Truth, or the Word of God." This is *Clemens's* mystical Explication of what our Lord said, that *the Foxes have Holes, and the Birds of the Air have Nests*. But though this Exposition is mystical, yet he says nothing in it of mystical Interpretation, as distinguished from that which is literal.

As for the other Fathers referred to, but not quoted, in Favour of a mystical In-

terpretation of this Marriage, it is most evident that they (namely, *Cyril, Jerome, and Theophylact*) acknowledge the literal Sense of this miraculous Fact, though they superadd a mystical Exposition of it. And therefore whenever any particular Quotations of them shall be produced in the mystical Way, it will then be Time enough to produce the fullest Citations of them in the literal Way, very consistently with the former.

C H A P. IV.

- I. *Our Lord goes up to Jerusalem, and drives the Traders out of the Temple.* II. *His Discourse with the Jews on that Occasion, and Prophecy of his own Resurrection.* III. *He converts many, &c.* IV. *Nicodemus comes to him.* V. *The Necessity of Regeneration.* VI. *Regeneration explained.* VII. *The Truth of this Doctrine.* VIII. *Christ declares the End of his Incarnation and Sufferings.* IX. *The different Effects of Faith and Incredulity, &c.*

I. **T**HE Transactions mentioned in the foregoing Chapter happened, as we there observed, a little before the Passover, to the Celebration of which *Jesus*, according to Custom, went up to *Jerusalem*. When he came thither, he went into the outer Court of the Temple, where he saw those who had brought Oxen, and Sheep, and Doves, for the Sacrifices, selling their Commodities to the People, and the Money-changers carrying on their Traffic, tho' the Place was consecrated solely to divine Worship. Being filled with Indignation at the Sight, he immediately made a Scourge of small Cords, and with no other Weapon but this, drove them all out of the Temple, both the Merchants and their Cattle, and overturned the Counting-Tables of the Money-changers, pouring out their Money upon the Ground; none of them making any Resistance a-

gainst him. The Sellers of Doves also he commanded to depart with their Goods, charging them all to take it as a Warning for the future, *never more to turn the Temple of his Father into a House of Merchandize.*

II. When the Disciples of *Jesus* saw these Things, they called to mind a Passage in the *Psalms* (which is much more applicable to *Jesus* than to the *Psalmist*) wherein it is said, *The Zeal of thine House has eaten me up, or consumed me*, *Psalm 69. 9.* But the other *Jews*, who were then in the Temple, contended that this Fact could not be warranted but by a prophetic Authority; which Authority, they said, *they would then believe him to have received from God, when they had seen him perform some Miracle as a Testimony of his Commission.* In answer hereto, *Jesus* told them, that this should be a Sign to them: *They should destroy this Temple,*

Temple, and he would raise it again in three Days. The Jews, who understood him as speaking of the Temple of Stone in which they were then conversing, replied, *That they could not conceive how it was possible for him to raise that Temple in three Days, which had already been six and forty Years in building, since the Time that it was undertaken by Herod the Great.* But the true Meaning of Jesus was, that the Temple of his Body should be destroyed, or that he himself should be put to Death, and that he would again rise from the Dead in three Days. Which Things he thus predicted in a figurative Manner, according to the Custom of the antient Prophets, who were seldom understood till their Prophecies were actually fulfilled. And thus the Disciples of Jesus, after he was risen from the Dead, remembered this Prophecy, and interpreted it in the right Sense, adding thereto other of his Predictions concerning himself; of which, as well as of many Predictions concerning the Messiah in the Old Testament, they had seen very remarkable Parts accomplished. This confirmed them in their Belief on their Master, and made them more entirely depend upon those Promises of his, which were not yet fulfilled.

III. While Jesus remained at Jerusalem, during the Feast of unleavened Bread, many of the People believed on him, being convinced of his Divine Mission by the Miracles which they saw him perform. But Jesus knowing the Secrets of Mens Hearts, and not wanting any outward Information concerning them, easily discerned the Nature of this their Belief, and how unlikely it was to bear any Stress, and to hold out in a Time of Temptation and Suffering. And in Consequence of this Knowledge, he did not think fit to run the Hazard of their Inconstancy, and trust himself too much in their Hands: For which Reason, he

avoided conversing too freely with them, and discovering more fully who he was. Not that he was not able to defend himself publickly against their utmost Efforts, had there been any Design formed against him; but because, as Man, it was necessary he should be subject to the common Laws of Humanity, without exerting a Divine Power in his own Defence; and consequently that he should keep himself out of the Way of those who were likely to betray him, till the Time appointed by the Father for his being made a Sacrifice was fulfilled.

IV. There was at this Time of our Lord's Abode in Jerusalem, one Nicodemus, of the Sect of the Pharisees, a Member of the Great Sanhedrim, who being a pious Man, upon hearing of the Miracles wrought by Jesus, began to look upon him as some extraordinary Person, and was very desirous of conversing with him. But as he durst not be seen or known to visit one who was despised by the rest of the Rulers, for Fear of offending those his Colleagues in the Government, he therefore came to Jesus by Night, and accosted him in this Manner: *Master, we are convinced that thou art sent by God to teach and instruct us in his Way; for no Man is able to do such Miracles as thou dost, without having received his Power from God; and we are certain, that God would never grant such a Power to confirm Falsities.* Having premised this, he was about to ask Jesus what it behoved him to do, in order to his becoming a Partaker of the Kingdom of God, which he was informed was now near at Hand.

V. Jesus, who, as we before remarked, knew the Thoughts of all Men, observing that the Attention of Nicodemus was not so much turned towards the Excellency and Power of his Doctrine, as towards the Miracles by which that Doctrine was confirmed, immediately gave him an Answer, which at the same Time pre-

prevented his Question, and corrected the false Notions on which he had conceived it. *Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a Man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God.* As if he had said, "Assure thyself that the bare acknowledging me to be the Messiah, will not be sufficient to render thee a Member of the Kingdom which I am set to up: For no Man can enjoy the Blessings of that Kingdom, without forsaking his former Course, and being renewed in his Mind, Will, and Affections, by the Operation of the Holy Spirit, so as to become a new Creature."

But Nicodemus, not understanding what was meant by this figurative Expression of *Jesus*, and attending only to the literal Sense of it, childishly demanded how it was possible for a Man to be born again when he is old. *Must he enter,* says he, *a second time into his Mother's Womb, and from thence spring forth anew into Life?* To this *Jesus* answered first in general, by a very short Paraphrase on what he had before said, *Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a Man be born of Water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* That is, "Except a Man become one of my Disciples by that baptismal Regeneration, in which your Profelytes are said to be new-born, and be also purified in his Heart from all worldly and carnal Appetites, so as to live a new and spiritual Life according to my Doctrine, he cannot be admitted a Partaker of the Benefits of my Kingdom."

* The same Greek Word which is here translated *Wind*, is rendered by *Spirit* at the End of the Verse, as well as in most other Places of the New Testament. The Vulgare Translation, and that of *Erasmus*, have *Spiritus* in this Place also: And in this Sense a French Commentator reads the whole Passage thus. "The Manner of this Birth is as imperceptible as the other Operations of the Spirit of God. Now the Spirit of God blows where he pleases, and you hear his Voice by the Mouth of his Prophets and Ministers; but you know not whence he cometh, nor whither he goes: So it is with every one who is born of the Holy Spirit; you hear him speak a new Language; all his Actions are of another kind than they were before; but you cannot see the Principle from which he acts, the end at which he aims, and the good things for which he hopes." See *Commentaire literal sur l'Histoire & Concorde des quatre Evangelistes, par le R. P. De Carrieres.*

VI. And then going on to explain this Doctrine more fully, our Lord argues in the following Manner: "The Reason and Necessity of this Regeneration by the Spirit are evident: For the Actions of a merely natural Man, who never passed thro' this new Birth, will be only natural Actions, or at most but external Purifications and Restraints from Sin: But the Actions of a spiritual Man, thus born anew from the higher Principle of which I am speaking, will be all spiritual and pure, agreeable to the Directions of that Spirit by which he is moved. Nor ought my Doctrine (that Men must be born again after this spiritual Manner, in order to their getting Admission into the Kingdom of Heaven,) to be either wondered at, or doubted of, by thee; it being no Objection to the Truth of it, that this Change is not actually visible to your Eyes, and that the manner how it is effected, is not commonly known: For even in corporeal Things, some there are of which you make no Question, which yet are invisible, and of which you are ignorant in many Particulars. To instance * in the Wind, it comes with a great Force and Noise, it produces very discernible Effects, and by that Men know the Existence of the Thing itself; yet what Beginning it hath when it rises, and what becomes of it when it ceases, no Man can certainly determine: Thus a Person may be truly said to be renewed in his Mind, when this Renovation is discoverable in its Fruits and

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Increase, tho' the manner in which the Influences of the Spirit are conveyed to him, and the Method of their Operation upon the Faculties of his Soul, cannot be precisely known."

VII. *Nicodemus* still continued in the dark concerning the Meaning and Possibility of what *Christ* said, and therefore asked again, *How these Things could be?* To which *Jesus* answer'd to this Effect: "What I have told you concerning the new Birth in Baptism, is not only agreeable to, but a Part of your own Doctrine about *Profelytes*; and what I have delivered concerning the Renovation of the Spirit, answers to your own Notion, That Wisdom comes from above; and this being so, 'tis very strange that you, who are a learned *Jew*, a *Pharisee*, and a Teacher in *Israel*, should not understand any Thing at all of these Matters. But assure yourself that I tell you nothing, the Truth of which is not known to me, though the Generality of the *Jews* distrust and disbelieve my Sayings. If I have spoken to you of things done by Men on Earth, or which may be represented to you by Similitudes taken from earthly Things, and you have not believed nor understood them, how shall you comprehend what I say, when I tell you of heavenly Things, which cannot be thus represented, such as my Descent from Heaven, and my Abode there at the same Time? And yet these heavenly Things are also true, though no Person can acquaint you with them; for no other Person hath ever ascended up to Heaven, to learn them there, but he that came down from Heaven, even the Son of Man, who, according to his divine Nature, is now present in Heaven, whilst you see him conversing with Men here on Earth."

VIII. But this Son of Man (continued our Lord) great as he is in his Divine Nature, must yet die for the Sins of Men.

No. XXXIX.

For as *Moses* lifted up a Serpent of Brass in the Desarts of *Arabia*, that those who were bitten by poisonous Serpents, and must otherwise have died, might, by looking up to it be cured of their Malady and live; in like manner must the Son of Man be lifted up upon a Cross, that whosoever believes on him should not perish by that Death which the old Serpent brought upon all the Sons of *Adam*, but being delivered from it by this Antitype of that brazen Serpent, might be received into eternal Life. And herein hath God express'd his unspeakable Love to Mankind, that he hath sent his Eternal and Only-begotten Son to assume their Nature, to instruct them, and give them Examples of holy Living, and at last to die for them, and rise again, and ascend into Heaven, all to this one great and glorious End, that every Person in the World, who shall receive and obey him, may be rescued from eternal Death, and made a Partaker of everlasting Life. For this my Mission from God the Father was designed all in Mercy and Charity, not to punish or condemn any Man, but that all Men through my Means might be redeemed from Punishment, unless they obstinately reject this great Goodness."

IX. "He that believes on me and obeys my Precepts, shall be by me secured from all Punishment; but whosoever shall reject me, shall certainly be subject to that Condemnation which he hath voluntarily brought upon himself, by not giving Credit to the only begotten Son of God, who came on purpose to deliver him from eternal Death. And this it is that will aggravate the Guilt and Punishment of obstinate Men, that notwithstanding God the Father has made such Provision for them by a new and holy Revelation, and notwithstanding God the Son came into the World to enlighten their Minds, and take them off from their former sinful

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Courses, they yet were so besotted to their evil Ways, that they chose rather to continue in those deadly Principles which extinguish all Knowledge of Virtue, than to be reformed and purified by me, or so much as taught the true Notions of their Duty. For as 'tis certain, that a Person has somewhat to conceal, or that he is loth to part with, when he refuses coming to the Light; so he that refuses to come and be instructed by me, discovers that he is a wicked Man, and that he means to continue so, for which Reason he will not suffer his Actions to be examined, lest they should be found faulty, and he be engaged to reform them against his Intention. On the contrary, he that lives a justifiable Life, sincerely follows after Virtue, and resolves to amend what is amiss, such an one will be glad of a Director who shall put him in the Way of strictest Duty; he will venture to have his Actions impartially judg'd of, and give a Proof that he does every thing in the Fear of God, and with a good Conscience." These were the Lessons of our blessed Lord to *Nicodemus*.

DISSERTATION I.

A Defence of our Lord's miraculous driving the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple.

- I. *The first Objection in Point of Reason against the Letter of the Story, refuted.*
- II. *The second Objection.* III. *Quotations from the Fathers against the literal Sense considered: From Origen.* IV. *From Hilary.* V. *From Ambrose.* VI. *From Jerom.* VII. *From Augustin.* VIII. *From Theophylact.* IX. *Erasmus unhappily quoted.* X. *Original Words falsely rendered.*

Concerning *Christ's* miraculous Driving the Buyers and Sellers out of the

Temple, Mr. *Woolston* advances two Objections against the Letter of the Story in Point of Reason; which are proposed in so cursory a Manner as not to require a long Answer. One of them is, "that it is hard to conceive how any one in the Form of a Man, and of a despised one too, with a Whip in his Hand, could execute such a Work upon a great Multitude of People, who were none of his Disciples, nor had any regard for him." But it is very easy to reply to this, that *Jesus* performed this great Work of Reformation, as he was invested with the Authority of a Prophet. And if our Author had not been blinded with Prejudices against the literal Sense of the Gospels, he must have herein discerned the prophetic Character of our Lord, that is so very legible in every one of the Evangelists.

The three former of the Evangelists record *Christ's* second Visitation of the Temple; and the fourth, or last of them, mentions only *Christ's* first Visitation of it: This Distinction is according to St. *Chrysostome* and other Fathers, who very justly assign two distinct Visitations of the Temple by him, the one in the Beginning of his Ministry, and the other towards the Conclusion of it. Now the three first Evangelists most clearly shew, that *Jesus* was considered by the People as a Prophet. St. *Matthew* expressly mentions, in consequence of his triumphant Entrance into *Jerusalem*, when repeated *Hosanna's* were given to him as the Son of David by the Multitudes that then attended, that he was acknowledged by them to be a Prophet. These are his Words: *And the Multitude said, this is Jesus the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee.* Immediately after which it is mentioned, that *Jesus* went into the Temple of God, and cast out all those that profaned it. And in the very same Chapter we are informed, that when the Chief Pharisees were so irritated by his Parables as to seek to lay Hands on him, they

they feared the Multitude, because they took him for a Prophet. It is mentioned too by St. Mark on this very Occasion of reforming the Temple, that the Scribes and Pharisees feared him, because all the People were astonished at his Doctrine. St. Luke tells us likewise, on Occasion of his forefaid Entrance into Jerusalem, previously to his Reformation of the Temple, that the whole Multitude of the Disciples began to rejoice and praise God for all the mighty Works which they had seen, saying, Blessed be the King that cometh in the Name of the Lord. And presently after his Expulsion of the Prophaners of the Temple, we are assured that he taught daily in the Temple; and that they that sought to destroy him could not find what they might do; for all the People were very attentive to hear him, Luke 19. 47, 48.

And though St. John, who is the only one that mentions Christ's first Reformation of the Temple, does not write of any such Multitudes of his Disciples attending him at that Visitation, as did at his second Visitation of it, yet he prepares the Way for it by the Authority he had acquired by the previous turning Water into Wine, by which he manifested forth his Glory. And presently after his Reformation of the Temple, the Evangelist adds, that many believed on his Name, when they saw the Miracles that he did; which implies other Miracles performed in Support of his Authority. However it is observable, that at his first Purgation of the Temple from secular Pollutions, in the Beginning of his Ministry, he used more gentle Language than at his second Reformation of it; for in the former he only said, *Make not my Father's House an House of Merchandize*, but in the second he spoke with a freer Air, *Ye have made it a Den of Thieves*; as having then gained greater Authority during the whole Course of his Ministry, and as acting against the aggravated Crime of repeated

Prophaneness. No wonder then, that when he was known to be a Teacher come from God, since none could do those Miracles that he did except God were with him, his Authority in reforming the Temple was not opposed by Force. To this Submission the Consciousness of the Guilt of the Profaners of it might somewhat contribute, in the same Manner as the Enemies of Jesus were struck backward with their own Guilt as well as his Majesty, and fell down to the Ground, when they came to apprehend him.

And as for the Whip of small Cords that was used by our Lord on this Occasion, no Doubt it was of itself insufficient to drive out so great a Multitude. And therefore, as the Clay and Spittle for curing the blind Man, was used to shew that it was by no Means instrumental in itself, so this was only an Emblem of Discipline, proper to convince the incredulous, that Jesus exerted a divine Power, which was attended with so awful a Regard to his prophetic Authority, that not the least Opposition was made to his Visitation of the Temple. And indeed otherwise it had been impossible that so great Effects, as the subduing Covetousness, Fraud, and Prophaneness, should have been produced by some such an Instrument as a Scourge of small Cords. It could therefore be nothing else but the Veneration due to the Character of a Prophet, who exhibited the Credentials of Heaven, which occasioned so profound an Obedience.

And if this Visitation of the Temple was no more than what was foretold by Malachi, (as it seems to be) the general Apprehension of the Completion of his Prophecy might contribute to an Acquiescence of the People in Christ's Reformation of the Temple, and of the Priests that officiated in it. Says that Prophet, *The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his Temple, even the Messenger of the Covenant whom ye delight in. But who*

may abide the Day of his Coming, and who shall stand when he appeareth? For he is like a Refiner's Fire, and like Fullers Soap. And he shall purify the Sons of Levi, that they may offer to the Lord an Offering in Righteousness. Than which propheticall Expressions none can be more applicable to Christ's Visitation and Reformation of the Temple.

II. The other Reason, or rather Query, offered on this Occasion, is this: "Why was Jesus so zealous against the Profanation of that House, which he himself came to destroy, and which he permitted to be destroy'd not long after?" To this it may be answered, in short, that the Honour of God was concerned in it, since the Temple-Service which was instituted by God himself, was not yet annulled by his Authority; and therefore it was necessary to vindicate the relative Holiness of God's own House; an House emphatically so stiled above all other Houses of the like Nature, being originally erected by God's immediate Command, in order to place his Name there. It was still stiled the Temple of God, and his Father's House, and was therefore still honoured by Jesus as such. And indeed it might have been as judiciously enquired, why Jesus conformed to the legal Service of the Temple, which was as yet established, though soon to be evacuated by the more perfect Sacrifice of himself, as why he vindicated the Honour of God that was profaned in his own House, though that House was after some Time to be finally abandoned, and judicially destroyed. And certainly, if Zeal for the Honour of God, as was shewed by our Lord on this Occasion, he could never have offered such trifling Objections against his Vindication of it, or the Possibility of doing so, when his Zeal was supported by propheticall Authority.

III. The Cavils of Mr. Woolston being thus confuted, we proceed to consider his

Citations of the Fathers, in Favour of the allegorical Sense of this Miracle of our Lord, by Way of Exclusion of the literal Sense of it. He begins with Origen, and pretends that this Father makes the whole but a Parable, and that he did not believe any Thing of the Letter of this Story. But how false these Assertions are of Origen's Sentiments of this Miracle, will fully appear from his genuine Commentary now extant, on this repeated Miracle. In the beginning of his Commentary on this Miracle, as recorded by St. Matthew, he recapitulates what he had wrote in his former Commentary on it, as delivered by St. John, and says, "There we prove that even this Miracle was not the least among the prodigious Powers or Works of Jesus; because being considered only as a Carpenter's Son, he used so great Liberty of Speech and Authority in casting out of the Temple, in a publick Assembly, those that are described in this Account.---And when we had kept strictly to, or observed, the Letter, we likewise explained the Mind of John in a figurative Manner, to the best of our Capacity." After which Origen proposes to consider the Account of this Miracle as given by St. Matthew, and accordingly he writes thus: "And first it ought to be mentioned what that Temple of God is, of which God made this Declaration in the Prophet, *My House shall be called an House of Prayer.* Agreeably then to the Circumcision in the Flesh, and the corporal Feasts and Sacrifices of the Law, that was reputed the Temple of God, which was first built of insensible Stones by Solomon, was afterwards restored by Ezra, and after our Saviour's ministerial Dispensation was at last destroyed by the Romans. And that House was understood to be an House of Prayer, which being destroyed, it must be acknowledged that the Jews, as having now no longer an House of Prayer, could no longer be said to have the Privi-

lege of being under the more immediate Care and Inspection of God, which they were thought to enjoy, because they offered up their Prayers in the House of Prayer, after they had performed the Duties of their legal Service. But our Saviour, who likewise appointed some Symbols of his own spiritual Actions, turned out of that Temple in the literal Sense those that sold and bought there, overturned the Tables of the Money-changers, and the Seats of those that sold Doves, and spoke what is wrote of him on that Occasion, for the Reformation of the People there present, who instead of keeping a solemn festival Assembly in the Name of God, abused that Leisure in selling and buying, not in a Place properly suited to such Affairs, but in the Temple, where those that meet together ought to offer up Prayers, as in the House of Prayer; but they did Things contrary to praying in it, there selling, and buying, and changing Money, and being placed on Seats to sell Doves, as in an House of Merchandize. But our Saviour then corrected those indecent Actions of the *Jews*, reproving those that, instead of keeping the Festival according to the Law, engaged there in Traffick, and indulged the Luxury of the Body." All this is so plain and minute an Acknowledgment of the Truth of the literal Sense of this Miracle by *Origen*, that it is amazing to consider how any one could prevail with himself to assert so very roundly, that *Origen* did not believe any Thing of the Letter of this Story. It is true indeed, that *Origen*, after this his Acknowledgment of the literal Sense of this Miracle, allegorizes the whole Transaction, as a moral Purification of the living Temples of God, the Church of Christ; but this evinces too, that the mystical Sense, assign'd after the literal, was not thought by *Origen* to be at all inconsistent with it. And it is very observable, that even in the Midst of the

mystical Interpretation assigned by *Origen*, in order to carry on the Comparison of both Senses with greater Exactness, he repeats his Acknowledgment of the literal Sense of this Miracle. For Instance, he says thus in this very Commentary: "Then *Jesus* entered into the Temple of God, and purified it, by casting out all those that sold and bought in the Temple, and by overthrowing the Tables of the Money-changers, and the Seats of those that sold Doves. But now, &c."—Where he proceeds in a figurative Manner to adapt this Miracle to the moral State of Things both of the Clergy and Laity in his own Age. For *Origen* mentions both of them as the allegorical Objects of *Christ's* Reformation.

But 'tis said, that *Origen* has in his Commentary on this Miracle, as recorded in *St. John's* Gospel, formed a large Argument against the Letter of this Story. Of this Argument *Mr. Woolston* gives the Substance, with some Improvements of his own. But certainly, if he had any honest Intention in reciting *Origen's* Objections, he would likewise have recited *Origen's* own Answer to those Objections. We will here supply his Omission. For *Origen* answers thus, notwithstanding all his strong Bias to mystical Interpretation: "But there is left one apologetical Answer to these Objections, for any Person that is desirous to preserve the historical Sense of this Miracle; namely, the very divine Power of *Jesus*, which was such, that he could, when he pleased, even appease the inflamed Rage of his Enemies, overcome many Thoulands of Men by his divine Grace, and dissipate the Designs of the Factious: *For the Lord bringeth the Counsel of the Nations to nought; he maketh the Devices of the People of none Effect; but the Counsel of the Lord standeth for ever*, Psal. 33. 10, 11. So that the History of this Miracle, evinces that it was not at all less than any of his most amazing

amazing Miracles, that invited, by the Character of Divinity stamped upon them, all those that saw them to the Christian Faith. Indeed we may well pronounce it to be greater than that of changing Water into Wine at *Cana of Galilee*; because he there only changed the Texture of inanimate Matter, but here he subdued the Free-will of so many thousand Persons." But the Omission of this Answer of *Origen* to his own Objection, is very agreeable to our Author's disingenuous Practice of repeating the Objections started, and passing over in Silence the Answers given to them, by the rest of the Fathers as well as *Origen*.

Before we leave *Origen*, we must beg of the Reader, that he will stop a little, and recollect, that *Origen* himself, in this last Citation of him, has expressly acknowledged, that the most amazing Miracles of *Jesus Christ* did invite, by the Character of Divinity stamped upon them, all that saw them to the Christian Faith. This is an Assertion which cannot possibly be understood in any other than the literal Sense of those Miracles. And let the Reader at the same Time consider, that Mr. *Woolston* pretends, that those Miracles were never wrought, in whole or in part, in the literal Sense; that they were none of the proper Miracles of the Messiah, nor any good Proof of *Jesus's* divine Authority. It is therefore demonstrable how little Regard is due to this Author's Quotations of the Fathers, since even *Origen* opposes his Pretensions, and acknowledges the Truth of the literal Sense of this Miracle, and the true End and Design of this and all other Miracles of our blessed Lord.

IV. He goes on to cite *Hilary*, as of the same Mind with *Origen*, and as saying that "this Story is only a Prefiguration of what will be done in *Christ's* Church upon another Occasion." But how true this Representation of the Sense

of *Hilary* is, will soon appear very clearly. For though *Hilary* asserts that this Story is a Prefiguration of future Things, yet he does not deny nor exclude the literal Sense, when he applies the Words to that which is mystical. And this, without any farther Trouble, is evident from the very Words that are cited out of *Hilary*, by our Author himself. For, says he, "The Prefiguration of future Things is contained in what the Gospel mentions as transacted at present." And if so, what contains future Things, must, by an unavoidable Consequence, be a real Thing itself. And therefore the literal Sense of this Story is presupposed, as containing that which is mystical. So that there may be a Prefiguration of future Things in this Story, as *Hilary* speaks; and yet the whole is by no means merely a Prefiguration of what will be done hereafter, as is here pretended.

But our Author adds, "As to the Letter of the Story, *Hilary* is plain enough that there was no such Market kept in the Temple of *Jerusalem*:" And on this Occasion he reflects in the most scurrilous Manner on the Honour and Sincerity of the Evangelists. To give some Colour to this, he quotes *Hilary*, as saying, that "the *Jews* had nothing to sell, neither was there what could be bought by any one." But this Passage in *Hilary* is not at all used by him about the Market in the Temple. For after he has laid down in his mystical Exposition, that the *Doves* signify the *Holy Ghost*, he says, "But neither is it to be imagined that the *Jews* could buy or sell the *Holy Ghost* in the Synagogue." The Reason of which he subjoins immediately; "For the *Jews* could neither sell nor buy what they had not." It was therefore the *Holy Ghost*, and not the Market in the Temple, which was here spoken of immediately, and which *Hilary* here denied that the *Jews* had, and therefore could not sell

or buy what they had not. The Result, consequently, is this, that 'tis a gross Prevarication to assert, that *Hilary* is plain enough that there was no such Market kept in the Temple of *Jerusalem*, as the Evangelists mention, and we may add likewise, as all the Fathers acknowledge.

V. The next Authority cited by Mr. *Woolston* is that of St. *Ambrose*, who is, as he pretends, for the Mystery, and against the Letter of this Story. But though he is confessedly for something mysterious in it, yet he is not against the Letter of it. For can *Ambrose*, though he is very fond of Allegories, be truly said to be against the Letter of the Story, or to exclude the literal Sense of it, when he says thus on this occasion? "*Jesus* taught in general, that there ought not to be any worldly Traffick in the Temple of God; and in particular, he drove the Money-changers out of it." And afterwards he acknowledges the Truth of the Facts relating to this Miracle, when he says in a witty Way; "The Money is poured out, that Grace may be gather'd up; and the Table of the Money-changers is overthrown, that the Table of the Lord may be placed in its room," with more of the same Nature. ----- He goes on, "And it was not one supported with Forces and Riches that performed all this; but it was a Person that lashed out the Crowd with a Scourge of small Cords, to whom none of them durst make Opposition." And even when he adds, "that he does not understand according to the Letter, why *Christ* overthrew the Seats of those that sold Doves," he gives for it only this weak and insufficient Reason (agreeably indeed to the usual Method of Allegorizers) "That the Hucksters of Fowls could not claim to themselves the Dignity of any honourable Chair in the Market; for what special Pre-eminence, says he, is there in Doves?" As if no other Sorts of

Seats might have been used for the Ease and Conveniency of the Sellers of Doves. But whether or no the Letter was rightly understood by *Ambrose*, this mystical Sense is not very intelligible to other Persons. And indeed it is somewhat surprising, that this Father could not with the same Ease understand the Reason of the literal Sense of *Christ's* overthrowing the Seats of those who sold Doves, as he did his overthrowing the Seats of the Money-changers, his forbidding secular Commerce in the Temple, or his driving the profane Multitude out of it; all which he acknowledged to be true in the literal Sense, though on the very same Foundation with the other Instance. But though it should be allowed, that *Ambrose* did not discern, that the Reason assigned by himself, of our Lord's Prohibition of secular Commerce in the Temple, extended equally to his overthrowing the Seats of those that there sold Doves, and of the Money-changers there; yet it is evident that *Ambrose* himself confesses the Fact, or the literal Sense, of the one as well as of the other. For he takes for granted, even in the Quotation before us, that *Jesus* did actually overthrow the Seats of those that sold Doves in the Temple, and only hesitates about the Reason of that Fact, which itself is acknowledged by him. And we may easily see the Reason of the Hesitation, namely that Father's being so blinded with the Prejudices of his mystical Interpretations.

VI. The next Father produced on the Occasion of *Jesus's* Reformation of the Temple, is St. *Jerome*: Of whom Mr. *Woolston* says, that "as his Manner is in other Cases, he first gives us a literal Exposition of this Miracle, as far as it will bear it; but then corrects himself again, saying, there are Absurdities in the Letter." Here it is very observable, that we have the Acknowledgement of this Author himself, that St. *Jerome* gives us a literal

literal Exposition of this Miracle, and that it is his Manner to do so in other Cases. This Confession of *Jerome's* being a literal Commentator must have been extorted by the mere Force of Truth; and indeed if any Father can be said to be a literal Expofitor, *Jerome* is that Person. This is so certain a Truth, that the late great Scriptural Critick, *F. Simon*, has assured the World, that "there is nothing left of any antient Author, from which we may better learn the literal Sense of Scripture than from St. *Jerome*. And that he does not cease to be a literal Expofitor, when he superadds a mystical Interpretation to that which is literal, is acknowledged by this Father himself in the Preface to his Commentary on St. *Matthew's* Gospel. The Truth of the Matter with regard to St. *Jerome's* Exposition of our Lord's Reformation of the Temple is this. That Father explains the literal Sense of this Miracle; and not only asserts "that it was a Miracle, but that it was in some respects the greatest of all our Saviour's Miracles:" He shews "the evasive Arts that were then used by the Priests in collecting several small Gifts (instead of practising Usury that was forbid by the Law) which were presented by those that had not any thing legal to offer. And as for those that were rich enough, the Priests not only sold them in the Temple what was wanting for Sacrifices, but this Father exposes their Knavery by marking farther, that they often sold the very same Sacrifice to different Persons." So that our Lord's severe Expression of the Temple's being made not only an *House of Merchandize*, but a *Den of Thieves*, is strictly justified by *Jerome*: An Expression, that was probably used by our Lord in allusion to the rocky Caves or Dens in the mountainous Parts of *Judea*, which were often the receptacles of Thieves and Robbers.

It is true indeed, that after St. *Jerome's*

literal Exposition of this Miracle, he allegorizes the Story, and transfers it from the Temple to the Church. In the midst of which allegorical Exposition he finds some Difficulty, and says thus: "According to the plain Meaning *Doves* were not in Chairs, but in Coops or Penns; unless perhaps the Hucksters of *Doves* sat in Chairs; which is wholly absurd; because the Dignity of Instructors is rather shewn in Chairs, or Seats; which Dignity is reduced to nothing when it is mixed with filthy Lucre." But does the Text say that *Doves* were in Chairs? Is it not expressly mentioned, that the Seats here spoken of were those of the Sellers of *Doves*? The *Doves* might surely be placed in Coops or Penns, and their Sellers sit in Chairs for their own Convenience.

But why is this Supposition absurd? "Because, says *Jerome*, the Chair is a Mark of Dignity, that is, of Masters and Instructors; which Dignity suffers much when mixed with Gain." But if this be a Difficulty, it is one of *Jerome's* creating, as founded on his own allegorical Exposition; in which perhaps he too much gratified the Severity of his Temper, in reflecting on some of his Superiours that had disgusted him, and particularly *John Bishop of Jerusalem*. He had spoken of *Doves*, as of the Gifts of the Spirit, and then thought fit to take notice that *Doves* were not in Chairs but in Coops, unless it be said in the mystical Sense that the Hucksters of those Spiritual *Doves* sat in Chairs. Which Supposition, says he, is very absurd, because the Dignity of such spiritual Hucksters is lost by Gain. If therefore this be an Absurdity, it is not one that is to be found in the Letter of the Story, but in the mystical Exposition itself that is assigned by St. *Jerome*. And consequently, it is egregiously false as well as weak, to assert that after *Jerome's* literal Exposition of this Miracle, as far as it would

would bear, he corrects himself again, saying, there are Absurdities in the Letter: Which, we believe, now appears to every Reader, capable of reflecting, not to be said by *Jerome*.

In fine, 'tis plain, that Mr. *Woolston* had either superficially read this Passage of *Jerome*, or represented it in a very unfair and partial Manner, not to use any harsher Expressions. And this Censure is strongly confirmed by what *Jerome* writes immediately after in his foresaid Commentary, in which he establishes the literal Sense assigned before by himself. "Most Persons, says he, are of Opinion, that the greatest of *Jesus's* Miracles, are, *Lazarus's* Resurrection, the giving Sight to the Man that was born blind, the Voice of God the Father heard at *Jordan*, and the Transfiguration of *Jesus* on the Mount that shewed the Glory of his triumphant State. But of all the Miracles that *Jesus* performed, this seems to me to be the most wonderful, that a single Man, and he at that Juncture despicable, could, in Opposition to the Scribes and Pharisees, who with Rage against him saw the Ruin of their worldly Gain, cast out so great a Multitude with the Strokes of one small Scourge, overthrow the Tables, destroy the Seats, and perform other Works that a great Army could scarce have effected. For in order to perform such things, it must be supposed that there was some extraordinary bright and fiery Appearance which flashed out of his Eyes, and that the Majesty of his Divinity shone in his very Aspect."

VII. But we go on to consider what is cited out of St. *Austin*, who, our Author says, is against the Letter of the Story of this Miracle. But this is what does by no means appear from the Passages here quoted. One of them runs thus: "It was no great Sin if the *Jews* sold in the Temple what was bought in order to be offer'd as Sacrifice in the Temple." To

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which should be added "and yet he cast them out from thence." Here it ought to be recollected, that the Fact it self is acknowledged by *Austin*; for otherwise it could have been no Sin at all, whereas it is strangely implied by him to be a Sin. As to his saying it was not a great one, he speaks merely in a comparative Sense; for he adds immediately his Explication of it in these Words, "What if he should find Drunkards there? If the House of God might not be made an House of Merchandize, ought it to be made an House of drinking to Excess?" So that immoderate Drinking there is considered by *Austin* both as a Fact, and as one of greater Profaneness. And consequently *Jesus* did actually perform this Miracle in the literal Sense; the Occasion of it being compared by *Austin*, under the Character of a Fact, with another supposed Fact, as to their greater or less Enormity. This Father too says afterwards, "He that was to be scourged himself by them, did first scourge them." And therefore *Austin* acknowledges the Truth of the Letter in the one as well as the other Scourging. Again, he says, "Let us allegorically enquire into the Mystery wrapped up in this Fact." By which he confesses the Truth of the Fact on which he grafts an Allegory, and with which his figurative Exposition is so far from being inconsistent, that it necessarily supposes the Truth of the literal Sense.

Again, *Austin* in his Allegory of this Miracle, does no more serve Mr. *Woolston's* satyrical than his allegorical Purpose. This Father asks, "Who are they that sell Sheep and Doves?" and immediately answers, "They are the Persons that seek their own in the Church, and not the things that are *Jesus Christ's*." But this does not come up to our Author's Intention to abuse the Clergy on this Occa-

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sion. For whereas he says, that "*Austin* is very positive that Ecclesiasticks, who are selfish, and make worldly Gain of the Gospel, are here meant;" it is evident that *Austin* spoke not of their making worldly Gain in general, or of their having a just Maintenance, but only of such wordly Gain and Selfishness as are inconsistent with their seeking the things that are *Jesus Christ's*: Which certainly a just Maintenance is not, as being what capacitates them more effectually to seek the things that are *Jesus Christ's*. And therefore those allegorical Invectives against the Maintenance of the Clergy, which are to be found both here, and almost every where throughout his Discourses on our Saviour's Miracles, have no Foundation.

Once more, when *Austin* repeats the Text, *You have made my House an House of Merchandize, and a Den of Thieves*, he acknowledges, that those whom *Jesus* then spoke to had actually made it so; and therefore *Austin* confesses the Truth of the literal Sense, tho' he adds, that others would in future Times arise in the Church that would abuse their holy Office and the Church of Christ, and thereby would resemble those that profaned the Temple, and were actually expelled out of it by *Christ*. So that the Truth of the Fact is here again supposed, as it was indeed asserted before, by this Father. For on any other Supposition it would have been the same thing to say, "You have made my House a Den of Thieves," as to use this Expression, "Others will hereafter make my House a Den of Thieves;" which is such a Confusion of past and future Times, and different Persons, as is too absurd to be admitted by any one that is not an Allegorist inconsistently with common Sense as well as literal.

VIII. Lastly, *Theophylact* is introduced by Mr. *Woolston* as agreeing with the foregoing Fathers, and as being an Allegorist too upon this Miracle. But the Pre-

tence of his Authority against the Letter of it, is as vain and ill-founded, as that of the other Fathers that have been now examined: For *Theophylact* is so far from denying the Fact of *Jesus's* driving the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, that he affirms our Lord performed that very Fact more than once; and indeed he gives excellent Reasons for it.

This Father, after a Recital of the Words of the Text, says, that "*Jesus* cast out those that sold there, as being Lord of that House or Temple, shewing that his Father's Property, or Concerns, and his own are the very same. He likewise performed this Work, as well out of Solitude for preserving the Decency of the Temple, as in order to signify the Alteration that would be made of the Sacrifices there, &c. That is, the Alteration that would be made by the Substitution of Prayer alone, and of the Sacrifice of himself instead of the legal ones; and therefore the Cattle to be sacrificed were emblematically driven out of the Temple. We may readily admit such a Signification with *Theophylact*, as he does likewise the Fact, or literal Sense of this Miracle. Nay, consistently with the Acknowledgment of the Truth of the Fact, we may grant that *Christ* by this Miracle did farther signify the Calling of the Gentiles to be God's People; the Holiness of whose Court was here vindicated by him from the Profaneness of secular Commerce; a Court, which however despised by the *Jews*, was Part of that House of Prayer which was to be common to all Nations.

But *Theophylact* farther comments on this Passage as a Fact in the other Gospels, and particularly in that of St. *John*; where he tells us, "that *Jesus* here performed a Work full of great Authority" And again, "That by exposing himself to Danger for the House of God, he did not dissolve the Law in opposition to God, but

but altogether as the Son of God, and as having equal Power with God the Father, who gave the Law concerning the Sabbath."

Our Author pretends, that *Theophylact* "intimates in another Place that by Oxen and Sheep is meant the literal Sense of the Scriptures." But he should have expressly referred to that Place of *Theophylact*, that it might be examined: For no such Passage is to be found in his Commentaries on the Gospels. And without some immediate Reference, 'tis already plain what little Regard is due to these imaginary Intimations of the Sense of the Fathers. Much less do indecent Jest deserve to be taken notice of on so serious an Occasion. Neither is there more in our Author's Quotation of *Theophylact* in the allegorical Way, "That the Lord likewise overthrows the Table of such an Instructor as does not teach the Word but for Gain;" since the Connection of this Passage requires that by Gain is here to be understood a Simoniackal Selling of spiritual Gifts; which is by no Means to the purpose. In a word, notwithstanding *Theophylact*'s additional Allegory of this Miracle, he not only acknowledges the Truth of the literal Sense of this Miracle, but likewise of the rest of the Scriptures, however they may be allegorized by him. And indeed it would be surprizing if he did not acknowledge and explain the literal Sense of Scripture, since it is well known that his Commentaries, are chiefly Abridgments of *St. Chrysostom*, who must be confessed by all that consult him to be far from excluding the literal Sense of the Scriptures, which he generally explains in a very clear and rational Manner.

When therefore Mr. *Woolston*, after the several Authorities of the Fathers that have been now examined, writes thus with much Assurance, "Behold a wonderful Harmony among the Fathers in their Rejection of the literal, and Espousal of the mystical Sense of this Miracle," the impartial Reader cannot but observe

from what has been now laid before him, how false a Claim he has made to the Authorities of the Fathers that are cited by him; since it has been so fully evinced from themselves, that they unanimously acknowledged the literal Sense of this Miracle, notwithstanding the allegorical Expositions that were added by them, in a manner very consistent with the obvious Sense of it. So that on the contrary, there is the greatest Harmony possible among these Fathers, not excepting *Origen* himself, in favour of this miraculous Fact and the literal Interpretation of it.

IX. Having thus finished the Examination of the Fathers upon this Miracle, we should add a Word or two about our Author's Claim to the Authority of a celebrated modern Writer, namely *Erasmus*, to whom our professed Admirer of the Antients has found it necessary to recur for Assistance. But he has done this with the very same ill Success as he sought the Protection of the Fathers. For *Erasmus* not only explains literally this miraculous Fact of *Jesus* in all the four Gospels, and particularly expatiates on the knavish Confederacy between the Merchants, and Priests, and *Levites*, to impose upon and rob the People with regard to Sacrifices, in his exposition of this Miracle as recorded by *St. John*; but that eminent Critick acknowledges the Fact itself in our Author's own Citation of him, where he says, "that by this Fact *Jesus* did signify some other thing," or had a much farther View, with regard to the insatiable Avarice of some Persons in his own Church. All this is readily allow'd, on Supposition of his Acknowledgment of the Truth of the Fact. For whatever mystical Meaning *Erasmus* might think fit to assign, it did not exclude, but was very consistent with, a confessed miraculous Fact of *Jesus* in reforming the Temple. And indeed *Erasmus* was a Person of that good Judgment, as to ac-

knowledge the Truth of the literal Sense not only of this, but of all the other Miracles of our Lord, however capable they may be of any additional Expositions in the figurative or mystical Way. By this Method he has done no manner of Service to that extravagant Scheme, which excludes the literal Sense of our Saviour's Miracles.

X. But after mentioning so able a Critick as *Erasmus*, it is surprizing that Mr. *Woolston* has thought fit to offer his own Pretensions to sacred Criticism, and thereby to shew how vast an Interval there is between *Erasmus* and himself in the Art of critically interpreting the Scriptures. For he is farther pleased to observe, tho' in too ludicrous a Manner, that "if the Fathers are right, (as they have been shewn to be, tho' not in his Sense) then our Translation is wrong, and that in a main Point; since instead of reading the fore-said Place in *St. Matthew*, *And Jesus cast out them that sold and bought*, it should be, *those that sold and preached*, that is, *sold what they preached*. For the Word *Agorazein*, does more properly signify to preach than to buy." Now that this Piece of Criticism was thrown out at all Adventures, or rather was designed to be abusive, tho' very false in itself, appears very clearly to any Person that will be at the Trouble of consulting the *Greek Lexicographers*. For whosoever does so, will find that this Word does not at all signify, and much less properly, to speak in a popular Assembly, or to preach. *Hesychius* acquaints us that it signifies, to be conversant in the Market; and to buy, and to consult or deliberate, *i. e.* judicially. But not one Syllable occurs in him of that Word's signifying, to preach or harangue. The very same Significations, and no other, are assigned by *Suidas* and *Phavorinus*: And therefore we need not be so tedious as to repeat them. And the same are mentioned too by *H. Stepha-*

mus, the excellent Collector of the *Greek Thesaurus*, out of those and many other Writers. In all these Authors not one Instance is produced to patronize the said Criticism. But the plain Truth of the Matter is this: Mr. *Woolston* was so transported with his favourite Inclination to throw Dirt upon his antient Brethren the Clergy, that he exposed his own Ignorance in confounding this Word with others, somewhat like it, which properly signify to speak in a popular Assembly. This ought to have been a little better considered, before he had given up the Reins to his Malice, in so unskilful a Manner. But whatever Disposition any Person might have to play upon the Ambiguities of Language, yet it were enough to cure one of so indecent an Application, that he finds the Sense of this Word to be here unavoidably fixed and determined to the Idea of *Buying*, not only by the very Occasion of using that Word, the Temple's being made an House of Merchandize, but likewise by its relative Connexion with the other Word, that gives the Idea of *Selling*, the *Sellers* and *Buyers* being joined together in the Gospel as the Persons that *Jesus* cast out of the Temple.

We conclude with observing in a cursory Manner, how unfortunate Mr. *Woolston* is in another critical Attempt to abuse the Pulpit, a Place frequented formerly by himself. Says he, "If *Trapezas*, which is translated *Tables*, does properly signify *Pulpits*, who can help it?" And on this Occasion he refers to *Scapula's Lexicon*, to prove that the Word *Trapeza* signifies the same with *Pulpitum* in *Aristophanes*. But does *Scapula*, or rather his great Original the fore-said *H. Stephanus*, say any Thing more, than that *Trapeza* is the same with *Pulpitum*, as this Word signifies a *Stage* or *Scaffold* on which Slaves were commonly exposed to Sale? Is it in the least pretended by either of them, that

that *Trapeza* is the same with *Pulpitum*, as that Word signifies a raised Place, out of which it was, and is, usual to make Orations, or to preach to the People? And if *Julius Pollux* is there cited as quoting *Aristophanes* for the Use of the Word *Trapeza*, in the Sense of a raised Place to sell Slaves on, what Connexion has it with a raised Place to harangue in, in which Sense *Aristophanes* does not use it? And what is all this but sporting with the equivocal Sound of the Word *Pulpitum*, tho' on a solemn Subject? But this is too trifling a Piece of nominal Ridicule to deserve any other Treatment than mere Neglect.

DISSERTATION II.

A Description of *Cana*, *Capernaum*, *Jerusalem*, the Temple, &c.

I. *Design of this Discourse.* *Cana and Capernaum.* II. *Jerusalem, its Antiquity, Names, Extent, &c.* III. *Its Revolutions and Sieges.* IV. *To what Condition reduced by the Romans.* V. *Particulars concerning this City, from the Rabbins, &c.* VI. *The Temple built.* VII. *Description of the first Temple.* VIII. *Its Revolutions, Destruction by the Babylonians, and Rebuilding.* IX. *The first and second Temple compared.* X. *History of the second Temple, and its Restoration by Herod, down to its final Destruction.* XI. *Description of Herod's Temple from Josephus.* XII, XIII. *Different Descriptions of the Temple from several Authors, with other Particulars.*

I. **T**HE Scene of the most remarkable Passages of our Lord's Life was *Jerusalem*, the Capital of *Judea*, so famous in the historical Books both of the Old and New Testament. We have

already had Occasion frequently to mention this City and its Temple, and we shall find ourselves continually under the same Necessity of naming them throughout our whole History. As we promised, therefore, at the Beginning, to give some Account of all the Towns and Countries mentioned in the Evangelical Story, it will be but doing Justice to the Dignity of the said City and Temple, if we treat of them a little more particularly, than of any other Places. Indeed, the Helps which may be had under these Articles, are greater than may be had elsewhere; many eminent and learned Men having taken Abundance of Pains to bring together all the Materials that are to be found in the Bible, *Josephus*, and the Rabbies, relating hereto, and from the whole to draw up very minute Descriptions. But we shall not, however, trouble the Reader with more of their Performance, than is necessary either for the Exposition or Illustration of the present Work: And we could not any where more properly introduce these Extracts, than after a Chapter which treats of our Lord's first Appearance at *Jerusalem* after his Baptism, and of his driving out of the Temple the Buyers and Sellers, who had profaned that House of Prayer, by turning it into a publick Market.

But first, to observe Order, we must take some little Notice of two other Towns mentioned in the third Chapter of this Book, which have not yet been described, because we were unwilling to intermix a topographical Account with what followed in the Dissertation subjoined to that Chapter, we mean the Arguments in Defence of our blessed Saviour's Miracles, and particularly of that performed at *Cana*, the first of the said Towns.

1. This little City, belonging to the Tribe of *Zabulon*, is said to lie between *Sepphoris* and *Nazareth*, about six Miles Westward of the former. It is called

Cana

Cana of Galilee, to distinguish it from other Places of the same Name; one of which, belonging to the Tribe of *Asber*, was situate not far from *Sidon*, and consequently several Miles Northward of this *Cana of Galilee*. *Calmet* mentions likewise another *Cana*, commonly called *Sepher-Cana*, about four Miles to the North of *Nazareth*. As for the *Cana* spoken of by *Josephus*, it seems more likely that he should have called it *Kenath*. Mr. *Mandrell* tells us, "That he and his Company taking their Leaves of *Nazareth*, directed their Course for *Acra*, or *Ptolemais*; in order to which, going first Northward, they crossed the Hills that encompass the Vale of *Nazareth* on that Side: After which they turned to the Westward, and passed in View of *Cana of Galilee*, the Place signalized with the beginning of *Christ's* Miracles." Here lived, as some suppose, *Alpheus*, otherwise named *Cleophas*, whose Wife was *Mary*, the Sister or Cousin-german of the blessed Virgin: And at her House the Marriage, to which our Lord was invited, is supposed to have been kept. However this be, certain it is that this *Cana of Galilee* was the native Place, or at least the Dwelling-place, of *Nathaniel*, otherwise called *Bartholomew*: For the Evangelist *John* expressly styles him *Nathaniel of Cana in Galilee*, *John* 2 i. 2.

2. The other of those two Towns is *Capernaum*, whither our Lord went with his Relations and Disciples after the Miracle at *Cana*, and where he abode till he went to *Jerusalem* at the Feast of unleavened Bread. Hither also he afterwards went when he made his miraculous Escape from his Townsmen of *Nazareth*; and this was, in short, the usual Place of his Residence, during the three Years and a half of his publick Ministry. On these Accounts *Capernaum* may seem to merit a larger Description than we shall here give, or indeed than we are able to give, there

being very little extant that can be of any Service in this Matter. "It is never once mentioned in the Old Testament, either under this or any other Name, and therefore we may conclude, that it was not then in being, and consequently that it was one of the Towns built by the Jews at their Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, upon the Sea-Coast, that is on the Coast of the Sea of Galilee, in the Borders of *Zabulon* and *Nephtalim*, which was the upper Part of the said Sea-Coast. It took its Name, says Dr. *Wells*, without doubt, from an adjoining Spring, of great Repute for its Chrystalline flowing Waters; this Fountain or Spring being, as *Josephus* informs us, called by the Natives *Capernaum*. And as the Excellency of this Fountain was, in all Probability, one Inducement to the Building of the Town in the Place where it stood; so the Conveniency of it for a Wafting-place from *Galilee* to the other Side of the Sea, seems to have been another Motive for the making Choice of that Situation. The remarkable Prophecy of *Isaiah*, chap. 9. 1, 2. (which, as quoted by St. *Matthew*, runs thus, *The Land of Zabulon and the Land of Nephtalim, by the Way of the Sea beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles*,) as it was fulfilled by our Saviour's Habitation in *Galilee*; so it seems peculiarly to allude to the Situation of *Capernaum*: For it intimates, that as the Gospel should be preached chiefly within the Lands of *Zabulon* and *Nephtalim* in general, so more particularly at that City or Town, whence was, or should be, the Way by Sea from *Galilee* to the Country beyond *Jordan*. This Northern Part of *Galilee* was called *Galilee of the Gentiles*, either because it was very populous, or because it was inhabited by *Gentiles* as well as *Jews*. If for the latter Reason, as we are most ready to believe, we may discover some farther Meaning in our Lord's Choice of this Place for his Dwelling; as the Mixture

of People who were his frequent Auditors, alluded to the Universality of his Gospel, which after his Resurrection he sent by his twelve Apostles to all Nations, both Jews and Gentiles, Greeks and Barbarians.

What may further be observed concerning Capernaum, is, that on Account of the signal Honour conferred on it by its being chosen for his Dwelling-place, it is said by our Lord himself to be exalted unto Heaven, Matt. 11. 23. But on Account of its not making a right Use of this extraordinary Favour, it drew from him that severe Sentence, that it should be brought down to Hell. Which latter Words are now fully verified; it being quite fallen from the State it enjoyed in the Times of the New Testament, and so decay'd, as long since to consist but of six poor Fishermen's Cottages. According to Calmet, indeed, this Place was still to be seen in the seventh and eighth Centuries: For which he quotes Adamnanus and St. Willibaldus; the first of whom says, that it extended itself from West to East, having a Mountain on the North, and the Lake of Tiberias on the South. But how much these Authors are to be relied on, we leave to their Determination who think the Matter deserves a strict Enquiry into, and proceed to what is more material, the Description of Jerusalem and its Temple.

II. The antient Names of this City (called by the Greeks and Romans Solyma and Ierosolyma) were Jebus and Salem. The Hebrews called it Jeruschalaim, or Jeruschelem; which Word, says Calmet, may signify The Vision of Peace, or the Possession, or Inheritance of Peace. According to some, the Word Jerusalem is compounded of the two antient Names, Jebus and Salem, where the *b* in Jebus is changed into *r*, for the Sake of a better Sound. There is some Difficulty in determining to which Tribe Jerusalem originally belonged: For we find, on one

Hand, that Joshua gave it to the Tribe of Benjamin, after he had taken and put to Death the King of Jerusalem at the famous Battle of Gibeon. By what Means the Natives became again possessed of it, and why the Benjamites did not entirely drive them out, is no where said; but we are certain that it was partly, at least, in the Hands of the Jebusites again, soon after the Death of Joshua, and continued so till the Time of David. On the other Side, this City appears to have been within the Division of the Tribe of Judah, when we read, That the Children of Judah could not drive out the Jebusites, the Inhabitants of Jerusalem; that the Children of Judah took and burnt Jerusalem; that David, who was of the Tribe of Judah, as soon as he was acknowledged King, marched against Jerusalem, took it, and made it the Seat of his Kingdom. In a Word, the Psalmist makes Jerusalem to be a Part of Judah, when he says that the Lord chose not Ephraim, but the Tribe of Judah, and Mount Sion. To reconcile these different Texts, it may be said, that Jerusalem being upon the Frontiers of the two Tribes, it was sometimes made a Part of the one, and sometimes of the other; and that tho' Benjamin might have most Right to it, according to Joshua's Division, yet it was Judah's by Right of Conquest, that Tribe having thrice subdued it.

Herodotus makes Mention of Jerusalem by another Name; for speaking of the Expedition of Necho, and of the Battle which he fought at Megiddo, (or Magdolum as he calleth it) where Josiah was slain, he saith, "that after the Victory there obtained by him, he took the great City Cadytis: Which City he afterwards describes to be a mountainous City in Palestine, of the Bigness of Sardis in Lydia, the chief City of all Lesser Asia in those Times. By which Description this City of Cadytis could be none other than Jerusalem."

salem. For that is situated in the Mountains of *Palestine*, and there was then no other City in those Parts, which could be equalled to *Sardis*, but that only. And it is certain from Scripture, that after this Battle *Necho* did take *Jerusalem*: For he was there when he made *Jeboiakim* King. There is indeed no Mention of this Name, either in the Scripture, or in *Josephus*. But that it was however called so in the Time of *Herodotus* by the *Syrians* and *Arabians* doth appear from this, that it is called by them and all the Eastern Nations by no other Name, but one of the same Original, and the same Signification, even to this Day. For *Jerusalem* is a Name now altogether as strange among them, as *Cadytis* is to us. They all call it by the Name of *Al-kuds*, which signifies the same that *Cadytis* doth, that is, *The Holy*. For from the Time, that *Solomon* built the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and it was thereby made to all *Israel* the common Place of their religious Worship, this Epithet of *The Holy* was commonly given unto it. And therefore we find it henceforth called in the sacred Writings of the Old Testament, *Air Hakkadosh*, that is, *The City of Holiness*, or, *The Holy City*, and so also in several Places in the New Testament. And this same Title they gave it in their Coins: For the Inscription of their *Shekles* (many of which are still extant) was, *Jerusalem Kadoshab*, that is, *Jerusalem the Holy*. And this Coin going current among the Neighbouring Nations, especially after the *Babylonish* Captivity had made a Dispersion of that People over the East, it carried this Name with it among them, and they from hence called this City by both Names, *Jerusalem Kadoshab*, and at length for Shortness sake, *Kadoshab* only; and the *Syrians* (who in their Dialect usually turned the *Hebrew sh* into *sb*) *Kedutba*.

And the *Syriac* in the Time of *Herodotus* being the only Language that was then Spoken in *Palestine* (the *Hebrew* having been no more used there, or any where else, as a vulgar Language, after the *Babylonish* Captivity) he found it when he travelled thorough that Country to be called there in the *Syriac* Dialect *Kedutba*, from whence by giving it a *Greek* Termination, he made it in the *Greek* Language *Cadytis* in his History, which he wrote about the Time that *Nebemiab* ended his twelve Years Government at *Jerusalem*. And for the same Reason that it is called *Kedusba*, or *Kedutba*, in *Syria* and *Palestine*, the *Arabs* in their Language called it *Bait Almokdes*, that is, *The Holy Buildings*, or, *The Holy City*; and often with another Adjective of the same Root and the same Signification, *Bait Alkuds*, and at length simply *Alkuds*, or, *The Holy*, by which Name only it is now called by the *Turks*, *Arabs*, and all other Nations of the *Mahometan* Religion in those Parts. And that it may not look strange to prove an ancient Name by the modern Name which is now given that Place, it is necessary to acquaint the Reader, that the *Arabs* being the antientest Nation in the World (who have never been by any Conquest dispossessed, or driven out of their Country, but have there always remained in a continued Descent from the first Planters of it even to this Day) and being also as little given to make Changes in their Manners and Usages, as they are to their Country, they have still retained those same Names of Places, which were at first given them, and on their getting the Empire of the East, restored them again to many of them, after they had been for several Ages extinct by the intermediate Changes that had happen'd in them. And thus the antient Metropolis of *Egypt*, which from *Mezraim* the Son of *Ham*, the first Planter of that Country

try after the Flood, was called *Mesri*, and afterwards for many Ages had the Name of *Memphis*, was on the *Arabs* making themselves Masters of *Egypt* again called *Mesri*, and hath retained that Name ever since, tho' by the building of *Cairo* on the other Side of *Nile* over against it (for *Mesri* stands on the West-side of that River) that antient and once noble City, is now brought in a manner to Desolation. For the same Reason the City of *Tyrus*, which was antiently called *Zor*, or *Zur*, (from whence the whole Country of *Syria* had its Name) hath since it fell into the Hands of the *Arabs* on the erecting of their Empire in the East, been again called *Sor*, and is at this Day known by no other Name in those Parts. And by the same Means the City of *Palmyra* hath again recovered the old Name of *Tadmor*, by which it was called in the Time of *Solomon*, and is now known in the East by no other Name. Abundance of Instances might be given in the East to this Purpose: And the like may be found nearer home: For it is well known, that the *Wolfs* in their Language do still call all the Cities in *England* by the old *British* Names, by which they were called 1300 Years ago, before the *Saxons* dispossessed them of this Country; and should they recover it again, and here get the Dominion over it as formerly, no doubt they would again restore to all Places here the same *British* Names by which they still call them."

Having said thus much of the Original and Name of this City, and to prove that it was much unknown to the most antient prophane Authors, as some would insinuate, we shall now take a short View of the Place itself. And here we cannot follow a better Author than the learned and judicious Mr. *Sandys*, whose Descriptions and Draughts of the remarkable Places in and about *Jerusalem*, are acknowledged to be so faithful and perfect

by the Reverend Mr. *Maunderell*, who travelled thither about eighty Years after him, that they leave very little to be added by After-comers, and nothing to be corrected.

"This City, says our Author, is seated upon a rocky Mountain, every Way to be ascended (except a little on the North:) With steep Descents, and deep Valleys, naturally fortified: For the most part environed with other not far removed Mountains, as if placed in the midst of an Amphitheatre. For on the East is Mount *Olivet*, separated from the City by the Valley of *Jebosaphat* (which also circlet a Part of the North;) on the South the Mountain of *Offence*, interposed with the Valley of *Gebinnon*; and on the West it was formerly fenced with the Valley of *Gibon*, and Mountain adjoining. To speak something thereof as it flourished in the Days of our Saviour; it was divided then into four Parts, separated by several Walls, stretching East and West, as if so many several Cities. The next the South over-looking the rest, and including Mount *Sibon*, was then called, *The upper City*, but before, *The City of David*. In the midst whereof he erected a strong and magnificent Castle, the Seat of the succeeding Kings. In the West-corner, and upon the Wall, stood his Tower. Here King *Herod* built a sumptuous Palace, containing two Houses in one, which he named by the Names of *Cesar* and *Agrippa*. It was adorned with Marble, and shining with Gold, in Cost and State superior to the Temple. The Walls of this Part of the City, broken down by *Antiochus*, were strongly repaired by the *Maccabees*, which adjoining every way with the Downfall of the Rock did make it impregnable. But *Sion* raised in that general Subversion, is now for the most part left out of the City. From the Upper City they descended into the Nether, which was plen-

fully inhabited. This Part, as some deliver, was named *The Daughter of Sion*; in Greatness by far exceeding the Mount. On the East-side of this *Sion*, upon Mount *Moriab*, stood that glorious Temple of *Solomon*; and between it and the Mount *Sion*, his Throne, his Palace, (which by a high Bridge had a Passage into the Temple) the Palace of the Queen, and the House of the Grove of *Libanus*; now all without the Walls of the City. West of the Temple, and on a high Rock, the Palace of the *Maccabees* was seated, which surveyed the whole City. It was re-edify'd, and dwelt in by King *Agrippa*; near unto which stood the Theatre built by King *Herod*, adorned with exquisite Pictures; expressing the Conquests, Trophies, and Triumph of *Augustus*. Against the South-corner of the Temple stood the Hippodrome, made also by *Herod*, wherein he instituted divers Exercises, of five Years Continuance, in honour of the Emperor. And when he grew old, and unrecoverably sick, knowing how acceptable his Death would be to the *Jews*, he caused the chief of them to be assembled together, and to be shut up; that his Death, accompanied with their Slaughter, might at that Time, in despite of their Hatred, procure a general Lamentation.

Within the West Wall of the City, and near it, was Mount *Aera*, steep and rocky, where once stood a Citadel erected by *Antiochus*, and razed by *Simon*, who abated the extraordinary Height thereof, that it might not surmount the Temple. Hereon *Helena*, Queen of the *Adiabani*, (a Nation beyond *Euphrates*) built her Palace; who converting from Paganism to Judaism, forsook her Country, and dwelt in *Jerusalem*. Afterwards embracing the Christian Religion, she much relieved the distressed Christians in that Famine prophesied of by *Agabus* (which happened in the Reign of *Claudius Caesar*)

with the Corn she bought, and caused to be brought out of *Egypt*. Without the City she had her Sepulchre, not far from the Gate of *Ephraim*; adorned with three Pyramids, and undemolished in the Days of *Eusebius*. On the North-side of *Acra* stood *Herod's* Amphitheatre, spacious enough to contain fourscore thousand People, imitating in the Shews there exhibited, the barbarous Cruelty of the *Romans*. Near unto the North-Wall of this second Part stood the Common Hall, and Courts of Justice. And adjoining well-nigh to the North-side of the Temple, upon a steep Rock, fifty Cubits high, stood the Tower of *Baris*, belonging to the Priest of the Race of *Asmonaeans*. But *Herod* obtaining the Kingdom, and considering how convenient a Place it was to command the City, built thereon a stately strong Castle, having at every Corner a Tower, two of them being fifty Cubits in height, and the other two threescore and ten; which, to insinuate with *Antonius*, he called *Antonia*. In this the *Romans* did keep a Garrison, suspiciously over-eying the Temple; lest the *Jews* being animated with the Strength thereof, should attempt some Innovation. On the North-side of *Antonia*, a Gallery crossed the Street unto the Palace of the Roman President.

Now for the third City, which was but narrow, and whose Length did equal the Breadth of the other: The West-end thereof, as the Circuit then ran, was wholly possessed by the Royal Mansion of King *Herod*; confining on the three Walls: For Cost excessive, and for Strength impregnable; containing Groves, Gardens, Fish-Ponds, and other Places of Delight, and for Exercise. On the South-East Corner of the Wall stood *Mariamne's* Tower, fifty Cubits high; besides the natural Height of the Place. It was of excellent Workmanship, and built in the Memory, and retaining the Name, of his

too well beloved Wife, by him rashly murdered. On the South-West Corner stood that of *Phasaelis*, threescore and ten Cubits high, exceeding strong, and in Form resembling the Tower of *Pharus*. And in the North-Wall, on a lofty Hill, stood the Tower of *Hippicus*, eighty four Cubits high, four-square, and having two Spires at the Top, in Memorial of the *Hippici* his two Friends, both of them slain in his Wars. In this third City were the Houses of many of the Prophets, and that of *Mary* the Mother of *John Mark*, frequented by the Primitive Christians.

The fourth Part of *Jerusalem* lay North of this, and was called the *New City*; once but a Suburb to the other, and inhabited by the baser Tradesmen. The Out-wall hereof was re-edified by King *Agrippa*, and made of a wonderful Strength, (the whole City only on that Side affailable) in Height twenty-five Cubits, and fortified with ninety Towers, two hundred Cubits distant from each other. The Soil where the *New City* stood, and a part of the next, is now left out of the Walls of *Jerusalem*.

The learned Gentleman from whom this is quoted, makes the Compass of *Jerusalem*, before it was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, to be about fifty Furlongs: But *Calmet*, after observing that it was at no Time so large as when besieged by the *Romans*, allows it then to be no more than three and thirty Furlongs in Circumference, that is four Miles and an hundred and twenty-five Paces. This he confirms by a Quotation from *Josephus*, who speaking of the Wall of Circumvallation which *Titus* made about the City, informs us, that it was nine and thirty Furlongs round. This Author, however, allows, that others describe it to be of a much larger Extent, and refers for the Arguments on both Sides to *Vallapandus* and *Roland*.

We shall see hereafter how far the present *Jerusalem* is in Circuit.

III. Tho' 'tis a pretty general Opinion that *Salem*, of which *Melchisedek* was King, was *Jerusalem* in its Infant State, yet there are some who make a Difficulty of allowing this. *St. Jerom* thinks that the *Salem* of *Melchisedek* was a Village near *Scythopolis*, where, he says, the Ruins of that Prince's Palace were to be seen in his Time, and were so extraordinary as sufficiently to shew what had formerly been the Magnificence of the Edifice. The Author of the *Paschal Chronicle* says likewise, that he saw the Village where was formerly the Dwelling-place of *Melchisedek*; and *Mr. Reland* will not believe that this Prince ever reigned in *Jerusalem*. On the other hand, the Name of *Salem* is given to *Jerusalem* in the Old Testament, after this latter Name was appropriated to it. We shall not enter into a Dispute of so little Consequence, but instead of it run over the Revolutions of this City in Times that are better known.

The *Jebusites* were Masters of it during the Times of *Moses*, *Joshua*, the *Judges*, and till the Reign of *David*. The Children of *Judah*, after the Death of *Joshua*, got Possession of it: But either they could not keep it, or they took only the Lower Town, the Citadel continuing in the Hands of the *Jebusites*. These People 'tis thought, were Masters of this City, either wholly or in part, eight hundred and twenty four Years: And so confident were they of the Fort's being impregnable, that when *David* came against it, they placed their Blind and Lame upon the Walls, in Contempt of his Power, as sufficient to repulse such an Enemy. But *David* took Mount *Sion* by Force, drove out the *Jebusites*, embellished and considerably augmented the City, and, removing from *Hedron*, made it the

S. 2. Capital

Capital of his Kingdom. From this Time, if not before, the Name of *Jebs* began to be lost in *Jerusalem*.

Solomon added to *Jerusalem* so many great and beautiful Works, that he made it one of the finest Cities in the East. Under the Reign of *Reboam*, the Son and Successor of *Solomon*, it was taken and sack'd by *Shishak* King of *Egypt*, who carried away all the Treasures of the Temple and of the Royal Palace, both of which were built and adorned by *Solomon* at almost an incredible Expence. Under the Reign of *Joash*, *Hazaël* King of *Syria* being come against *Jerusalem*, it was redeemed with a great Sum of Money; to raise which, *Joash* made use of all the Treasures of God's House, and of the Palace. Yet *Hazaël* sent an Army the next Year, who defeated that of *Judab*, took and slew several of the Princes, and left *Joash* himself languishing under violent Diseases. And some time after this, *Amaziab* the Son of *Joash*, King of *Judab*, having rashly declared War against *Joash* King of *Israel*, this latter took him Prisoner, entered *Jerusalem*, carried away all the Treasures, and demolished four hundred Cubits of the City Walls.

About two hundred Years after this, *Josiab* being slain at *Megiddo*, *Pharoah Necho*, entered *Jerusalem*, took *Jeboabaz*, whom the People had set on the Throne in the room of his Father, and carried him into *Egypt*, where he died. We do not read in Scripture, that *Necho* pillaged either the City or the Temple; but he imposed a Tax on the Land of an hundred Talents of Silver, and ten Talents of Gold; which *Jeboiakim*, whom he left King in the room of *Jeboabaz*, was obliged to raise by a Capitation upon all the People, in proportion to their Fortunes.

In the fourth Year of *Jeboiakim's* Reign, *Nebuchadnezzar* being come into

Judea, laid Siege to *Jerusalem*, which was then tributary to the King of *Egypt*; and having subdued it, he left *Jeboiakim* to reign there as his Tributary, tho' he had at first put him in Irons, with an Intent to carry him Prisoner to *Babylon*. Thus the different Passages wherein this Event is spoken of, are reconciled; some of which imply, that *Jeboiakim* was carried to *Babylon*, and others that he continued to reign. From this first taking of *Jerusalem*, began the famous seventy Years of Captivity; and they may be justly computed from thence, if we consider to what a degree of Servitude the Nation was now reduced. At the end of three Years *Jeboiakim* rebelling against his Master, this latter came and entered *Jerusalem* a second time, took *Jeboiakim* and put him to Death, and cast his Body into a Common Sewer. After this, though two more Kings succeeded to the Throne of *Judab*, their Reigns were only a continued Series of Troubles: *Jerusalem* was twice more taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and pillaged of its Wealth, which, together with the Vessels of the Temple, and almost all the People, were transported to *Babylon*.

When the seventy Years of Captivity were over, *Jerusalem* began to be rebuilt and repopled, in consequence of the Decree made by *Cyrus* for that purpose: But it was above eighty Years longer before the Walls and Gates of it were finished. From this Time till *Jerusalem* fell into the Hands of the *Romans*, and from thence till it was destroyed by *Titus*, it would be tedious to recount all the Changes it underwent. Two of the most remarkable of its Sieges during this long Period, were those by *Antiochus Sedetes* and *Herod*; the first of whom came to revenge himself for the Affronts he had received from *Simon Maccabaeus*, the latter to make himself Master of the *Jewish* Nation. But besides the Hardships it underwent during

during these Blockades, it was several times most unmercifully pillaged by the foreign Princes, who, in the Course of their Conquests got it into their Possession. Notwithstanding which, it was very much enlarged and beautify'd by the *Assyrian* Princes, some of whom reigned with great Splendor. And all these were again outdone in Magnificence by *Herod*, of whose publick Buildings and Benefactions we have before spoken in our Account of his Life.

In fine, the last, and most memorable, of all the Sieges of ancient *Jerusalem*, was that which it maintained against *Titus*, at the Head of the *Roman* Army, under the Empire of his Father *Vespasian*. All the most profound and wonderful Effects of Art were put in practice at this Siege; and the Courage and Resistance of the Besieged was not inferior to the Skill, Valour, and Bravery of the Besiegers. All the Calamities which generally accompany long Defences, fell upon this unhappy City, as the Prophet *Jeremiah* had foretold: Pestilence and Famine were as destructive to it, as the Fury of its Enemies. In a Word, this was the Effect of God's Wrath, which determined the Annihilation of that proud People, the *Jews*, for all their Ingratitude and Perfidiousness towards him. The Description which *Josephus* gives of this Siege is admirably grand and pathetic, and shews how exactly the Prophecies of our blessed Saviour were fulfilled therein! To illustrate which Prophecies, we may hereafter take from the *Jewish* Author some short Extracts of his said Description. A few other Particulars concerning the Revolutions of *Jerusalem*, will naturally come in with our Account of the Temple; all we shall say more of it in this Place, is only, that it was in the Year of the World 4070, of *Jesus Christ* 70, and of the Vulgar *Æra* 66, that *Jerusalem* was taken by *Titus*, and reduced to a Wilderness.

IV. *Josephus* remarks, that *Titus*, after he had taken the City of *Jerusalem*, commanded his Soldiers to demolish it entirely, excepting three Towers, which were the largest and most beautiful. These he was desirous to preserve, as a Monument of the Valour of the *Romans*, who were able to take a Place of such great Strength. He likewise ordered the Wall to be left standing, which enclosed the City on the West-side, that it might serve as a Rampart to the Camp, there appointed to remain, with Troops to guard the Country. All the rest of the City was so destroy'd and levelled, that they who had never before seen it, could scarce persuade themselves it had ever been inhabited. Nay, the *Jewish* Authors assure us farther, that *Tarnus Rufus*, or rather *Terentius Rufus*, whom *Titus* left to command the Troops, plowed up the Ground on which the Temple stood, that none might ever after be permitted to rebuild it. The *Roman* Laws indeed prohibited the rebuilding of Places, where this Ceremony had been performed, without first obtaining Permission from the Senate: But it is believed that this did not happen, we mean that the Ground on which the Temple of *Jerusalem* stood, was not destroy'd in such a manner, but that still some Inhabitants remained there, either dwelling among the Ruins with the *Roman* Troops, or living in Lodgings which they had provided themselves somewhere thereabouts.

Epiphanius asserts, that the House whither the Apostles retired after the Ascension of the Son of God, and in which they received the Holy Ghost, was preserved, together with seven Synagogues, which were likewise on Mount *Sion*, and in the Neighbourhood of this House. Besides, says *Calmet*, we know the Names of the several Bishops taken from the Synagogue, who governed the Church at *Jerusalem* from *Jesus Christ* till *Adrian's* Time,

Time, when a Bishop chosen from among the Gentiles was placed there. And *Eusebius* goes still farther than *Epiphanius*; for he will have it that *Titus* preserved half the City agreeably to the Prediction of the Prophet *Zachary*, which says, *Half of the City shall go forth into Captivity, and the Residue of the People shall not be cut off from the City*; where by the Residue he understands, that Portion of the Buildings and People that remained till the Days of *Adrian*. Lastly, *St. Jerome* maintains, that Mount *Moriab*, where the Temple stood, and *Sion*, where the Palace was, were left entire by *Titus*. But all this is founded only on what *Josephus* says, of *Titus's* leaving that Part of the Wall standing, which inclosed *Jerusalem* on the West-side; for that Part of the Wall, it has been imagined, included half the City, especially since it is added, that the Towers *Phasaelis*, *Hippicus*, and *Mariamne*, which are believed to have been in the upper Part of the City, were left untouched. However, there is still a better Argument to prove that *Jerusalem* was not utterly destroyed by *Titus*, which is, that as the tenth Legion was appointed to remain on the Spot, we may presume they did not continue there alone and naked, but that they preserved some Houses to dwell in, and some Families of the *Jews* for the Service of their Troops. Nor will the allowing thus much in the least derogate from the literal Accomplishment of our Saviour's Prophecy, since what was left unfinished by *Titus*, was completed a few Reigns after by *Adrian*, and since even *Titus* put an End both to the Temple Worship of the *Jews*, and to all Appearance of Civil Authority amongst them.

V. The Rabbies pretend, that God wrought continual Miracles in the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*. 1. No Women, they say, ever miscarried by smelling the Meats sacrificed in the Temple,

or by eating to Excess of them. 2. Flesh placed upon the Altar never corrupted, tho' it were left there several Days without consuming; as it sometimes happened, when the Victims were many. 3. The High-priest never contracted any Pollution the Night before the great Day of Expiation. 4. The Rain never extinguished the Fire of the Altar. 5. The Wind did not hinder the Smoke from ascending like a Pillar towards Heaven. 6. There never was any Defect or Putrefaction discovered in the Manna which was preserved in the golden Omer, nor in the Shew-bread. 7. The *Israelites* never found that they were too much crowded in the Courts of the Temple, let the Assembly be ever so numerous. 8. No one ever failed to get a Lodging at *Jerusalem*, when he came thither to worship. 9. *Jerusalem* never ceased to be Holy after its Consecration by *Solomon*; nothing that happened to it from that time being capable to pollute it.

They affirm farther, that this City was common to all the Tribes, and not subject to the Law which required all Murders committed within the Confines of any Tribe to be expiated with the Blood of a young Heifer. No House there belong'd to him that had bought it, as his Property. None were allow'd to have Gardens or Orchards within the Compass of the City, nor were there any Sepulchres there but those of *David* and *Huldab*. Dead Bodies were not permitted to be carried thro' the Streets, when they were removed from one Place to another.

Jerusalem at first was very small, and this is the Manner, say the same Doctors, by which it was gradually enlarged. When any additional Buildings were to be raised, the King, the Great Sanhedrim, and some Prophet, consulted the *Urim* and *Tbummin* thereupon. Having agreed in the Meaning of the Oracle, the Coun-
sellers

sellers of the Sanhedrim pronounced two Hymns of Thanksgiving to the Lord. This done, they took two Loaves of leavened Bread, and going out amidst People playing on Musick, stopp'd at each Corner of the Street, and at every publick Building pronounced these Words: *I will praise thee, O God, for thou hast lifted me up.* Being come at last as far as the Place to which the City was to be enlarged, the Procession stopp'd; and of the two Loaves, one was eaten, the other burnt. We may add to these Remarks from the Rabbies, that the other Eastern Nations, as well as the Jews, affirm *Jerusalem* to have been built by *Malebisedek* the Son of *Shem*, who, they say, brought hither the Body of *Adam*, which had been kept by *Noah* in the Ark. They also maintain, that it is situated in the very Center of the habitable Earth, agreeable to this Expression of the Psalmist, *Thou hast wrought Salvation in the midst of the Earth.*

Those Inhabitants that were left in *Judea* after the Destruction of the Temple, were severely taxed by *Titus* and *Domitian*, those Emperors adding to their own Revenues (which before were three hundred seventy thousand, eight hundred and thirty three Pounds, six Shillings and Eight-pence, annually from that little Province) the vast Sums which were raised for the Service of the Temple; and in exacting those Sums *Domitian* was so rigorous as to cause ancient Persons to be stripp'd, in order to discover whether or no they were Jews. *Nerva*, who succeeded *Domitian*, abated somewhat of this Severity; but notwithstanding this, as Misery is apt to make People mutinous, the Jews rebelled in the Reign of *Trajan* the next Emperor, when they did abundance of Mischief, and were reduced at last with great Difficulty. Under *Adrian* their Insurrections were renew'd; and *Barchochebas*, who at that Time assumed

the Character of the Messiah, encouraged these Disorders to such a Degree, that they ended in a more complete Destruction of that miserable People and their darling City.

In these Struggles the Jews fought like People in Despair, and several Times worsted the Roman Lieutenants in *Judea*; so that the Emperor thought it necessary to send for *Julius Severus*, one of his best Generals, out of *England*, to put an end to these Troubles, and quite demolish *Jerusalem*. He did it at last; but not till five hundred and fourscore thousand of the Jews were slain, according to their own Computation; and on the Side of the Romans perished not a few. *Adrian* rebuilt *Jerusalem* from the Ground, and called it *Ælia Capitolina*; forbidding the Jews, under the severe Penalty of Death, ever to enter it any more. Many of these unhappy Wretches were sold at publick Fairs for the Price of Horses; and those who could not be put off in this Manner, were sent into *Egypt*. In a Word, a Temple was built to *Jupiter* in the Place where *Christ* rose from the Dead; a Marble *Venus* was set up on Mount *Calvary*, where the Cross stood; a Hog in marble was placed upon the Gate that led to *Bethlehem*; and at *Bethlehem*, a Grove was planted in honour of *Adonis*, to whom was dedicated the Cave of our blessed Saviour's Nativity: From all which Particulars it appears, that the Emperor's Vengeance was levelled against the Jews and the Christians at the same Time, tho' these latter were not excluded from entering the City, but continued to have their Bishops there as before. *Julian* the Apostate, we are told, encourag'd the Jews to rebuild their Temple, in order to cross the Prophecy of our Saviour: But Providence visibly opposed their Undertaking, tho' so strongly supported.

Calmet says, that the Eastern Nations at present call *Jerusalem* *Ælia*, as well as the

Holy

Holy City; which is a manifest Corruption of *Ælia*. The same Author adds, That *Mahomet*, when his Sect first appear'd in the World, commanded all *Mussulmen* at their Devotions to turn towards *Jerusalem*, and that after his Death, the Generality of his Companions were for burying him in that City. When the Christians had Peace, they built a magnificent Church, where the Temple had formerly stood: But the *Turks* becoming Masters of the Holy City, they built a Mosque in the same Place, which, of all their Places of Devotion, next to those of *Mecca* and *Medina*, is the most frequented by them. Besides the Church above-mentioned, there were several other fine Structures raised at *Jerusalem* by the Christians, and particularly by *Helena* the Mother of *Constantine*, in such Places as are most remarkable in the Gospel. 'Twould be too tedious to give an Account of them all in this Place, and of the many Struggles which Christian Princes have had with the *Saracens* for maintaining of them.

VI. And now we must return back as far as the Original of this Temple which we have just mentioned, in order to give the Description and History of it; as we have already done of the City.

Upon the *Israelites* coming out of *Egypt*, it pleased God to give positive command to *Moses*, for making a Tabernacle, to be a Sanctuary, or Place set apart for religious Worship. This Tabernacle was no other than a sort of large moving Tent. Hereupon, after the Lord had revealed to *David* that *Jerusalem* was the Place he had chosen, wherein to fix his Habitation, that pious Prince, having by the divine Blessing got rest from all his Enemies round about him, began to think it very improper that *he himself* should dwell in a House of Cedar, whilst the Ark of the Lord dwelt only within Curtains; and, in consequence of this Re-

flection, projected a Design of preparing a Temple for the Gods of *Israel*, that might be something worthy of his divine Majesty. This bare Resolution was highly acceptable to God; who nevertheless in his infinite Wisdom thought it not convenient that *David* should execute his Project, but acquainted him by the Prophet *Nathan*, that this Honour was reserv'd for *Solomon*, his Son and Successor, who was to be a peaceable Prince, whereas he himself had shed much Blood in the many Wars he had waged. And by way of Recompence for his Religious Intention, the Prophet had Commission to tell him moreover, in the Name of the Lord, *The Lord will build thee an House*; that is, *I will not take away my Mercy from thy Son, which shall succeed thee, as I took it from him that was before thee, but I will settle him in mine House, and in my Kingdom, for ever, and his Throne shall be establish'd for evermore*. Upon this Notice of the divine Approbation of his Purpose, tho' not of his personal Execution thereof, *David* return'd thanks to God in a very devout Manner, and applied himself to the collecting of great Quantities of Gold, Silver, Brass, Iron, and such other Materials as were necessary for the Accomplishment of this great Undertaking.

What God had foretold, that *Solomon*, upon his Accession to the Throne of his Father, punctually perform'd; building an House to the Name of the Lord God of *Israel*, the most magnificent, rich, beautiful, and every way glorious Structure, that ever was erected, as appears from the Accounts of it in Scripture. And yet this incomparable Edifice was no more than seven Years in building; a Thing hardly credible, if we were not also informed particularly what a vast Number of People were employ'd only in providing Materials for it in Mount *Lebanon*; namely, thirty thousand Workmen,

men, who wrought ten thousand a Month by Courses; threescore and ten thousand Labourers, that bare Burdens; and four-score thousand Hewers in the Mountains; besides three thousand and three hundred Officers, to overlook the Work of the Rest.

The place that was pitch'd upon for erecting this magnificent Temple, was Mount *Moriab*, which was a Part of Mount *Sion*. Its Entrance or Frontispiece stood towards the East, and the most holy and retired Place was towards the West. *Solomon* laid the Foundations of it in the Year of the World 2992, before *Christ* 1008, before the vulgar *Æra* 1012: It was finish'd in the Year of the World 3000, just 1000 Years before the Birth of *Christ*, and dedicated in 3001, which was 1003 Years before the vulgar *Æra*.

King *David* was the first that began a Traffic through the *Red Sea*, and the Streights of *Babelmandel*, not only to the Coasts of *Africa*, on the West, but also to those of *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*, on the East. This Trade was carried on by him and his Successors, till the Days of *Abaz* King of *Judah*; and they reaped a prodigious Profit from it. For *David* having conquered the Kingdom of *Edom*, and reduced it to be a Province of his Empire, he thereby became Master of two Seaport Towns on the *Red Sea*, *Elath* and *Esfongeber*, which then belonged to that Kingdom; and seeing the Advantage, which might be made of the Situation of these two Places, he wisely took the Benefit of it, and there began this Traffic.

There are two Places mentioned in Scripture, to which it was from thence carried on, that is *Ophir* and *Tarshish*. From the former of these *David* in his Time drew great Profit: For the three thousand Talents of Gold of *Ophir*, which he is said to have given to the House of God, seem to be of that Gold of *Ophir* which he himself had by his Fleets in several Voyages brought to him from thence. For what he had reserved for this Work out of the Spoils of War, the Tributes of the conquered Nations, and the publick Revenues of his Kingdom amounted to a † prodigious Sum. The three thousand Talents of the Gold of *Ophir*, which he added, was over and above this, and out of his own proper Goods, or private Estate, which he had besides what belonged to him as a King. And how he could increase that so far, as out of that only to be able to give so great a Sum, can scarce any other way be accounted for, than by the great Returns, which were made him from this Traffic. For the Gold alone amounted to * above one and twenty Millions of our Money, besides the seven thousand Talents of refined Silver which were included in the same Gift. After *David*, *Solomon* carried on the same Traffick to *Ophir*, and had from thence in one Voyage † four hundred and fifty Talents of Gold. And if *Solomon* got so much in one Voyage, well might *David* have gained the Sum above-mentioned in the several Voyages, which were made thither for him from the Time that he had subdued the Land of *Edom* to the Time of his Death,

† This Sum is so prodigious, as gives Reason to think that the Talents, whereby that Sum is reckoned, were another sort of Talents, of a far less Value than the Mosaic Talents. For what is said to be given by *David*, (1 Chron. xxii. 14, 15, 16, and xxix. 3, 4, 5.) and contributed by his Princes, (xxix. 6, 7, 8.) toward the building of the Temple at Jerusalem, if valued by these Talents, exceed the Value of eight hundred Millions of our Money, which was enough wherewith to have built all that Temple of solid Silver.

* For three thousand Hebrew Talents of Gold reduced to our Money amount to twenty one Millions and six hundred thousand Pounds Sterling.

† 2 Chron. viii. 18. The four hundred and fifty Talents here mentioned amount to three Millions two hundred and forty thousand Pounds of our present Sterling Money.

which was at least twenty five Years. But it must be acknowledged that *Solomon* much improved this Trade, not only by his greater Wisdom, but also by his greater Application to all the Business of it: For not being perplexed and incumber'd with such Wars as his Father *David* was, he had more Leisure to attend thereto. And therefore for the better settling of it, he went in Person to *Elat* and *Esiongeber*, and there took care by his own Inspection for the Building of his Ships, the fortifying of both those Ports, and the settling of every thing else, which might tend to the successful carrying on of this Traffick, not only to *Ophir*, but to all other Parts where the Sea, on which these Ports lay, opened a Passage. But his chiefest Care was to plant those two Towns with such Inhabitants, as might be best able to serve him in this Design. For which Purpose he brought thither from the Sea-Coasts of *Palestine* as many as he could get, of those who had been there used to the Sea, especially of the *Tyrians*, whom his Friend and Ally, *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from thence furnished him with in great Numbers; and these were the most useful to him in this Affair. For they being in those Days, and for many Ages after, the most skilful of all others in Sea Affairs, they were the best able to navigate his Ships, and conduct his Fleets through long Voyages. But the use of the Compass not being then known, the way of Navigation was in those Times only by Coasting, which often made a Voyage to be of three Years, which now may be finished almost in three Months. However this Trade succeeded so far, and grew to so high a Pitch under the wise Management of *Solomon*, that thereby he drew to these two Ports, and from thence to *Jerusalem*, all the Trade of *Africa*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*: which was the chief Fountain of those immense Riches, which he acquired, and

whereby he exceeded all the Kings of the Earth in his Time as much as he did by his Wisdom; so that he made Silver to be at *Jerusalem* as the Stones of the Street, by reason of the great Plenty, with which it there abounded during his Reign.

VII. To return from this Digression. The Authors of the First Book of *Kings*, and of the Second Book of *Chronicles*, have chiefly made it their Business to describe the *Sanctum*, the *Holy of Holies*, and the Apartments thereunto belonging, which were sometimes, by way of emphasis, and indeed not improperly, called the Temple, in distinction from the Courts and open Areas that inclosed them. Nevertheless these latter made far the largest, and perhaps the most magnificent, tho' not the most holy and most costly, Part of that august Edifice, which *Solomon* raised for the Worship of the Supreme Being: and for this Reason they deserve to be described, as well as the sacred Apartments themselves. These Courts were, indeed, all of the Temple that the Laity were suffered to enter: so that when we read of the People's going into the Temple, or of any particular Person's going thither, that was not a Priest, these Courts only are to be understood. Thus it is throughout the whole History of our blessed Saviour, and his Apostles: From which we may learn, that how much soever the Name of Temple was confined at first, or in a more emphatical Way of using it; in the latter Times of the *Jewish* Dispensation, and in the vulgar and general Acceptation of it, that Name was common to the whole Fabrick, including as well the Courts as the Sanctuary.

The Prophet *Ezekiel* has supplied the above-mention'd Defect of the sacred Historians, in the Account he gives of his Vision, where he makes the Angel his Attendant to measure the Courts of his visionary Temple, as well as the more retired Parts thereof. It must be own'd, indeed,

deed, that the Temple, after the *Babylonish* Captivity, was never restored according to the Plan which *Ezekiel* hath delineated; but as the Measures which he sets down for the Sanctum and Sanctuary, are nearly the same with those of *Solomon's* Temple, and as *Ezekiel* himself was a Priest, and had seen the whole Building before its Destruction, it may reasonably be supposed, that he hath observed the same Exactness throughout his whole Description, as he hath in those Parts which we are capable of examining by comparing them with the History. The following may serve for a general View of the whole Building.

The Ground-plot upon which the Temple was built, was a Square of six hundred Cubits, or twenty-five thousand Royal Feet. This Space was encompassed with a Wall, of the Height of six Cubits, and of the same Breadth. Beyond this Wall was the Court of the Gentiles, being fifty Cubits wide. After this was seen a great Wall, which encompassed the whole Courts of the Children of *Israel*: This Wall was a Square of five hundred Cubits. The Court of *Israel* was encompassed all round with magnificent Galleries, supported by two or three Rows of Pillars. It had four Gates, or Entrances; one to the East, another to the West, a Third to the North, and the Fourth to the South. They were all of the same Form and Largeness, and each had an Ascent of seven Steps. The Court was paved with Marble of divers Colours, and had no Covering; but the People, in Case of need, could retire under the Galleries that were all round about. The Court of the Priests was placed in the midst of the Court of the People, and was a perfect Square, having on every Side the Length of an hundred Cubits. It was encompassed without by a great Wall, of an hundred Cubits in the Square; and all within were covered Galleries, and Apartments round about. These Apartments were to lodge the

Priests in, and to lay up such Things as were necessary for the Use of the Temple. There were but three Ways to come in, to the East, to the North, and to the South, and they went to it by an Ascent of eight Steps. Before, and over-against the Eastern Gate of the Priest's Court, in the Court of *Israel*, was erected a Throne for the King, being a magnificent Alcove, whereon the King seated himself when he came into the Temple. Within the Court of the Priests, and over-against the same Eastern Gate, was the Altar of Burnt-Offerings, of twelve Cubits square according to *Ezekiel*, or of ten Cubits high and twenty broad, according to the Author of the *Chronicles*. They went up to this Altar on the Eastern-Side, whether by Steps or without is a matter of Dispute.

Beyond this, and to the Westward of the Altar of Burnt-Offerings, was the Temple, strictly so called; that is to say, The Porch or Entrance, the Sanctum, or Holy Place, and the Sanctum Sanctorum, or Holy of Holies. The Porch was twenty Cubits wide, and six Cubits deep: Its Gate was fourteen Cubits wide. The Sanctum was forty Cubits wide, and twenty deep: There stood the Golden Candlestick, The Table of Shew-bread, and the Golden Altar, upon which Incense was offered. The Holy of Holies was a Square of twenty Cubits; having nothing in it but the Ark of the Covenant, which included the Tables of the Law, the Golden Pot of Manna, and *Aaron's* Rod. The High-Priest entered here but once a Year; and none but he was permitted to enter. *Solomon* had embellished the Inside of this Place with Palm-Trees in *Relievo*, and the Cherubims of Wood covered with Plates of Gold: And in general the whole Sanctuary was adorned, or as it were overlaid, with Plates of Gold. Round the Sanctum and Sanctorum were three Stories of Chambers, to the Number of thirty-three. *Ezekiel* makes them but four Cubits wide; but in the first Book of *Kings*

five Cubits are allowed to the first Story, six to the Second, and seven to the Third. The Reader may from hence give a general Idea of the first Temple, properly called the Temple of *Solomon*.

VIII. The Edifice, as well as the City in which it was contained, suffered a great many Revolutions, from the Time that it was first consecrated by *Solomon* till it was finally destroy'd by *Titus*. We shall not here enlarge upon those Revolutions that were common to both City and Temple, at least not repeat such Particulars as were taken notice of in our Account of the City, but proceed immediately to what was there omitted.

Abaz King of *Judab*, having called to his Assistance *Tiglath-Pilnefer* King of *Assyria*, against the Kings of *Israel* and *Damascus*, who were at War with him, robb'd the Temple of the Lord of its Riches, to give away to this strange King; and not contented with this, he prophaned the Holy Place, by setting up there an Altar like one he had seen at *Damascus*, and taking away the brazen one that *Solomon* had made. He also took away the brazen Sea from off the brazen Oxen that supported it, and the brazen Basons from their Pedestals, and the King's Throne, or Oratory, which was of Brass. Nor did he stop here, but carried his Wickedness so far, as to sacrifice to strange Gods, and to erect profane Altars in all the Corners of the Streets of *Jerusalem*. He pillaged the Temple of the Lord, broke the sacred Vessels, and lastly shut up the House of God. All this happened between the Years of the World 3264, when he began these Prophanations, and the Year 3278, when he ended his wicked Life.

Hezekiah, the Son and Successor of *Abaz*, opened again, and repaired the Gates of the Temple, which his Father had shut up, and robb'd of their Ornaments. He restored the Worship of the Lord, and the Sacrifices, and made new sacred Vessels, in the room of those that *Abaz*

had destroy'd; and all this immediately after he came to the Throne. But in the fourteenth Year of his Reign, *Sennacherib* King of *Assyria* coming with an Army into the Land of *Judab*, *Hezekiah* was forced to take all the Riches of the Temple, and even the Plates of Gold which he himself had put upon the Gates of it, to give them to the King of *Assyria*. But when *Sennacherib* was gone back into his own Country, there is no doubt but the pious *Hezekiah* restored all these Things to their former Condition.

The wicked Offspring of this good Prince was *Manasseh*, who, when he came to the Throne, prophaned the Temple of the Lord, by setting up Altars to all the Host of Heaven, even in the Courts of the House of the Lord. For this Idolatry God delivered him into the Hands of the King of *Babylon*, who loaded him with Chains, and carried him away beyond the *Euphrates*. There he acknowledged and repented of his Sins; and, being sent back to his Dominions, redress'd the Prophanations he had made in the Temple, by taking away the Idols, destroying the prophane Altars, and restoring the Altar of Burnt-Offerings, upon which he offered his Sacrifices. This Repentance and Restoration happened about the Year of the World 3328, that is 672 Years before the Birth of *Christ*, and before the vulgar *Æra* 676 Years.

Josiah King of *Judab*, the Grandson of *Manasseh*, laboured with all his Might in repairing the Edifice of the Temple, which had either been neglected or demolished by his Predecessors. He also commanded the Priests and Levites to replace the Ark of the Lord in the Sanctuary, in its appointed Place, and ordered that it should not any more be removed about at Pleasure, as it had been during the Reigns of his wicked Fore-fathers.

Nebuchadnezzar took away Part of the sacred Vessels of the Temple of the Lord, and placed them in the Temple of his God

God at *Babylon*, during the Reign of *Jeboiakim*, King of *Judab*. He carried away others under the Reign of *Jeconiah*. And, lastly, he took *Jerusalem*, and entirely destroy'd the Temple, in the eleventh Year of *Zedekiah*. This was the End of the first Temple; and therefore this Transaction, and the building of the second Temple fifty-two Years after, deserve to be a little more particularly related than any of the preceding Revolutions.

* It was in the fifth Month, on the seventh Day of the Month (the City having been taken about a Month before) that *Nebuzaradan* Captain of the Guards to the King of *Babylon* came to *Jerusalem*; and after having taken out all the Vessels of the House of the Lord, and gathered together all the Riches, that could be found either in the King's House, or in any of the other Houses of the City, he did on the tenth Day of the same Month, pursuant to the Command of his Master, set both the Temple and City on fire, and absolutely consumed and destroyed them both, overthrowing all the Walls, Fortresses, and Towns belonging thereto, and wholly razing and levelling to the Ground every Building therein, till he had brought all to a thorough and perfect Desolation; and so it continued for fifty-two Years after, till by the Favour of *Cyrus*, the *Jews* being released from their Captivity, and restored again to their own Land, repaired these Ruins, and built again their holy City. In Memory of the Calamities that now befel them, the *Jews* keep two Fasts even to this Day, the seventeenth of the fourth Month (which falls in our *June*) for the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the ninth of the fifth Month (which falls in our *July*) for the Destruction of the Temple; both which are made mention of in the Prophecies of the Prophet *Zachary*, under the Names of the Fast of the fourth

Month and the Fast of the fifth Month, and are there spoken of as annually observed from the Destruction of *Jerusalem* to this Time, which was seventy Years after. *Josephus* remarks, that the burning of the Temple by *Nebuchadnezzar* happen'd on the very same Day of the Year, on which it was afterwards again burned by *Titus*.

We before fixed the beginning of the seventy Years Captivity to the Year of the World 3398, that is to the Time when *Jerusalem* was first taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, eighteen Years before that Prince demolished the City and Temple; and this agrees with what we have just now said, that from the Destruction of the Temple to the Decree of *Cyrus* for rebuilding it, were fifty-two Years; for eighteen Years added to fifty-two, amount in the whole to the said Number of seventy Years. Now it was in the first Year of *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, according to *Ezra's* Account, that the Lord stirred up the Spirit of *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, to make a Proclamation throughout all his Kingdoms, &c. In order to reconcile this with Chronology, we must understand, that (like as in the Cases of *Augustus* and *Tiberius* Emperors of *Rome*) there was more than one Beginning assigned to the Reign of *Cyrus*; for his Reign is reckoned, from his first coming out of *Persia* with an Army for the Assistance of *Cyaxares* to his Death, to have been thirty Years, from the taking of *Babylon* nine Years, and from his being sole Monarch of the whole Empire after the Death of *Cyaxares* and *Cambyfes* seven Years. *Tully* reckons by the first Account, *Ptolemy* by the second, and *Xenophon* by the third. And the first of these seven Years, during which he was sole Monarch, is that first Year of *Cyrus* mentioned in the first Verse of the Book of *Ezra*, wherein an End was put to the Captivity of *Judab*, and a Licence given them by a public Decree of the

* What follows to the End of the History of the first and second Temple is chiefly extracted from Dr. Prideaux.

King's

King's again to return into their own Country. The seventy Years, which *Jeremiab* had prophesied should be the Continuance of this Captivity, were now just expired. For they began a Year and two Months before the Death of *Nebopollassar*: After that *Nebuchadnezzar* reigned forty-three Years, *Evil-merodach* two Years, *Neriglissar* four Years, *Belsazzar* seventeen Years, and *Darius the Median* two Years; which being all put together, make just sixty-nine Years and two Months; and if you add hereto ten Months more to compleat the said seventy Years, it will carry down the End of them exactly into the same Month in the first Year of *Cyrus*, in which it began in the last save one of *Nebopollassar*, that is the ninth Month of the *Jewish* Year, which is the *November* of ours. For in that Month *Nebuchadnezzar* first took *Jerusalem*, and carried great Numbers of the People into Captivity, as hath been before related.

There can be no doubt, says Dr. *Prideaux*, but that this Decree in favour of the *Jews* was obtained by *Daniel*. When *Cyrus* first came into *Babylon*, on his taking the City, he found him there an old Minister of State, famed for his great Wisdom all over the East, and long experienced in the Management of the public Affairs of the Government, and such Counsellors wise Kings always seek for. And therefore on *Cyrus's* having made himself Master of the City, he was soon called for, as a Person, that was best able to advise, and direct about the settling of the Government on this Revolution, and was consulted with in all the Measures taken herein. On which Occasion he so well improved himself, that afterwards on the settling of the Government of the whole Empire, he was made first Superintendant, or Prime Minister of State, over all the Provinces of it. And since he had been so earnest with God in Prayer for the Restoration of his People, as we find in the ninth Chapter of *Daniel*, it is not to be

thought, that he was backward in his Intercessions for it with the King, especially when he was in so great Favour, and of so great Authority with him. And to induce him the readier to grant his Request, he shewed him the Prophecies of the Prophet *Isaiah*, Chap. 44. 28. and 45. 1. which spake of him by Name an hundred and fifty Years before he was born, as one whom God had designed to be a great Conqueror, and a King over many Nations, and the Restorer of his People, in causing the Temple to be built, and the Land of *Judah*, and the City of *Jerusalem*, to be again dwelt in by its former Inhabitants. That *Cyrus* had seen and read these Prophecies, *Josephus* tells us, and it is plain from Scripture that he did so: For they are recited in his Decree in *Ezra*, for the rebuilding of the Temple. And who was there, that should shew them unto him, but *Daniel*, who in the Station that he was in, had constant Access unto him, and of all Men living had it most at Heart to see these Prophecies fulfilled in the Restoration of *Sion*?

At the same time that *Cyrus* issued out his Decree for the rebuilding of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, he ordered all the Vessels to be restored, which had been taken from thence. *Nebuchadnezzar* on the burning of the former Temple had brought them to *Babylon*, and placed them there in the Temple of *Bel* his God. From thence they were, according to *Cyrus's* Order by *Mithredath* the King's Treasurer, delivered to *Zerubbabel*, who carried them back again to *Jerusalem*. All the Vessels of Gold and Silver, that were at this Time restored, were five thousand four hundred; the remainder was brought back by *Ezra* in the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* many Years after.

Those who made this first Return into *Judea*, arrived there in *Nisan*, the first Month of the *Jewish* Year (which answers to Part of *March* and Part of *April* in our Kalender:) For the second Month of the

the next Year is said to be in the second Year after their Return, and therefore they must then have been a whole Year in the Land. As soon as they came thither, they dispersed themselves according to their Tribes, and the Families of their Fathers, into several Cities, and there betook themselves to rebuild their Houses, and again manure their Lands, after they had now lain desolate and uncultivated fifty-two Years, according to the Number of the Sabbatical Years, which they had neglected to observe. For according to the *Mosaical* Law they ought to have left their Lands fallow every seventh Year: But among other Commandments of God, this also they had neglected, and therefore God made the Land lie desolate without Inhabitants or Cultivation, till it had enjoyed the full Number of its Sabbaths that it had been deprived of. During all the Solemnities of this Year the People staid at *Jerusalem*, and employed all that Time to the best of their Power to set forward the Restoration of God's Worship again in that Place, toward which, all that had Riches contributed according to their Abilities. And the Free-will Offerings which were made on this Occasion, besides an hundred Vestments for the Priests, amounted to sixty-one thousand Drachms of Gold, and five thousand Mina's of Silver; which in all comes to about seventy-five thousand five hundred Pounds of our Money. Upon this Fund they began the Work: And a great Sum it was to be raised by so small a Number of People, and on their first Return from their Captivity, especially if they were only of the poorer Sort, as the Rabbins say. It must be supposed that these Offerings were made by the whole Nation of the *Jews*, that is by those who staid behind as well as by those who returned, otherwise it is scarce possible to solve the Matter.

The first Thing they did, was to re-

store the Altar of the Lord for Burnt Offerings. This stood in the middle of the inner Court of the Temple, exactly before the Porch leading into the Holy Place, and hereon were made the daily Offerings of the Morning and Evening Service, all other Offerings ordinary and extraordinary, which were offered up to God by Fire. It had been beaten down and destroyed by the *Babylonians* at the burning of the Temple, and in the same Place was it now again restored. It was a large Pile built all of unhewn Stones, thirty-two Cubits, or forty-eight Foot, square at the Bottom. From thence it rising one Cubit, benched-in one Cubit: And from thence, being thirty Cubits square, it did rise five Cubits, and benched-in one Cubit. And from thence being twenty-eight Cubits square, it did rise three Cubits, and benched in two Cubits. From whence it did rise one Cubit, which was the Hearth, upon which the Offerings were burned; and the benching-in of two Cubits breadth was the Passage round it, on which the Priests stood, when they tended the Fire, and placed the Sacrifices on it. So this Hearth was a Square of twenty-four Cubits, or thirty-six Foot on every Side, and one Cubit high, which was all made of solid Brass; and from hence it was called the Brazen Altar. On the four Corners of the Altar, on the last Benching-in, where the Priest stood when they offered the Sacrifices, there were fixed four small Pillars, of a Cubit height, and a Cubit on every Side, in the Form of an exact Cube: And these were the Horns of the Altar so often mentioned in Scripture. The middle of each of them was hollow, because therein was to be put some of the Blood of the Sacrifices. The Ascent up to the Altar was by a gentle rising on the South-side, called the *Kibbith*, which was thirty-two Cubits in length, and sixteen in breadth, and landed upon the upper benching-in next the Hearth, or the top of

of the Altar: For to go up to the Altar by Steps was forbid by the Law.

But their Zeal for the Temple being that, which had brought most of them back again into *Judea*, the rebuilding of this was what they had their Hearts most intent upon. And therefore having employed the first Year in preparing Materials, and contracting with Carpenters and Masons, for the Work, in the second Month of the second Year they laid the Foundation of the House; which was done with great Solemnity: For *Zerubbabel* the Governor, *Jeshua* the High-priest, being present with all the Congregation, the Trumpeters blew their Trumpets, and the Musicians sounded their Instruments, and Singers sung, all in Praise to the Lord their God, and all the rest of the People shouted for Joy, while the first Stones were laid: Only the old Men, who had seen the Glory of the first Temple, and had no Expectation, that this, which was now a building by a few poor Exiles lately returned into their Country, could ever equal that, which had all the Riches of *David* and *Solomon*, two of the wealthiest Princes of the East, expended in the erecting of it, wept at the Remembrance of the old Temple, while others rejoiced at the laying the Foundations of the new.

This Work was twenty Years in finishing: For so many Years elapsed from the second of *Cyrus*, when it was first begun, to the seventh of *Darius*, when it was fully finished. During the latter Part of the Reign of *Cyrus*, and through the whole Reign of *Cambyfes*, it met with such Discouragements through the fraudulent Devices of the *Samaritans*, that it went but slowly on for all that Time. And during the Usurpation of the *Magians*, and for almost two Years after, it was wholly suppressed, that is till towards the latter End of the second Year of the Reign of *Darius*. But then it being again resumed on the preaching of the Prophets

Haggai and *Zachariah*, and afterwards encouraged and helped forward by the Decree of *Darius*, it was thenceforth carried on with that Vigour, especially through the Exhortations and Prophecies of the two Prophets here mentioned, that in the Beginning of the seventh Year of *Darius* it was fully finished, and dedicated anew to the Service of God in the manner as hath been said. In this Dedication the 146th, 147th & the 148th Psalms seems to have been sung: For in the Septuagint Version they are styled the Psalms of *Haggai* and *Zachariah*, as if they had been composed by them for this Occasion. And this, no doubt, was from some ancient Tradition; but in the original *Hebrew* these Psalms have no such Title prefixed to them, neither have they any other to contradict it.

IX. But tho' the Difference between the former Temple and this, was so great, that God himself told the Prophet *Haggai*, that the latter in Comparison of the former *was as nothing*, yet this is not to be understood of its Bigness: For the second Temple was of the same Dimensions with the First, it being built upon the very same Foundations. The Glory of *Solomon's* Temple was not in the Temple itself, much less in the Bigness of it: For that alone was but a small Pile of Building, as containing no more than a hundred and fifty Foot in Length, and an hundred and five in Breadth, taking the Whole of it together from out to out, which is exceeded by many of our Parish Churches. The main Grandeur and Excellency of it consisted, *First*, in its Ornaments: its Workmanship being every where exceeding curious, and its Overlayings vast and prodigious: For the Overlayings of the Holy of Holies only, which was a Room but thirty Foot square, and thirty Foot high, amounted to six hundred Talents of Gold, which comes to four Millions three hundred and twenty thousand Pounds Sterling of our Money, which is much more than the

the Jews who built the second Temple were able to raise. Secondly, in its Materials: For Solomon's Temple was all built of new large Stones, hewn out in the most curious and artful Manner; whereas the second Temple was mostly built of such Stones only, as they dug up out of the Ruins of the former. Thirdly, in its out Buildings: For the Court, in which the Temple stood, was built round with stately Buildings and Cloisters; and the Gates entering thereinto were very beautiful and sumptuous: And the outer Court, which was a large Square encompassing all the rest of seven hundred and fifty Foot on every Side, was all surrounded with a most stately and magnificent Cloister. But all the Out-buildings now lay in their Rubbish, without any Prospect of a speedy Reparation: And there could then be no such Ornaments or Materials in this new Temple, as there were in the former. In process of Time indeed all the Out-buildings were restored, and such Ornaments and Materials were added on Herod's repairing of it, that the second Temple after that came little short herein of the former; and there are some, who will say, that it exceeded it. But still what was the main Glory of the first Temple, those extraordinary Marks of the Divine Favour, with which it was honoured, were wholly wanting in the Second. The Jews reckon them up in these five Particulars; 1. The Ark of the Covenant, and the Mercy-Seat, which was upon it; 2, The *Shecinah*, or Divine Presence; 3, The *Urim* and *Thummim*; 4, The Holy Fire upon the Altar; and 5, The Spirit of Prophecy.

1. The Ark of the Covenant was a small Chest, or Coffer, three Foot nine Inches in Length, and two Foot three Inches in Breadth, and two Foot three Inches in Height; in which were put the two Tables

of the Law, as well the broken ones (say the Rabbies) as the whole: And that there was nothing else in it, when it was brought into Solomon's Temple, is said in two places in Scripture. But the Rabbies raise a Controversy concerning Aaron's Rod, and the Pot of Manna, and the original Volume of the Law, written by Moses's own Hand, whether they were not also in the Ark. It is said of Aaron's Rod, and the * Pot of Manna, that they were laid up *before the Testimony*; and it being agreed on all Hands, that by the Testimony are meant the two Tables, those, who interpret these Words in the strict Sense, will have the said Rod and Pot of Manna to have been laid up immediately before the Tables within the Ark: For otherwise (they say) they would not have been laid up before the Testimony, but before the Ark. But others, who do not understand the Words in so strict a Sense, say they were laid up in the Holy of Holies without the Ark, in a Place just before it, thinking that in this Position without the Ark, they may be as well said to be laid up before the Testimony or Tables of the Law, as if they had been placed immediately before them within the Ark. But the holy Apostle St. Paul decides this Controversy. For he positively tells us, *That within the Ark were the Golden Pot, that had Manna, and Aaron's Rod, and the Tables of the Covenant.* As to the Book, or Volume of the Law, it being commanded to be put *on the Side* of the Ark, those who interpret that Word of the Inside, place it within the Ark; and those who interpret it of the Out-side, place it on the Outside of it, in a Case or Coffer made of purpose for it, and laid on the Right Side, meaning by the Right Side that End of it which was on the Right Hand: And the last seem to be in the Right as to this Mat-

* Exod. xvi. 33. Where to lay up before the Lord, is by the Jewish Commentators interpreted as the same with Before the Testimony of the Lord.

ter. Over the Ark was the Mercy-Seat, and it was the Covering of it. It was all made of solid Gold, and of the thickness (say the Rabbies) of an Hand's Breadth. At the two Ends of it were two Cherubims looking inward towards each other, with Wings expanded, which embracing the whole Circumference of the Mercy-Seat did meet on each Side in the Middle. All which (say the Rabbies) was made out of the same Mass without joining any of the Parts by Solder. Here it was where the *Shecinah*, or Divine Presence, rested both in the Tabernacle and Temple, and was visibly seen in the Appearance of a Cloud over it. And from hence the divine Oracles were given out by an audible Voice, as often as God was consulted in behalf of his People. And hence it is, that God is so often said in Scripture to dwell between the Cherubims on the Mercy-Seat, because there was the Seat or Throne of the visible Appearance of his Glory among them. And for this Reason the High Priest appeared before this Mercy-Seat once every Year on the great Day of Expiation, when he was to make his nearest Approach to the Divine Presence to mediate, and make Atonement, for the whole People of *Israel*. And all else of that Nation, who served God according to the *Levitical* Law, made it the Center of their Worship. And not only in the Temple, when they came up thither to worship, but every where else in their Dispersion through the whole World, whenever they prayed, they turned their Faces towards the Place where the Ark stood, and directed all their Devotions that Way. And therefore had there nothing else of the first Temple been wanting in the second, but the Ark only, this alone would have been reason enough for the old Men to have wept, when they remembered the first Temple in which it was, and also for the saying of *Haggai*, *Chap. 2. 3.* That the second Temple was as nothing in comparison of the first; so great a Part

had it in the Glory of this Temple, as long as it remained in it. However the Defect was supplied, as to the outward Form. For in the second Temple there was also an Ark made of the same Shape and Dimensions with the first, and put in the same Place. But though it was thus substituted in its stead, yet it had none of its Prerogatives or Honours conferred upon it. For there were no Tables of the Law, no *Aaron's* Rod, no Pot of Manna in it, no Appearance of the Divine Glory over it, no Oracles given from it. The first Ark was made and consecrated by God's Appointment, and had all these Prerogatives, and Honours, given unto it by him. But the second being appointed and substituted by Man only, to be in the Stead and Place of the other, could have none of them. And the only Use, that was made of it, was to be a Representative of the former on the great Day of Expiation, to be a Repository of the Holy Scriptures, that is of the original Copy of that Collection, which was made of them after the Captivity by *Ezra*, and the Men of the great Synagogue. And in imitation hereof the *Jews* in all their Synagogues have a like Ark or Coffer, of the same Size or Form, in which they keep the Scriptures belonging to the Synagogue, and from whence they take it out with great Solemnity, whenever they use it, and return it with the like, when they have done with it.

2. The second Thing wanting in the second Temple, which was in the first, was the *Shecinah*, or the Divine Presence, manifested by a visible Cloud resting over the Mercy-Seat, as hath been already shewn. This Cloud did there first appear, when *Moses* consecrated the Tabernacle, and was afterwards on the consecrating of the Temple by *Solomon* translated thither. And there it did continue in the same visible Manner, till that Temple was destroyed;

stroyed; but after that it never appeared more. Its constant Place was directly over the Mercy-Seat, but it rested there only, when the Ark was in its proper Place in the Tabernacle first, and afterwards in the Temple, and not while it was in movement from Place to Place, as it often was during the time of the Tabernacle.

3. The third thing wanting in the second Temple, which was in the first, was the *Urim* and *Thummim*. Concerning this many have written very much, but by offering their various Opinions have helped rather to perplex, than explain the Matter. Without troubling the Reader with their Arguments, we shall here only add these few things concerning the History of this extraordinary Mark of the Divine Favour.

Altho' the Way of asking counsel of God by *Urim* and *Thummim* was frequently used during the Tabernacle, and no doubt continued afterward till the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*, yet we have no Instance of it in Scripture during the whole Time of the first Temple; and it is most certain, that it was wholly wanting in the second Temple: For both *Ezra* and *Nebemiah* tell us as much. And hence is that Saying among the *Jews*, that the Holy Spirit spake to the Children of *Israel* during the Tabernacle by *Urim* and *Thummim*, and under the first Temple by the Prophets, and under the second by *Bath-Kol*.

They, who would have the *Urim* and *Thummim* absolutely to have ceased under the first Temple, give two Reasons for it. First, That it was an Appendant of the Theocracy. For as long as God was the immediate Governor of *Israel*, it was necessary, say they, that a Method should be established, whereby he might at all times be applied to and consulted with by his People; and for this Reason, they tell us, the Oracle by *Urim* and *Thummim*

was appointed. But when the Theocracy ceased (which, they say, it did when *Solomon* the first Hereditary King sat upon the Throne) this Oracle ceased with it. And, Secondly, they say, that the *Urim* and *Thummim* was established to ask counsel only about that, which belonged to the common Interest of all *Israel*, and therefore whenever the High-Priest asked Counsel of God this way, it was with the Names of all the Tribes of *Israel* upon his Breast, to denote what was asked, was for the common Interest of all of them. But that common Interest ceasing upon the Division of the Kingdom, this way of asking counsel of God must in the Nature of the thing have then ceased also, as being no longer practicable. But how far these Arguments may conclude, is left to every one to consider.

4. The fourth thing wanting in the second Temple, which was in the first, was the Holy Fire, which came down from Heaven upon the Altar. It descended first upon the Altar in the Tabernacle at the consecrating of *Aaron*, and his Sons, to the Priesthood; and afterwards it descended anew upon the Altar in the Temple of *Solomon*, at the consecrating of that Temple. And there it was constantly fed and maintained by the Priests Day and Night, without ever suffering it to go out, in the same Manner, as it had been before in the Tabernacle; and with this all the Offerings were offered, that were made by Fire. And for using other Fire were *Nadab* and *Abihu* consumed by Fire from the Lord. This, say some of the Jewish Writers, was extinguished in the Days of *Manasseh*. But the more general Opinion among them is, that it continued till the Destruction of the Temple by the *Chaldeans*. After that it was never more restored, but instead of it they had only common Fire in the second Temple: For what is said of its being hid in a Pit by *Jeremiah*, and again brought thence, and

revived upon the Altar in the second Temple, is a Fable that deserves no Regard.

5. The fifth thing wanting in the second Temple, which was in the first, was the Spirit of Prophecy; but this was not wholly wanting there. For the Prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, lived after the second Temple was built, and prophesied under it. But on their Death, which (say the Rabbins) happen'd all in one Year, the prophetic Spirit wholly ceased from among them.

Besides these five things, there was wanting also a Sixth, that is the holy anointing Oil, which was made by *Moses* for anointing and consecrating of the King, the High-Priest, and all the sacred Vessels made use of in the House of God. And for this use it was commanded to be kept by the Children of *Israel* throughout their Generations: And therefore it was laid up before the Lord in the Most-holy-Place. And as the Original Copy of the Law was placed there on the right Side of the Ark of the Covenant, so perchance the Vessel containing this Oil was placed on the other Side of it, and there kept till the first Temple being destroyed, that also was destroyed with it. These, as well as many other Particulars of the Glory of the first Temple, being wanting in the second, there was reason enough for those to weep at the rebuilding of the second Temple, who remembred the first. But all these Wants and Defects were abundantly repaired in the second Temple, when the Desire of all Nations, the Lord whom they sought, came to this his Temple, and *Christ* our Saviour, who was the true *Shedinab* of the Divine Majesty, honoured it with his Presence; and in this Respect the Glory of the latter House did far exceed the Glory of the former. And herein the Prophecies of the Prophet *Haggai*, which foretold it should be so, had a very thorough Completion.

This Dedication of the second Temple was celebrated by the Priests and Levites, and all the rest of the Congregation of *Israel*, on the third Day of the twelfth Month, called the Month of *Adar*, (which answers to part of our *February*, and part of *March*) in the Year of the World 3489, before *Christ* 511, before the Vulgar *Æra* 515. The Joy and Solemnity on this Occasion was exceeding great.

X. In the Year of the World 3837, the Temple was profaned by Order of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; the immediate Occasion of which was as follows. *Menelaus*, the Brother of *Jason* the High-priest, being sent to *Antioch* to carry the Tribute-Money which the *Jews* paid to the Kings of *Syria* at that time; when he was admitted to Audience, instead of pursuing the Interest of the State, he offered the King three hundred Talents more for the High-priesthood than his Brother gave for it. By this means he obtained his Desire; for *Antiochus* was willing to make the most he could of his Authority over the *Jewish* Nation, and *Jason* was unable to assert the Right of his former Purchase.

About two Years after this, while *Antiochus* was in *Egypt*, a false Rumour having been spread through all *Palestine*, that he was dead, *Jason* thinking this a fit Opportunity for him again to recover his Station at *Jerusalem*, which he formerly had there as High-Priest, marched thither with above a thousand Men, and having by the Assistance of the Party he had there, taken the City, and driven *Menelaus* to flee for Shelter into the Castle, he acted all manner of Cruelties upon his Fellow Citizens, putting to Death without Mercy as many of those whom he thought his Adversaries, as he could light upon.

Antiochus, on his being informed of all this in *Egypt*, supposed that the whole *Jewish* Nation had revolted from him, and therefore marched with all haste out

of *Egypt* into *Judea*, to quell this Rebellion; and being told, that the People of *Jerusalem* made great Rejoycings on the News which came to them of his Death, he was very much provoked thereat; and therefore in a great Rage laying Siege to *Jerusalem*, and taking the City by Force, he slew of the Inhabitants in three Days time forty thousand Persons, and having taken as many more Captives, sold them for Slaves to the neighbouring Nations. And not content with this, he impiously forced himself into the Temple, and entered into the inner and most sacred Recesses of it, polluting by his Presence both the Holy Place, and also the Holy of Holies, the wicked Traitor *Menelaus* being his Conductor, and shewing him the Way into both. And to offer the greater Indignity to this sacred Place, and to affront in the highest manner he was able, the Religion whereby God was worshipped in it, he sacrificed a great Sow upon the Altar of Burnt Offerings, and Broth being by his Command, made with some part of the Flesh thereof boil'd in it, he caused it to be sprinkled all over the Temple for the utmost defiling of it. And after this having sacrilegiously plundered it, by taking thence the Altar of Incense, the Shew-bread Table, the Candlestick of seven Branches, that stood in the Holy Place, which were all of Gold, and several other golden Vessels, Utensils, and Donatives of former Kings, to the Value of eighteen hundred Talents of Gold, he returned to *Antioch*, carrying thither with him the Spoils of *Judea* as well as of *Egypt*, which both together amounted to an immense Treasure of Riches.

Antiochus, during his whole Reign, made four Expeditions into *Egypt*, against *Ptolemy Philometor*, the King that then reigned in that Country. It was at the End of his second Expedition, in the sixth Year of his Reign, that the Prophanations above-mentioned were committed. The

two following Years he went thither again, in the last of which he was driven back by the *Romans*, who interposed in this War, to prevent his uniting *Egypt* to *Syria*, and so becoming a too potent Enemy to the growing Greatness of their State. Upon this, *Antiochus* returning full of Wrath and Indignation at his Disappointment, vented it all upon the *Jews*, who had no way offended him. For on his marching back thro' *Palestine*, he detached off from his Army twenty two thousand Men under the Command of *Apollonius*, who was over the Tribute, and sent them to *Jerusalem* to destroy the Place.

It was just two Years after *Antiochus* had taken *Jerusalem*, that *Apollonius* came thither with his Army. On his first Arrival he carried himself peaceably, concealing his Purpose, and forbearing all Hostilities till the next Sabbath; but then when the People were all assembled together in their Synagogues for the celebrating of the religious Duties of the Day, thinking this the properest Time for the executing of his bloody Commission, he let loose all his Forces upon them, with Command to slay all the Men, and take captive the Women and Children to sell them for Slaves; which they executed with the utmost Rigour and Cruelty, slaying all the Men they could light on, without shewing any Mercy to any, and filling the Streets with their Blood. After this having spoiled the City of all its Riches, they set it on fire in several Places, demolished the Houses, and pulled down the Walls round about it, and then with the Ruins of the demolished City built a strong Fortrefs on the Top of an Eminence in the City of *David*, which was over-against the Temple, and over-looked and commanded the same, and there placed a strong Garrison, and making it a Place of Arms against the whole Nation of the *Jews* stored it with all Manner of Provisions

vitions of War, and there also they laid up the Spoils, which they had taken in the sacking of the City. And this Fortress by the Advantage of its Situation being thus higher than the Mountain of the Temple, and commanding the same, from thence the Garrison Soldiers fell on all those, that went up thither to worship, and shed their Blood on every Side of the Sanctuary, and defiled it with all manner of Pollutions; so that from this time the Temple became deserted, and the daily Sacrifices omitted, and none of the true Servants of God durst any more go up thither to worship, till Judas after three Years and an half having recovered it out of the Hands of the Heathens, purg'd the Place of its Pollutions, and by a new Dedication restored it again to its pristine Use. For all that escaped this Carnage being fled from *Jerusalem*, left that Place wholly in the Hands of Strangers, so that the Sanctuary was laid waste and the whole City desolated of its natural Inhabitants. At this time *Judas Maccabeus*, with some others that accompanied him, fled into the Wilderness, and there lived in great Hardship, subsisting themselves upon Herbs, and what else the Mountains and the Woods could afford them, till they gained an Opportunity of taking up Arms for themselves and their Country in manner as will be hereafter related.

As soon as *Antiochus* was return'd to *Antioch* he issued out a Decree, that all Nations within his Dominions, leaving their former Rites and Usages, should conform to the Religion of the King, and worship the same Gods, and in the same manner, as he did; which altho' couched in general Terms, was levelled mainly against the *Jews*, that thereby an Handle might be afforded for the further oppressing of that People; and it seems for no other End to have been extended to all the Nations of the *Syrian Empire*, but

that thereby it might reach all of the *Jewish* Worship, wherever they were dispersed among them, it being resolved by *Antiochus*, to carry on this Prosecution not against the *Jews* of *Palestine*, but against all others of that Religion, who were settled any where else within his Dominions.

The Overseer, who was sent to see this Decree of the King's executed in *Judea* and *Samaria*, was one *Athenaus*, an old Man, who being well vers'd in all the Rites of the *Grecian* Idolatry, was thought a very proper Person to initiate those People into the Observance of them. On his coming to *Jerusalem*, and there executing his Commission, all Sacrifices to the God of *Israel* were made to cease, all the Observances of the *Jewish* Religion were suppressed, the Temple itself was polluted and unfit for God's Worship, their Sabbaths and Festivals were prophaned, their Children forbidden to be circumcised, and their Law wherever it could be found was taken away or destroyed, and the Ordinances which God commanded them, were wholly suppressed throughout the Land, and every one was put to Death that was discovered in any of these Particulars to have acted against what the King had decreed. The *Syrian* Soldiers under this Overseer were the chief Missionaries, and by them this Conversion of the *Jews* to the King's Religion was effected; in the same manner as a late neighbouring Prince (*Lewis XIV. of France*) converted his Protestant Subjects to the idolatrous Superstition of *Rome*, which falls very little short of being altogether as bad.

Having thus expelled the *Jewish* Worship out of the Temple, they introduced thither the Heathen in its Stead, and consecrating it to the chief of their false Gods, called it the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*; and having erected his Image upon one Part of the Altar of *Holocaust*, that stood in the inner Court of the Temple,

Temple, upon another Part of it just before that Image, they built another lesser Altar, whereon they sacrificed to him. This was done on the fifteenth Day of the Jewish Month *Cisleu*, which answers in part to *November*, and in part to *December*, in our Kalender; and on the twenty-fifth Day of the same Month they there begun their Sacrifices to him. And they did the same to the Samaritan Temple on Mount *Gerizim*, consecrating it to the same Grecian God *Jupiter*, by the Name of *Jupiter the Protector of Strangers*. It was the Request of the Samaritans themselves to have their Temple consecrated to the Grecian *Jupiter*, and it was also at their Desire, that it was consecrated to him under this additional Title of *Protector of Strangers*, that thereby it might be expressed, that they were Strangers in that Land, and not of the Race of *Israel*, who were the old Inhabitants of it. And whereas two Women were found at *Jerusalem* to have circumcised their Male Children, of which they had been lately delivered, they hanged those Children about their Necks, and having led them in this Manner thorough the City, cast them headlong over the steepest Part of the Walls, and also slew all those who had been accessory with them in the Performance of this forbidden Rite. And with the same Severity they treated all others, who were found in the Practice of any one of their former religious Usages, contrary to what the King had commanded. And the more to propagate among the People that heathen Worship, which was enjoined, and to bring all to conform thereto, they did set up Altars, Groves, and Chapels of Idols in every City; and Officers were sent to them, who on the Day of the King's Birth in every Month, forced all to offer Sacrifice to the Grecian Gods, and eat of the Flesh of Swine, and other unclean Beasts then sacrificed to them. And

when the Feast of *Bacchus*, the God of Drunkenness, came, and Processions were made, as usual among the heathen Greeks, to the Honour of that abominable Deity, the Jews were forced to join therein, and carry Ivy, as the rest of the Heathens did, according to the idolatrous Usage of the Day.

When these Officers were thus sent to make all *Judea* conform to the King's Religion, and sacrifice to his Gods, one of them called *Apelles* came to *Modin*, where dwelt *Mattathias* a Priest, a very honourable Person, and one truly zealous for the Law of his God. He had with him five Sons, all very valiant Men, and equally with himself zealous Observers of the Law of their God, *Jonathan* called *Kaddis*, *Simon* called *Thassi*, *Judas* called *Maccabeus*, *Eleazer* called *Avaran*, and *Jonathan*, whose Sir-name was *Apphus*. *Apelles* on his coming to this City having called the People together, and declared unto them for what Intent he was come, addressed himself in the first Place to *Mattathias*, to persuade him to comply with the King's Commands, that by the Example of so honorable and great a Man, all the rest of the People of the Place might be induced to do the same, promising him, that thereon he should be taken into the Number of the King's Friends, and he and his Sons should be promoted to Honour and Riches. To this *Mattathias* answered with a loud Voice, in the hearing of all the People of the Place, *That no Consideration whatsoever should induce him, or any of his Family, ever to forsake the Law of their God*. And when he had said thus much, seeing one of the Jews of the Place presenting himself at the Heathen Altar, which was there erected, to sacrifice on it, according to the King's Commands, he was moved hereat with a religious Zeal, and run upon the Apostate, and slew him; and then in the Heat of his Wrath fell also

also on the King's Commissioner, and by the Assistance of his Sons, and others that joined with him, slew him and all that attended on him. And after this getting together all of his Family, and calling all others to follow who were zealous for the Law, he retired with them to the Mountains, and many others followed the same Example; whereby the Desarts of *Judea* became filled with those who fled from this Persecution.

This Action of *Mattathias* was the beginning of the *Jews* Deliverance from the Tyranny of the *Syrians*: For he himself, so long as he lived, and after him his Son *Judas*, headed their faithful Companions, against *Antiochus* and his Lieutenants, with such Success, that at the End of three Years and an half, upon the Retreat of *Lysias*, one of the said Lieutenants, *Judas* being left Master of the Country, proposed to his Followers their going up to *Jerusalem* for the Recovery of the Sanctuary out of the Hands of the Heathen, and to cleanse and dedicate it anew for the Service of the Lord their God, that his Worship might be there again restored, and daily carried on, as in former Times; to which all consenting, he led them up thither, where they found all Things in a very lamentable State. For the City was in Rubbish, the Sanctuary desolated, the Altar prophaned, the Gates of the Temple burnt up, Shrubs were in its Courts, as in a Forest, and the Priests Chambers pulled down. At the Sight hereof the whole Assembly fell into great Lamentation, and pressed earnestly to have all these Desolations and Profanations removed out of the House of God, that so his Worship might be again performed in it, as in former Times. And in order hereto, *Judas* having chosen Priests of unblameable Conversation, appointed them to the Work; who having cleansed the Sanctuary, pulled down the

Altars which the Heathens had there erected, borne out all the defiled Stones of them into an unclean Place, taken down the old Altar which the Heathens had prophaned, built a new one in its Stead of unhewn Stones, according to the Law, (*Exod. xx. 5.*) and hallowed the Courts, made thereby the whole Temple in all Things again fit for its former Service. And whereas *Antiochus* had in his sacrilegious Pillage of it, taken away the golden Altar of Incense, the Shewbread Table, which was all over-laid with Gold, and the Golden Candlestick (which all three stood in the Holy Place) and had also robbed it of all its other Vessels and Utensils (and the Service of the Temple could not be perfectly performed without them) *Judas* took Care that all these Defects should be supplied. And when all Things were made ready, and all placed according to their former Order, each in the particular Place, and each for the particular Use which they were ordained for, a new Dedication of the Altar was resolved on. The Day appointed for it was the twenty fifth Day of their Month called *Cisleu*, which fell about the Time of the Winter Solstice. This was the very same Day of the Year, on which three Years before, it had been prophaned, just three Years and an half after the City and Temple had been desolated by *Apollonius*, and two Years after *Judas* had taken on him the chief Command of the *Jews*, on his Father's Death.

About sixty nine Years after this Restoration, King *Alexander Jannæus*, one of the Successors of *Judas Maccabeus*, entering the Temple at *Jerusalem*, there to officiate as High-priest in the Feast of Tabernacles, had a great Affront and Indignity then offered him by the People. For they joining in a Sort of a Mutiny against him pelted him with Citrons, while he

he was offering the Festival Sacrifices on the great Altar, calling him Slave, and adding other opprobrious Language; which enraged him to that Degree, that he fell upon them with his Soldiers, and slew of them six thousand Men. And to secure himself from suffering any more from them the like Affront, he surrounded the Court of the Priests, within which were the Altar and the Temple, with a Wooden Partition, thereby to hinder the People from doing this any more to him.

Two and thirty Years after this, *Hyrcaus* and *Aristobulus* having been at War for the Crown of *Judea*, of which the latter was then in Possession, the Matter was referred to the Decision of *Pompey the Great*, who promised to come from *Damascus* to *Jerusalem* in order to end the Dispute. But *Aristobulus*, suspecting that Sentence would be given against him, in the mean Time prepared for a War against the *Roman* General; who being enraged at this Affront, immediately enters *Judea* with his Army, and leads it up to *Jerusalem*. On his Approach thither, *Aristobulus* repenting of what he had done, went out to *Pompey*, and endeavoured to reconcile Matters with him by promising a thorough Submission, and also a Sum of Money, that so the War might be prevented. *Pompey* accepting the Proposal, sent *Gabinus* one of his Lieutenants with a Body of Men to receive the Money. But when he came to *Jerusalem*, he found the Gates shut against him, and no Money to be had; but was told from the Walls, that those within would not stand to the Agreement; whereon *Pompey*, not bearing thus to be mock'd, clapp'd *Aristobulus* (whom he retain'd with him) in Chains; and march'd with the whole Army directly to *Jerusalem*. That Party, which was for *Aristobulus*, were for defending the Place, especially by reason of the Indignation,

with which they were moved at *Pompey's* making their King a Prisoner. But those, who favoured the Cause of *Hyrcaus*, were for receiving *Pompey* into the City; and they being the greater Number, the other Party retired into the Mountain of the Temple, and having broken down the Bridges over the deep Ditches and Vallies that surrounded it, resolved there to maintain themselves. Whereon *Pompey* being received into the City by the other Party, set himself to besiege the Place. Most of the Sacerdotal Order stuck by the Cause of *Aristobulus*, and were shut up with those that seized the Temple for the Support of it. But the Generality of the People were on the other Side; and *Hyrcaus* at the Head of them supplied *Pompey* with all Necessaries within his Power, for the carrying on of the Siege. The North-side of the Temple being observed to be the weakest Part of it, *Pompey* there begun his Approaches. At first he offered the Besieged Terms of Peace; but these being rejected, he forthwith begun with the utmost Vigour to press the Place. However it held out three Months, and perchance would at last have necessitated the *Romans* to have raised the Siege, had it not been for the superstitious Rigour with which the *Jews* observed their Sabbath. Formerly it had been carried so high, that they would not defend their Lives on that Day. But the Mischief and Folly of this being sufficiently made appear, in what they suffered from it in the first Beginnings of the *Maccabean* Wars, it was then determined, that a necessary Defence of a Man's Life was not within the Prohibition of the fourth Commandment. But this being understood to hold good only against a direct and immediate Assault, but not against any antecedent Preparative leading thereto, for this Reason, tho' they vigorously defended themselves on the Sabbath-Day when assaulted, yet they would not then stir an Hand, either for

the hindring of the Enemy's Works, or the destroying of their Engines, or obstructing their erecting of them, as they did on other Days: Which *Pompey* perceiving, ordered that no Assault should be made upon them during their Sabbaths, but that those Days should be employed wholly in carrying on their Works, and in erecting and fitting their Engines in such Manner as they might best do Execution in the next Days of the Week following. Having at length, by these Advantages, beaten down a great strong Tower, which drew a great Part of the adjoining Wall with it into the same Ruin, a Breach was made large enough for an Assault, which *Cornelius Faustus*, the Son of *Sylla*, who had his Station next it, immediately mounting, drew the rest of the Army after him, who on their thus entering the Place made a dreadful Slaughter of those whom they found within; so that it is reckoned no less than twelve thousand of them fell in this Carnage; and none acted more cruelly herein than the *Jews* of the contrary Faction did against their own Brethren. Amongst all this Scene of dreadful Destruction, it's remarked, that the Priests that were then in the Temple went on with the daily Service of it, without being deterred either by the Rage of their Enemies or the Death of their Friends, chusing rather to lose their Lives amidst the Swords of the prevailing Adversary, than desert the Service of their God; and many of them, while they were thus employed at this time, had their own Blood mingled with the Blood of the Sacrifices, which they were offering, and fell themselves by the Sword of their Enemies a Sacrifice to their Duty; which was an Instance of steady Constancy much admired by *Pompey* himself, and is scarce any were else to be thoroughly parallel'd.

And thus, after a Siege of three Months, was the Temple of *Jerusalem* taken by

the *Romans*, on the Day which the *Jews* kept as a solemn Fast for the taking of *Jerusalem* and the same Temple with it by *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*. As soon as the *Romans* had thus made themselves Masters of the Place, *Pompey*, with several others of the chief Commanders of the Army accompanying him, went up into it, and not contenting themselves with viewing the outer Courts, caused the most sacred Parts of the Temple itself to be opened unto them, and entered not only into the Holy Place, but also into the Holy of Holies; which was a great Profanation offered this Holy Place, and the Religion, whereby God was there worshipped. But tho' *Pompey* found in the Treasuries of the Temple two thousand Talents in Money, besides its Utensils, and other Things of a great Value there laid up, yet he touched nothing of all this, but left it all there intire for the sacred Uses to which it was devoted, without the least Diminution of any Part. And the next Day after he ordered the Temple to be cleansed, and the Divine Service to be there again carried on in the same manner as formerly. However, this did not expiate for his Profanation of God's Holy Temple, and the Impiety which he made himself guilty of thereby. Hitherto he had found wonderful Success in all his Undertakings, but in this Act it all ended. For hereby having drawn God's Curse upon him, he never prospered after. This over the *Jews* was the last of his Victories.

After *Herod* had reigned eighteen Years over the *Jews*, he made them a Proposal for rebuilding the Temple, to which they consenting with some Reluctancy, he went about preparing Materials for the Work. And having in two Years got all things ready, he pulled down the old Edifice, and began the erecting of his new one, just forty six Years before the Passover mentioned in the preceding Chapter,

Chapter, when the Jews told our Lord that the Temple had been forty and six Years in building.

After an Year and a half that Part which was most properly the Temple (that is that which contained the Holy Place, the Holy of Holies, and the Porch through which was the Passage leading to both) was wholly finished; and after eight Years more all the rest was built, which Herod proposed. However this Temple was still the same Temple, and still retained the same Denomination as before. For Herod's rebuilding of it was only by way of Reparation, and not by way of Restoration and new Erection after a long and total Demolition, as was the case of the Temple rebuilt by Zerubbabel; and therefore it was still called the *second Temple*; and the *latter Temple*, after this Reparation, as it was before, to the Time of its ultimate Demolition by Titus.

The whole Work being finished at the end of nine Years and an half from his first beginning of the Building, Herod celebrated with great Pomp and Expence the Dedication of it; and the Day appointed for it falling in with the Day of the Year when he first received the Crown, this augmented the Solemnity. And it was very proper and requisite that this House should be thus repaired and fitted up in its best Dress, when he that was Lord thereof was coming to it: For with in less than four Years after this Christ was born.

This Temple, as rebuilt by Herod, did not subsist above seventy-seven Years, being destroyed by the Romans in the Year of Christ, 73, that is of the Vulgar Era 70; of which latter Destruction we shall say more when we come to speak of our Lord's Prophecies concerning it.

XI. This Temple of Herod was very different from that of Solomon, and from that which was built by Zerubbabel after the Captivity. Josephus, who himself

had seen it, and was present at its Destruction, has left us a Description of it to this Effect.

The Temple, properly so called, was but sixty Cubits high, and as many broad, but there were two Sides of Front, like two Arms or Shoulders, which advanced twenty Cubits on each Side, and so gave in the whole an hundred Cubits in Width as well as in Height. The Stones made use of in this Building were white and hard, twenty five Cubits long, eight high, and twelve wide.

The Front of this magnificent Building resembled that of a Royal Palace. The two Extremes of each Face were lower than the Middle; which Middle was so exalted, that those who were over-against the Temple, or who approached it at a Distance, might see it, tho' they were many Furlongs from it. The Gates were almost of the same Height as the Temple; and on the Top of them were Veils, or Tapestry of several Colours, embellished with purple Flowers. On the two Sides of the Doors were two Pillars, the Cornishes of which were adorned with Branches of a Golden Vine, which hung down with their Grapes and Clusters, and were so well imitated, that Art did not yield to Nature. Herod made very large and high Galleries about the Temple, which were suitable to the Magnificence of the rest of the Building, and exceeded in Beauty and Sumptuousness all of the kind that had been seen before.

The Temple was built upon a very irregular Mountain; and at first there was hardly Plain enough on the Top of it for the Site of the Temple and the Altar, the rest of it being steep and sloping. But when King Solomon built it, he raised a Wall towards the East, to support the Earth on that Side; and after that Side was filled up, he there built one of the Portico's or Galleries. At that time this Face only was cased with Stone; but in

succeeding Times the People endeavouring to enlarge the Space, and the Top of the Mountain being now much extended, they broke down the Wall which was on the North Side, and enclosed a second Space as large as that on which the whole Temple was built at first. So that in time, against all Hope and Expectation, this Work was carried so far, that the whole Mountain was surrounded by a treble Wall. But for completing this great Work whole Ages were no more than sufficient; and all the sacred Treasures were applied to this Use, that the Devotion of the People had brought to the Temple from all the Provinces of the World. In some Places these Walls were above three hundred Cubits high; and the Stones used in this Work were some forty Cubits long. They were fastned together with Iron Cramps and Lead, that they might be able to resist the Injuries of Time.

The Platform of the Temple was a Furlong square; or an hundred and twenty five Cubits. The Entrance into the first Enclosure, which was a Furlong on every Side, was by seven Gates, one to the East, one to the North, one to the South, and four towards the West. Of these last one led to the Palace, another to the City, and the other two to the Fields. This Enclosure was secured without by a very high and solid Wall; and within, all round about it on the four Sides, were stately Porticos or Galleries, sustained by Columns so thick that hardly any three Men could grasp them with their Arms. The Number of these Columns was an hundred and sixty two: They supported a Roof of Cedar very well worked, and made three Galleries, of which the middlemost was forty five Feet wide, and an hundred high, those on the two Sides thirty Feet wide and fifty high.

The Court or Area before these Galleries was paved with Marble of several

Colours; and at a little Distance was a second Enclosure, formed by a handsome Balustrade of Stone, with Pillars at equal Distances, on which were Inscriptions in Greek and Latin, to warn all Strangers, and such as were unclean, not to proceed any farther on Pain of Death. This Enclosure had but one Entrance towards the East, but towards the North and South it had three at equal Distances.

The third Enclosure, which included the Temple and the Altar of Burnt-Sacrifices, was surrounded by a Wall of forty Cubits high. It was a Square as well as the former; and the Height of the Wall did not appear so much without as it really was, because it was lost behind the Steps by which it was surrounded, and partly covered. First, there were fourteen Steps, upon which was a Terras of about ten Cubits wide, which went all round the Enclosure. From thence there was another Ascent of five Steps, to come to the Platform of the Gate; so that the Wall was but five and twenty Cubits high within. The Entrance into this Portico was by a Gate towards the East, by four towards the South, and as many towards the North. There was no Gate on the West Side, but a great Wall ranged all along, from North to South. At the Entrance of each Gate within were large Rooms, in form of Pavillions, of thirty Cubits square and forty high, each sustain'd by a Pillar of twelve Cubits in Circumference.

Within this Enclosure were also double covered Galleries, with two Rows of Pillars, to the East, to the North, and to the South, but none to the West. The Women had the Gate to themselves which was on the East Side, and one of those on the South and the North, by which they passed to the Place appointed for them, which was distinct from that of the Men.

The Altar of Burnt-Sacrifices was fifteen Cubits high, and forty Cubits wide every

every Way. They went up to it by a Slope without Steps, towards the South. At the four Corners were so many Eminences like Horns; and it was built of rough Stones, on which no Tool of any Metal was used.

The Front of the Temple was adorned with many rich Spoils, which the Kings of the Jews had dedicated to God, as Monuments of their Victories: When Herod had finished the Temple, he dedicated them anew, and added to them several Trophies of his own, which he had gotten in his Wars.

The Porch of the Temple was ninety Cubits high, and an hundred in Length, taking up all the Front of the Temple, except ten Cubits of its Height. The Door was seventy Cubits high, and twenty five wide. Within the last Enclosure above-mentioned was a Wall of one Cubit high, which surrounded the Temple and the Altar of Burnt-Sacrifices, and which parted the Priests from the rest of the Israelites. The Laity durst not enter beyond this Wall, but were permitted to bring their Sacrifices up to it. This is the Substance of what Josephus says, without the Figures and Ornaments of Speech with which he has dressed up his Description. We have indeed purposely omitted his Account of the Inside of the Temple, and of the Apartments of the Priests which were ranged on the two Sides of it, because they have nothing in them very singular, or different from what was before described in the Temple of Solomon.

XII. The Author last quoted relates a thing, which he says he received by Tradition from his Fathers, and which is remarkable enough to be here taken Notice of. It is, that all the Time they were at work upon the Temple, there fell no Rain in the Day-time, but only in the Night; so that the Workmen were never hindered in their Work. The same Au-

thor observes, that as soon as it was resolved to build the Temple and the Altar, Herod durst not enter into the Courts of the Priests, as being only a Laic; and that he left to the Priests the Care of finishing this Work themselves, who completed it in eighteen Months, tho' the rest had taken up eight Years in perfecting.

In the Corner of the Northern Side of the first Enclosure of the Temple was a very strong Tower, built by the Asmonean Kings, who were in Possession both of the regal State and the High-priesthood at the same Time: 'Twas here they kept the sacred Ornaments, worn by the High-Priest on solemn Occasions. After the Asmoneans Herod continued to keep them there; and after Herod the Romans had them in their Power, till the Time of the Emperor Tiberius. But during his Reign, Vitellius coming to Jerusalem in Quality of Governor of Syria, the Inhabitants of that City received him with so much Honour, that, to shew his Acknowledgement for it, he obtained from Tiberius that this sacred Deposit should be put into their Hands. They enjoyed this Favour till the Death of King Agrippa, when the Governors of Syria and Judea commanded the Jews to lay it up in the Castle of Antonia, that it might be in the Custody of the Romans as before. The Jews sent to desire it again of Claudius; and young Agrippa being then at Rome, obtained the Charge of it for himself.

This precious Habit used to be kept in the said Tower, under the Seals of the High-Priest, and of the Treasures of the Temple. On the Eve of any solemn Festival, they went to wait upon him that commanded the Castle for the Romans; when after they had viewed and examined the Seals, they received the holy Vestments from his Hands, which they brought back as soon as the Festival was over, and sealed them up as before.

This

This Tower or Castle was very strong in the Time of the *Assyrians*; but *Herod* fortified it yet more, and called it *Antonia*, in Honour of his Patron *Antony*. The same Prince also made a Passage under Ground, from the Tower *Antonia* to the Eastern Gate of the Temple, near which he likewise built another Tower. This was to preserve a Communication between the two Towers and the Temple, which might be serviceable to himself and his Successors, in Case of any Sedition in the City.

XIII. The most common Prints of the Temple, which we now see, are copied from those of *Father Villalpandus*, a Spanish Jesuit, who being employed by the King of Spain to write a Description of the City and Temple of Jerusalem, has obtained immortal Glory by a Work which he published on that Subject, in three Volumes in Folio. As he was a very skilful Architect, he was much more capable of doing Justice to this Design than the Generality of Interpreters of Scripture, who commonly have but a slender Acquaintance with Architecture.

To conclude this Discourse, we shall take from *Dr. Wells's* Account of the Temple a short Extract, which contains not only a Recapitulation of several Things, but also a Supplement to some of the Articles, and, what is most to our present Purpose, an Application of several Texts in Scripture to what has been already said, and more particularly of the History of our Saviour's purging the Temple of the Buyers and Sellers.

Within the Fabrick itself there were these two Parts: The First or Outmost was that, wherein was the Candlestick, and the Table, and the Show-bread, which was called the Sanctuary; the Second or Inmost was that which is called the Holiest of All, which had the Golden Censer, and the Ark of the Covenant overlaid round

about with Gold, wherein was the Golden Pot that had Manna, and Aaron's Rod that budded, and the Tables of the Covenant, and over it the Cherubims of Glory shadowing the Mercy-seat. Now the other Priests went always into the first Part or Tabernacle, accomplishing the daily Service of God: But into the second went the High Priest alone, and that but once every Year, &c.

As to the Courts of the Temple, they were but two, the Priests Court, and the Peoples Court. The Priests Court was next to the Temple, and had in it the Brazen Altar for the Sacrifices, and the Laver for the Washing both of the Priests and the Sacrifices also; and into this Court might none enter but the Priests.

The Peoples Court was separated from the former, by a Wall of three Cubits height, to which the People did repair to perform their Sacrifices, to say their Prayers, and to pay their Vows. In the midst of this Court did Solomon make a brazen Scaffold for the Kings his Successors. In After-times this Court came to be built round with Porches, into which the People retired in rainy Weather; whence this Court is sometimes denoted by the Name of Solomon's Porch, having the Name of Solomon added to it, either to continue his Memory, or because the Porches here built had some Resemblance of that Porch which he built before the Temple.

The fore-mentioned Court of the People was one entire Court in Solomon's Days; but afterwards it was divided by a low Wall, so that the Men stood in the inward Part of it, and the Women in the outward. This Division is thought to have been made in *Jehosaphat's* Time, of whom we read, that he stood in the House of the Lord before the New Court, that is, before the Women's Court. In this stood the Poor's Treasury, or the Alms-Bow,

Box, as may be gathered from the poor Widow's casting her two Mites into it; on which Account this whole Court is sometimes denoted by the Name of the *Treasury*.

Lastly, In *Herod's Temple* there was a fourth Court added before, or without the three already mentioned; namely, for such as were unclean by legal Pollutions; and for Strangers; whence it was commonly called, the *Court of the Gentiles*, being chiefly designed for the Use of such Gentiles or Strangers, as were only *Profelytes of the Gate*, and not of the *Covenant*, that is, as had bound themselves only to the Observation of the Precepts of *Noah*, and not to the Observation of the *Mosaical Law*. This last or outmost Court of all was separated from the *Israelites Court* with a Wall, adorn'd with certain Pillars at equal Distances, bearing this Inscription, *Let no Alien enter into this holy Place*. And to this Wall it is, that the Apostle alludes, when he saith, Eph. 2. 14, 15. *He hath broken down the middle Wall of Partition between us* (that is, between *Jews* and *Gentiles*) *making one of twain*, and when he thence infers, that the *Gentiles* are to be no more esteemed *Foreigners and Strangers*, but *Fellow-citizens with the Saints*, and of the *Household of God*. It was in this Fourth Court, or *Court of the Gentiles*, that the *Jews* permitted to be kept a Market of Sheep, Oxen and Doves, and the Tables of the Money-changers to stand; whereby the *Jews* shew'd the mean Regard they had for the *Gentiles*, placing them in the same Court with their Cattle. And therefore out of this Part or Court of the Temple, it was, that our Saviour cast the Buyers and Sellers; and herein it was that he overthrew the Tables of the Money-changers, asserting hereby the Temple to that sacred Use mentioned by the Prophet, namely, to be an *House of Prayer for all Nations*.

A Supplement to the foregoing Dissertation.

Being an Account of the modern State of *Jerusalem*, the Temple, and Places adjacent.

WE doubt not but such of our Readers, as are not already informed of the several Particulars contained in this Supplement, will be pleased with the Perusal of it, because the Author from whom we have extracted it, the ingenious Mr. *Maunderell*, has met with a general Approbation from the Curious. More might be here said of his Performance, if we were not satisfied that the several Quotations already made from it in this Work, are sufficient to recommend it. No Person, we presume, will object against our taking so much from a modern Author, from this Pretence, "That a particular Account of the present State of the *Holy Land*, and Places mentioned in the *New Testament*, can be of little Service to us in learning the State of those Places at the Times of which the *New Testament* speaks. For when a Man is reading over the History of our Redemption, and pleasing himself with an Idea of the Place where such a particular Thing therein mentioned was transacted, he must certainly find an additional Pleasure in his Mind, if he can run over the several Revolutions which that Place has since gone through, and take a View of the present Face, which it bears, and of the several Marks which it retains of that Barbarism and Superstition, which has for many Years past, and doth to this Day, prevail in the Country that was once honoured with the Presence of the Son of God himself. The intelligent Reader will find this Reflection very much heightened whilst he is perusing the following Paragraphs, and indeed whenever he is referred to this Extract, or others of the

the same Kind; which will often be the Case in the Progress of our History. As to the Extract itself, we shall give it in the very Words of our Author.

"Leaving Beer, we proceeded in a rude stony Country, which yet yielded us the Sight of several old ruin'd Villages. In two Hours and one Third we came to the Top of an Hill, from whence we had the first Prospect of *Jerusalem*; *Rama*, antiently call'd *Gibeah of Saul*, being within View on the right Hand, and the Plain of *Jericho* and the Mountains of *Gilead* on the Left. In one Hour more we approached the Walls of the Holy City; but we could not enter immediately, it being necessary first to send a Messenger, to acquaint the Governor of our Arrival, and to desire Liberty of Entrance: Without which preceding Ceremony, no *Frank* dares come within the Walls. We therefore passed along by the West Side of the City, and coming to the Corner above *Bethlehem* Gate, made a Stop there, in order to expect the Return of our Messenger. We had not waited above half an Hour, when he brought us our Permission, and we entered accordingly at *Bethlehem* Gate. It is required of all *Franks*, unless they happen to come in with some publick Minister, to dismount at the Gate, to deliver their Arms, and enter on Foot; but we coming in Company with the *French* Consul, had the Privilege to enter mounted and arm'd. Just within the Gate, we turn'd up a Street on the left Hand, and were conducted by the Consul to his own House, with most friendly and generous Invitations to make that our Home, as long as we should continue at *Jerusalem*. Having taken a little Refreshment, we went to the *Latin* Convent, at which all *Frank* Pilgrims are wont to be entertained. The Guardian and Friars received us with many kind Welcomes, and kept us with them at Supper; after which we returned to the

French Consul's to Bed. And thus we continued to take our Lodging at the Consul's, and our Board with the Friars, during our whole Stay at *Jerusalem*.

The next Day, being *Good Friday* in the *Latin* Style, the Consul was obliged to go into the Church of the Sepulchre, in order to keep his Feast; whither we accompanied him, altho' our *Easter* was not till a Week after theirs. We found the Church Doors guarded by several *Janizaries*, and other *Turkish* Officers; who are placed here to watch, that none enter in, but such as have first paid their appointed *Caphar*. This is more or less, according to the Country, or Character, of the Persons that enter. For *Franks* it is ordinarily fourteen Dollars *per* Head, unless they are *Ecclesiastics*, for in that Case it is but half so much.

Having once paid this *Caphar*, you may go in and out *gratis*, as often as you please during the whole Feast; provided you take the ordinary Opportunities, in which it is customary to open the Doors; but if you would have them opened at any Time out of the common Course, purposely for your own private Occasion, then the first Expence must be paid again.

The Pilgrims being all admitted this Day, the Church Doors were locked in the Evening, and opened no more till *Easter-Day*; by which we were kept in a close, but very happy, Confinement for three Days. We spent our Time in viewing the Ceremonies practised by the *Latins* at this Festival, and in visiting the several holy Places: All which we had an Opportunity to survey, with as much Freedom and Deliberation as we pleased.

The Church of the Sepulchre is founded upon *Mount Calvary*, which is a small Eminency or Hill upon the greater Mount of *Moriah*. It was antiently appropriated to the Execution of Malefactors, and therefore shut out of the Walls of the City,

City, as an execrable and polluted Place.

But since it was made the Altar, on which was offer'd up the precious and all-sufficient Sacrifice for the Sins of the whole World, it has recover'd itself from that Infamy, and has been always reverenc'd and resort'd to with such Devotion by all Christians, that it has attracted the City round about it, and stands now in the midst of *Jerusalem*; a great Part of the Hill of *Sion* being shut out of the Walls, to make Room for the Admission of *Calvary*.

In order to the fitting of this Hill for the Foundation of a Church, the first Founders were oblig'd to reduce it to a plain Area; which they did by cutting down several Parts of the Rock, and by elevating others. But in this Work Care was taken, that none of those Parts of the Hill, which were reckon'd to be more immediately concerned in our Blessed Lord's Passion should be alter'd or diminished. Thus that very Part of *Calvary*, where they say *Christ* was fasten'd to, and lifted upon his Cross, is left entire, standing at this Day eighteen Steps above the common Floor of the Church: And the Holy Sepulchre itself, which was at first a Cave hewn into the Rock under Ground, having had the Rock cut away from it all round, is now as it were a Grotto above Ground.

In Galleries round about the Church, and also in little Buildings annex'd to it on the Outside, are certain Apartments for the Reception of Friars and Pilgrims, and in these Places almost every Christian Nation antiently maintain'd a small Society of Monks, each Society having its proper Quarter assigned to it, by the Appointment of the *Turks*. Such as the *Latins*, *Greeks*, *Syrians*, *Armenians*, *Abbyssines*, *Gregorians*, *Nestorians*, *Coptites*, *Maronites*, &c. All which had antiently their several Apartments in the Church. But these have all, except four, forsaken

their Quarters; not being able to sustain the severe Rents, and Extortions, which their *Turkish* Landlords impose upon them. The *Latins*, *Greeks*, *Armenians*, and *Coptites* keep their footing still. But of these four the *Coptites* have now only one Representative of their Nation left. And the *Armenians* are run so much in Debt, that 'tis suppos'd they are hastening apace to follow the Example of their Brethren, who have deserted before them.

The *Latins*, of whom there are always about ten or twelve residing at the Church, with a President over them, make every Day a solemn Procession, with Tapers and Crucifixes, and other processionary Solemnities, to the several Sanctuaries; singing at every one of them a Latin Hymn relating to the Subject of each Place. These *Latins* being more polite and exact in their Functions than the other Monks here residing, and also our Conversation being chiefly with them, I will only describe Their Ceremonies, without taking notice of what was done by others, who did not so much come under our Observation.

Their Ceremony begins on *Good Friday* Night, which is call'd by them *Nox tenebrosa*, and is observ'd with such an extraordinary Solemnity, that I cannot omit to give a particular Description of it.

As soon as it grew dusk, all the Friars and Pilgrims were conven'd in the Chapel of the Apparitions (which is a small Oratory on the North Side of the Holy Cave, adjoining to the Apartments of the *Latins*) in order to go in a Procession round the Church. But, before they set out, one of the Friars preached a Sermon in *Italian* in that Chapel. He began his Discourse thus; *In this gloomy Night*, &c. at which Words all the Candles were instantly put out, to yield a livelier Image of the Occasion. And so we were held by the Preacher for near half an Hour very much in the Dark. Sermon being ended, every Person present

had a large lighted Taper put into his Hand, as it were to make amends for the former Darkness, and the Crucifixes and Utensils were disposed in order for beginning the Procession. Amongst the other Crucifixes there was one of a very large Size, which bore upon it the Image of our Lord as big as the Life. The Image was fasten'd to it with great Nails, crown'd with Thorns, besmear'd with Blood, and so exquisitely was it perform'd, that it represented in a very lively Manner the lamentable Spectacle of our Lord's Body, as it hung upon the Cross. This Figure was carried along in the Head of the Procession; after which the Company follow'd to all the Sanctuaries in the Church, singing their appointed Hymn at every one.

The first Place they visited was that of the Pillar of Flagellation, a large Piece of which is kept in a little Cell just at the Door of the Chapel of the Apparition. There they sung their proper Hymn, and another Friar entertain'd the Company with a Sermon in *Spanish*, touching the Scourging of our Lord.

From hence they proceeded in solemn Order to the Prison of *Christ*, where they pretend he was secur'd whilst the Soldiers made Things ready for his Crucifixion: Here likewise they sung their Hymn, and a third Friar preach'd in *French*.

From the Prison they went to the Altar of the Division of *Christ's* Garments: Where they only sung their Hymn, without adding any Sermon.

Having done here, they advanc'd to the Chapel of the Derision; at which, after their Hymn, they had a fourth Sermon (as I remember) in *French*.

From this Place they went up to *Calvary*, leaving their Shoes at the Bottom of the Stairs. Here are two Altars to be visited; one where our Lord is supposed to have been nailed to his Cross; another where his Cross was erected. At the for-

mer of these, they laid down the great Crucifix (which I but now described) upon the Floor, and acted a kind of Resemblance of *Christ's* being nail'd to the Cross; and after the Hymn, one of the Friars preached another Sermon in *Spanish* upon the Crucifixion.

From hence they removed to the adjoining Altar, where the Cross is suppos'd to have been erected, bearing the Image of our Lord's Body. At this Altar is a Hole in the Natural Rock, said to be the very same individual one, in which the Foot of our Lord's Cross stood. Here they set up their Cross, with the bloody crucified Image upon it, and leaving it in that Posture, they first sung their Hymn, and then the Father Guardian, sitting in a Chair before it, preached a Passion Sermon in *Italian*.

At about one Yard and a half distance from the Hole in which the Foot of the Cross was fix'd, is seen that memorable Cleft in the Rock, said to have been made by the Earthquake which happen'd at the Suffering of the God of Nature: When (as *St. Matthew* witnesseth) *the Rocks rent and the very Graves were open'd*. This Cleft, as to what now appears of it, is about a Span wide at its upper Part, and two deep; after which it closes: But it opens again below, (as you may see in another Chapel under this) and runs down to an unknown Depth in the Earth. That this Rent was made by the Earthquake, that happen'd at our Lord's Passion, there is only Tradition to prove: But that it is a natural and genuine Breach, and not counterfeited by any Art, the Sense and Reason of every one that sees it may convince him; for the Sides of it fit like two Tallies to each other, and yet it runs in such intricate Windings as could not well be counterfeited by Art, nor arriv'd at by any Instruments.

The Ceremony of the Passion being over, and the Guardian's Sermon ended,

two Friars, personating the one *Joseph of Arimathea*, the other *Nicodemus*, approach'd the Cross, and with a most solemn concern'd Air, both of Aspect and Behaviour, drew out the great Nails, and took down the feigned Body from the Cross. It was an Effigy so contriv'd, that its Limbs were soft and flexible, as if they had been real Flesh; and nothing could be more surprizing, than to see the two pretended Mourners bend down the Arms, which were before extended, and dispose them upon the Trunk, in such a manner as is usual in Corpses.

The Body being taken down from the Cross was receiv'd in a fair large Winding-Sheet, and carried down from *Calvary*; the whole Company attending as before, to the Stone of Unction. This is taken for the very Place where the precious Body of our Lord was anointed, and prepar'd for the Burial. Here they laid down their imaginary Corpse, and casting over it several sweet Powders and Spices, wrapt it up in the Winding-Sheet. Whilst this was doing, they sung their proper Hymn, and afterwards one of the Friars preached in *Arabick* a Funeral Sermon.

These Obsequies being finished, they carried off their fancied Corpse, and laid it in the Sepulchre; shutting up the Door till *Easter-Morning*. And now, after so many Sermons, and so long, not to say tedious, a Ceremony, it may well be imagin'd that the Weariness of the Congregation, as well as the Hour of the Night, made it needful to go to rest.

The next Morning nothing extraordinary pass'd; which gave many of the Pilgrims leisure to have their Arms mark'd with the usual Ensigns of *Jerusalem*. The Artists who undertake the Operations, do it in this Manner: They have Stamps in Wood of any Figure you desire; which they first print off upon your Arm with Powder of Charcoal; then taking two very fine Needles, ty'd close together, and

dipping them often, like a Pen, in a certain Ink, compounded (as I was inform'd) of Gun-powder and Ox-Gall, they make with them small Punctures all along the Lines of the Figure which they have printed, and then washing the Part with Wine conclude the Work. These Punctures they make with great Quickness and Dexterity, and with scarce any Smart, seldom piercing so deep as to draw Blood.

In the Afternoon of this Day, the Congregation was assembled in the Area before the Holy Grave: Where the Friars spent some Hours in singing over the Lamentations of *Jeremiah*; which Function with the usual Procession to the Holy Places, was all the Ceremony of this Day.

On *Easter Morning* the Sepulchre was again set open very early. The Clouds of the former Morning were clear'd up, and the Friars put on a Face of Joy and Serenity, as if it had been the real Juncture of our Lord's Resurrection. Nor doubtless was this Joy feigned, whatever their Mourning might be, this being the Day in which their *Lenten* Disciplines expir'd, and they were to come to a full Belly again.

The Mass was celebrated this Morning just before the Holy Sepulchre, being the most eminent Place in the Church, where the Father Guardian had a Throne erected; and being array'd in Episcopal Robes, with a Mitre on his Head, in the Sight of all the *Turks*, he gave the Host to all that were dispos'd to receive it, not refusing Children of seven or eight Years old. This Office being ended, we made our Exit out of the Sepulchre, and returning to the Convent din'd with the Friars.

After Dinner we took an Opportunity to go and visit some of the remarkable Places without the City Walls. We began with those on the North Side.

The first Place we were conducted to was a large Grot, a little without *Damascus Gate*; said to have been some time the

Residence of *Jeremiah*. On the left Side of it is shewn the Prophet's Bed, being a Shelf on the Rock, about eight Foot from the Ground; and not far from this, is the Place, where they say he wrote his Lamentations.

The next Place we came to was to those famous Grotts, call'd the Sepulchres of the Kings: But for what Reason they go by that Name is hard to resolve; for it is certain none of the Kings either of *Israel* or *Judah* were buried here, the holy Scriptures assigning other Places for their Sepulchres: Unless it may be thought perhaps that *Hezekiah* was here interr'd, and that these were the Sepulchres of the Sons of *David*, mention'd 2 *Chron.* 32. 33. Whoever was buried here, this is certain, that the Place itself discovers so great an Expence, both of Labour and Treasure, that we may well suppose it to have been the Work of Kings. You approach to it on the East Side, through an Entrance cut out of the natural Rock, which admits you into an open Court of about forty Paces square, cut down into the Rock, with which it is encompass'd instead of Walls. On the South Side of the Court is a Portico nine Paces long and four broad, hewn likewise out of the natural Rock. This has a kind of Architrave running along its Front, adorn'd with Sculpture, of Fruits, and Flowers, still discernable, but by Time much defaced. At the End of the Portico, on the left Hand, you descend to the Passage into the Sepulchres. The Door is now so obstructed with Stones and Rubbish, that it is a Thing of some Difficulty to creep through it. But within you arrive in a large fair Room, about five or six Yards square, cut out of the natural Rock. Its Sides and Ceiling is so exactly square, and its Angles so just, that no Architect with Levels and Plum-mets could build a Room more regular. And the whole is so firm and entire, that it may be call'd a Chamber hollow'd out

of one Piece of Marble. From this Room, you pass into I think six more one within another, all of the same Fabrick with the first. Of these the two innermost are deeper than the rest, having a second Descent of about six or seven Steps into them.

In every one of these Rooms, except the first, were Coffins of Stone, placed in Niches in the Sides of the Chambers. They had been at first cover'd with handsome Lids, and carv'd with Garlands: But now most of them were broke to Pieces by sacrilegious Hands. The Sides and Ceiling of the Room were always dropping with the moist Damps condensing upon them. To remedy which Nuisance, and to preserve these Chambers of the dead polite and clean, there was in each Room a small Channel cut in the Floor, which serv'd to drain the Drops that fell continually into it.

But the most surprizing Thing belonging to these subterraneous Chambers were their Doors; of which there was only one remaining entire, being left as it were on purpose to puzzle the Beholders. It consisted of a Plank of Stone of about six Inches in Thickness, and in its other Dimensions equalling the Size of an ordinary Door, or somewhat less. It was carv'd in such a manner, as to resemble a Piece of Wainscot. The Stone of which it was made, was visibly of the same Kind with the whole Rock, and it turn'd upon two Hinges in the nature of Axels. These Hinges were of the same entire Piece of Stone with the Door, and were contain'd in two Holes of the immoveable Rock, one at the Top the other at the Bottom.

From this Description it is obvious to start a Question, how such Doors as these were made? whether they were cut out of the Rock, in the same Place and Manner as they now hang? or whether they were brought, and fix'd in their Station like other Doors? One of these must be suppos'd to have been done, and which-soever

soever Part we chuse, as most probable, it seems at first Glance to be not without its Difficulty. But thus much have I to say, for the resolving of this Riddle (which is wont to create no small Dispute amongst Pilgrims) That the Door which was left hanging, did not touch its Lintel by at least two Inches; so that I believe it might easily have been lifted up, and unhinged. And the Doors which have been thrown down, had their Hinges at the upper End twice as long as those at the Bottom; which seems to intimate pretty plainly, by what Method this Work was accomplish'd.

From these Sepulchres we return'd toward the City again, and just by Herod's Gate were shewn a Grotto, full of filthy Water and Mire. This passed for the Dungeon in which *Jeremiab* was kept by *Zedekiah*, till enlarged by the Charity of *Ebed Melech*. At this Place we concluded our Visits for that Evening.

The next Day, being *Easter Monday*, the Governor of the City set out, according to Custom, with several Bands of Soldiers, to convey the Pilgrims to *Jordan*.

After our Return, we were invited into the Convent, to have our Feet wash'd; a Ceremony perform'd to each Pilgrim by the Father Guardian himself. The whole Society stands round, singing some *Latin* Hymns, all the while the Father Guardian is doing his Office: And when he has done, every Friar comes in Order, and kisses the Feet of the Pilgrim. All this was perform'd with great Order and Solemnity; and if it serv'd either to testify a sincere Humility and Charity in them, or to improve those excellent Graces in others, it might pass for no unuseful Ceremony.

We next went to see the Function of the *Holy Fire*. This is a Ceremony kept up by the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, upon a Persuasion, that every *Easter Eve* there is a miraculous Flame descends from Heaven into the Holy Sepulchre, and kindles all the Lamps and Candles there, as the Sa-

crifice was burnt at the Prayers of *Elijah*.

Coming to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, we found it crouded with a numerous and distracted Mob, making a hideous Clamour very unfit for that sacred Place, and better becoming Bacchanals than Christians. Getting with some Struggle through this Croud, we went up into the Gallery on that Side of the Church next the *Latin* Convent; whence we could discern all that pass'd in this Religious Frenzy.

They began their Disorders by running round the Holy Sepulchre with all their Might and Swiftnes, crying out as they went, *Huia*, which signifies *This is he*, or *This is it*: An Expression by which they assert the Verity of the Christian Religion. After they had by these vertiginous Circulations and Clamours turn'd their Heads, and inflam'd their Madnes, they began to act the most antick Tricks and Postures, in a thousand Shapes of Distraction. Sometimes they dragg'd one another along the Floor all round the Sepulchre; sometimes they set one Man upright on another's Shoulders, and in this Posture march'd round; sometimes they took Men with their Heels upwards, and hurried them about in such an undecent Manner as to expose their Nudities; sometimes they tumbled round the Sepulchre, after the manner of Tumblers on the Stage: In a Word, nothing can be imagin'd more rude or extravagant than what was acted upon this Occasion.

In this tumultuous frantick Humour they continued from twelve till four of the Clock: The Reason of which Delay was, because of a Suit that was then in Debate before the *Cadi* betwixt the *Greeks* and *Armenians*; the former endeavouring to exclude the latter from having any Share in this Miracle: Both Parties having expended (as I was inform'd) five thousand Dollars between them. In this foolish Controversy, the *Cadi* at last gave Sentence,

tence, that they should enter the Holy Sepulchre together, as had been usual at former Times. Sentence being thus given, at four of the Clock both Nations went on with their Ceremony. The *Greeks* first set out, in a Procession round the Holy Sepulchre; and immediately at their Heels followed the *Armenians*. In this Order they compass'd the Holy Sepulchre thrice, having produced all their Gallantry of Standards, Streamers, Crucifixes, and embroider'd Habits, upon this Occasion.

Toward the End of this Procession, there was a Pigeon came fluttering into the Cupola over the Sepulchre; at Sight of which, there was a greater Shout and Clamour than before. This Bird, the *Latins* told us, was purposely let fly by the *Greeks*, to deceive the People into an Opinion that it was a visible Descent of the Holy Ghost.

The Procession being over, the Suffragan of the *Greek* Patriarch (he being himself at *Constantinople*) and the principal *Armenian* Bishop, approach'd to the Door of the Sepulchre, and cutting the String with which it was fastned and seal'd, enter'd in; all the Candles and Lamps within having been before extinguish'd, in the Presence of the *Turks*, and other Witnesses. The Exclamations were doubled, as the Miracle drew nearer to its Accomplishment, and the People press'd with such vehemence toward the Door of the Sepulchre, that it was not in the Power of the *Turks*, set to guard it, with the severest Drubs to keep them off. The Cause of their pressing in this Manner, is the great Desire they have to light their Candles at the Holy Flame, as soon as it is first brought out of the Sepulchre; it being esteem'd the most sacred and pure, as coming immediately from Heaven.

The two Miracle-Mongers had not been above a Minute in the Holy Sepulchre,

when the glimmering of the Holy Fire was seen, or imagin'd to appear, through some Chinks of the Door; and certainly *Bedlam* itself never saw such an unruly Transport, as was produc'd in the Mob at this Sight.

Immediately after came out the two Priests, with blazing Torches in their Hands, which they held up at the Door of the Sepulchre, while the People throng'd about with inexpressible Ardour; every one striving to obtain a Part of the first, and purest Flame. The *Turks* in the mean Time, with huge Clubs, laid them on without Mercy: But all this could not repel them, the Excess of their Transport making them insensible of Pain. Those that got the Fire applied it immediately to their Beards, Faces, and Bosoms, pretending that it would not burn like an earthly Flame. But I plainly saw none of them could endure this Experiment long enough to make good that Pretention.

So many Hands being employ'd, you may be sure, it could not be long before innumerable Tapers were lighted. The whole Church, Galleries, and every Place, seem'd instantly to be in a Flame; and with this Illumination the Ceremony ended.

It must be own'd that those two within the Sepulchre, perform'd their Part with great Quickness and Dexterity: But the Behaviour of the Rabble without very much discredited the Miracle. The *Latins* take a great deal of Pains to expose this Ceremony, as a most shameful Imposture, and a Scandal to the Christian Religion; perhaps out of Envy that others should be Masters of so gainful a Business. But the *Greeks* and *Armenians* pin their Faith upon it, and make their Pilgrimages chiefly upon this Motive; 'tis the deplorable Unhappiness of their Priests, that having acted the Cheat so long already, they are forc'd now to stand to it, for fear

of endangering the Apostacy of their People.

Going out of the Church, after the Rout was over, we saw several of the People gather'd about the Stone of Unction: Who having got a good Store of Candles, lighted with the Holy Fire, were employed in daubing Pieces of Linnen with the Wick of them and the melting Wax, which Pieces of Linnen were design'd for Winding-Sheets: And 'tis the Opinion of those poor People, that if they can but have the Happiness to be buried in a Shroud smutted with this Celestial Fire, it will certainly secure them from the Flames of Hell.

Two Days after we went to see some more of the Curiosities which had been yet unvisited by us. The first Place we came to was that which they call St. Peter's Prison, from which he was deliver'd by the Angel. It is close by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and still serves for it's primitive Use. About the Space of a Furlong from thence we came to an old Church, held to have been built by *Helena*, in the Place where stood the House of *Zebedee*. This is in the Hands of the *Greeks*, who tell you, that *Zebedee* being a Fisherman, was wont to bring Fish from *Joppa* hither, and to vend it at this Place. Not far from hence we came to a Place where they say stood antiently the Iron Gate, which open'd to *Peter* of its own accord. A few Steps farther is the small Church built over the House of St. *Mark*, to which the Apostle directed his Course, after his miraculous Goat Delivery. About one hundred and fifty Paces farther in the same Street, is that which they call the House of St. *Thomas*, converted formerly into a Church, but now a Mosque. Not many Paces farther is another Street crossing the former, which leads you on the right Hand to the Place, where they say our Lord appeared, after his Resurrection, to the three *Mary's*,

Matt. 28. 9. Three *Mary's* the Friars tell you, though in St. *Matthew* mention is made of but two. The same Street carries you on the left Hand to the *Armenian* Convent. The *Armenians* have here a very large and delightful Space of Ground; their Convent and Gardens taking up all that Part of Mount *Sion*, which is within the Walls of the City. Their Church is built over the Place, where, they say, St. *James* the Brother of *John* was beheaded. In a small Chapel on the North Side of the Church is shewn the very Place of his Decollation. In this Church are two Altars set out with extraordinary Splendor, being deck'd with rich Mitres, embroider'd Copes, Crosses both Silver and Gold, Crowns, Chalice, and Church Utensils without Number. In the middle of the Church is a Pulpit, made of Tortoiseshell and Mother of Pearl, with a beautiful Canopy or Cupola over it, of the same Fabric. The Tortoiseshell and Mother of Pearl are so exquisitely mingled, and inlaid in each other, that the Work far exceeds the Materials.

Leaving this Convent, we went a little farther to another small Church, which was likewise in the Hands of the *Armenians*. This is supposed to be founded in the Place where *Annas's* House stood. Within the Church, not far from the Door, is shewn a Hole in the Wall, denoting the Place, where one of the Officers of the High-priest smote our blessed Saviour. The Officer, by whose impious Hand that Buffet was given, the Friars will have to be the same *Malchus*, whose Ear our Lord heal'd. In the Court before this Chapel is an Olive-Tree, of which it is reported, that *Christ* was chain'd to it for some time by order of *Annas* to secure him from escaping.

From the House of *Annas* we were conducted out of *Sion* Gate, which is near adjoining to that which they call the House of *Gaiaphas*;

Phas; where is another small Chapel, belonging also to the *Armenians*. Here, under the Altar, they tell us, is deposited the very Stone which was laid to secure the Door of our Saviour's Sepulchre. It was a long time kept in the Church of the Sepulchre; but the *Armenians*, not many Years since, stole it from thence by a Stratagem, and conveyed it to this Place. The Stone is two Yards and a Quarter long, high one Yard, and broad as much. It is plaister'd all over, except in five or six little Places, where it is left bare, to receive the immediate Kisses, and other Devotions of Pilgrims.

A little farther, without the Gate, is the Church of the *Cenaculum*; where, they say, *Christ* instituted his last Supper. It is now a Mosque, and not to be seen by Christians. Near this is a Well, which is said to mark out the Place at which the Apostles divided from each other, in order to go every Man to his several Charge; and close by the Well are the Ruins of a House, in which the Blessed Virgin is suppos'd to have breath'd her last. Going Eastward, a little way down the Hill, we were shewn the Place where a Jew arrested the Corps of the *Blessed Virgin*, as she was carried to her Interment; for which impious Presumption, he had his Hand wither'd wherewith he had seiz'd the Bier. About as much lower in the middle of the Hill, they shew you the Grot, in which *St. Peter* wept so bitterly for his Inconstancy to his Lord.

We extended our Circuit no farther at this Time; but enter'd the City at *Sion* Gate. Turning down as soon as we had enter'd on the right Hand, and going about two Furlongs close by the City Wall, we were had into a Garden, lying at the Foot of *Mount Moriah*, on the South Side. Here we were shewn several large Vaults, annex'd to the Mountain on this Side, and running at least fifty Yards under Ground. They were built in two

Isles, arch'd at Top with huge firm Stones two Yards in Diameter. This might possibly be some under-ground Work, made to enlarge the Area of the Temple. For *Josephus* seems to describe some such Work as this, erected over the Valley on this Side of the Temple.

From these Vaults, we return'd towards the Convent. In our Way we pass'd thro' the *Turkish Bazzars*, and took a View of the beautiful Gate of the Temple. But we could but just view it in passing, it not being safe to stay here long, by reason of the Superstition of the *Turks*.

The next Morning we took another Progress about the City. We made our Exit at *Bethlehem* Gate, and turning down on the left Hand under the Castle of the *Pisans*, came in about a Furlong and an half to that which they call *Bathsheba's* Pool. It lies at the Bottom of *Mount Sion*, and is suppos'd to be the same in which *Bathsheba* was washing herself, when *David* spied her from the Terras of his Palace. But others refer this Accident to another lesser Pool, in a Garden just within *Bethlehem* Gate, and perhaps both Opinions are equally in the right.

A little below this Pool begins the Valley of *Hinnon*, on the West Side of which is the Place call'd antiently the *Potters Field*, and afterwards the *Field of Blood*, from its being purchased with the Pieces of Silver which were the Price of the Blood of *Christ*; but at present, from that Veneration which it has obtain'd amongst *Christians*, it is call'd *Campo Sancto*. It is a small Plat of Ground not above thirty Yards long, and about half as much broad. One Moiety of it is taken up by a square Fabric twelve Yards high, built for a Charnel House. The Corpses are let down into it from the Top, there being five Holes left open for that Purpose. Looking down thro' these Holes, we could see several Bodies under several Degrees of Decay: From which it may be conjectur'd,

jectur'd, that this Grave does not make that quick Dispatch with the Corpses committed to it, which is commonly reported.

A little farther the Valley of *Hinnon* terminates, that of *Jehosaphat* running cross the Mouth of it. Along the Bottom of this Valley runs the Brook *Cedron*, a Brook in Winter Time, but without the least Water in it all the Time we were at *Jerusalem*.

In the Valley of *Jehosaphat*, the first Thing you are carried to is the Well of *Nebemiah*, so called because reputed to be the same Place from which that Restorer of *Israel* recovered the Fire of the Altar, after the *Babylonish* Captivity. A little higher in the Valley, on the left Hand, you come to a Tree, suppos'd to mark out the Place where the Prophet *Isaiab* was sawn asunder. About one hundred Paces higher on the same Side, is the Pool of *Siloam*. It was antiently dignified with a Church built over it: But when we were there, a Tanner made no scruple to dress his Hides in it. Going about a Furlong farther on the same Side, you come to the Fountain of the *Blessed Virgin*, so called, because she was wont (as it is reported) to resort hither for Water; but at what Time, and upon what Occasions, it is not agreed. Over against this Fountain, on the other Side of the Valley, is a Village call'd *Siloe*, in which *Solomon* is said to have kept his strange Wives; and above the Village is a Hill call'd the *Mountain of Offence*, because there *Solomon* built the High-Places, his Wives having perverted his wife Heart, to follow their idolatrous Abominations in his declining Years. On the same Side, and not far distant from *Siloe*, they shew another *Aceldama* or *Field of Blood*, so call'd, because there it was, that *Judas* by the just Judgment of God, met with

his compounded Death. A little farther on the same Side of the Valley, they shew'd us several *Jewish* Monuments. Amongst the rest there are two noble Antiquities, which they call the Sepulchre of *Zachary* and the Pillar of *Abalom*. Close by the latter is the Sepulchre of *Jehosaphat*, from which the whole Valley takes its Name.

Upon the Edge of the Hill, on the opposite Side of the Valley, there runs along in a direct Line, the Wall of the City. Near the Corner of which there is a short End of a Pillar, jetting out of the Wall. Upon this Pillar, the *Turks* have a Tradition that *Mahomet* shall sit in Judgment, at the last Day, and that all the World shall be gathered together in the Valley below, to receive their Doom from his Mouth. A little farther Northward is the Gate of the Temple. It is at present wall'd up, because the *Turks* here have a Prophecy, that their Destruction shall enter at that Gate, the Completion of which Prediction, they endeavour by this Means to prevent. Below this Gate in the Bottom of the Valley, is a broad hard Stone, discovering several Impressions upon it, which you may fancy to be Footsteps. These, the Friars tell you, are Prints made by our Blessed Saviour's Feet, when after his Apprehension he was hurried violently away to the Tribunal of his Blood-thirsty Persecutors.

Having finish'd our Visit to this Place, we went up the Hill toward the City. In the Side of the Ascent, we were shewn a broad Stone on which, they say, *St. Peter* suffer'd Martyrdom; and not far from it, is a Grot into which they tell you the outrageous *Jewish* Zealots cast his Body, when they had satiated their Fury upon him. From hence we went immediately to *St. Stephen's Gate*, so call'd from it's Vicinity to this Place of the Protomartyr's

* Tis said that Bodies thrown into this Vault are consum'd in eight and forty Hours.

Suffering; and so return'd to our Lodging.

The next Morning we set out again, in order to see the Sanctuaries, and other visitable Places upon Mount Olivet. We went out at St. Stephen's Gate, and crossing the Valley of *Jebosaphat*, began immediately to ascend the Mountains. Being got about two Thirds of the Way up, we came to certain Grots, cut with intricate Windings and Caverns under Ground: These are called the Sepulchres of the Prophets. A little higher up are twelve arch'd Vaults under Ground, standing Side by Side; these were built in Memory of the twelve Apostles, who are said to have compil'd their Creed in this Place. Sixty Paces higher you come to the Place where they say *Christ* utter'd his Prophecy concerning the final Destruction of *Jerusalem*. And a little on the Right Hand of this, is the Place where they say he dictated a second Time the *Pater Noster* to his Disciples. Somewhat higher is the Cave of St. *Pelagia*, and as much more above that a Pillar, signifying the Place where an Angel gave the Blessed Virgin three Days warning of her Death: At the Top of the Hill, you come to the Place of our Blessed Lord's Ascension. Here was antiently a large Church, built in honour of that glorious Triumph. But all that now remains of it is only an octagonal Cupola, about eight Yards in Diameter, standing as they say over the very Place, where were set the last Footsteps of the Son of God here on Earth. There are many other holy Places about *Jerusalem*, which the *Turks* pretend to have a Veneration for, equally with the Christians, and under that Pretence they take them into their own Hands. But whether they do this out of real Devotion, or for Lucre's Sake, and to the End that they may exact Money from the Christians for Admission into them, I will not determine.

About two Furlongs from the Place Northward, is the highest Part of Mount Olivet, and upon that was antiently erected an high Tower, in memory of that Apparition of the two Angels to the Apostles, after our blessed Lord's Ascension, from which the Tower itself had the Name given it of *Viri Galilei*! This antient Monument remain'd till about the Year 1695, when it was demolished by a *Turk*, who had bought the Field in which it stood; but nevertheless, you have still from the natural Height of the Place, a large Prospect of *Jerusalem*, and the adjacent Contry, and of the Dead-Sea, &c.

From this Place we descended the Mount again by another Road. At about the Midway down, they shew you the Place where *Christ* beheld the City and wept over it. Near the Bottom of the Hill is a great Stone, upon which, you are told, the Blessed Virgin let fall her Girdle after her Assumption, in order to convince St. *Thomas*, who, they say, was troubled with a Fit of his old Incredulity upon this Occasion. There is still to be seen a small winding Channel upon the Stone, which they will have to be the Impression made by the Girdle when it fell, and to be left for the Conviction of all such as shall suspect the Truth of their Story of the Assumption.

About twenty Yards lower they shew you *Getsemane*, an even Plat of Ground, not above fifty seven Yards square, lying between the Foot of Mount Olivet and the Brook *Cedron*. It is well planted with Olive-Trees, and those of so old a Growth, that they are believed to be the same that stood here in our Blessed Saviour's Time. In Virtue of which Persuasion, the Olives, and Olive Stones, and Oil which they produce, became an excellent Commodity in *Spain*. But that these Trees cannot be so antient as is pretended, is evident from what *Josephus* testifies,

testifies, viz. That *Titus* in his Siege of *Jerusalem*, cut down all the Trees within about one hundred Furlongs of *Jerusalem*; and that the Soldiers were forced to fetch Wood so far, for making their Mounts when they assaulted the Temple.

At the upper Corner of the Garden is a flat naked Ledge of Rock, reputed to be the Place on which the Apostles, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, fell asleep during the Agony of our Lord. And a few Paces from hence is a Grotto, said to be the Place in which *Christ* underwent that bitter Part of his Passion.

About eight Paces from the Place where the Apostles slept, is a small Shred of Ground, twelve Yards long, and one broad, suppos'd to be the very Path on which the Traitor *Judas* walked up to *Christ*, saying, *Hail Master! and kissed him*. This narrow Path is separated by a Wall out of the midst of the Garden, as a *Terra damnata*, a Work the more remarkable, as being done by the *Turks*, who as well as *Christians* detest the very Ground, on which was acted such an infamous Treachery.

We went next to see the Palace of *Pilate*; I mean the Place where they say it stood, for now an ordinary *Turkish* House possesses its Room. It is not far from the Gate of *St. Stephen*, and borders upon the Area of the Temple on the North Side. From the Terras of this House you have a fair Prospect of all the Place where the Temple stood; indeed the only good Prospect that is allow'd you of it, for there is no going within the Borders of it, without forfeiting your Life, or (which is worse) your Religion. A fitter Place for august Building could not be found in the whole World than this Area. It lies upon the Top of *Mount Moriah*, over against *Mount Olivet*, the Valley of *Jehosaphat* lying between both Mountains. It is, as far as I

could compute by walking round it without, five hundred and seventy of my Paces in Length, and three hundred and seventy in Breadth, and one may still discern Marks of the great Labour that it cost, to cut away the hard Rock, and to level such a spacious Area upon so strong a Mountain.

In this pretended House of *Pilate* is shewn the Room in which *Christ* was mock'd with the Ensigns of Royalty, and buffeted by the Soldiers. At the coming out of the House is a Descent, where was antiently the *Scala Sancta*. On the other Side of the Street (which was antiently Part of the Palace also) is the Room where they say our Lord was scourged. It was once us'd for a Stable by the Son of a certain *Bassa* of *Jerusalem*: But presently upon this Prophanation, they say there came such a Mortality amongst his Horses, as forced him to resign the Place; by which Means it was redeemed from that sordid Use. But nevertheless when we were there, it was no better than a Weaver's Shop. In our Return from *Pilate's* Palace, we pass'd along the *Dolorous Way*, in which Walk we were shewn in order, First the Place where *Pilate* brought our Lord forth, to present to the People, with this mystic Saying, *Behold the Man!* Secondly, where *Christ* fainted thrice, under the Weight of his Cross: Thirdly, where the *Blessed Virgin* swoon'd away at so tragical a Spectacle: Fourthly, where *St. Veronica* presented to him the Handkerchief to wipe his bleeding Brows: Fifthly, where the Soldiers compell'd *Simon* the *Cyrenian* to bear his Cross: All which Places I need only to name.

We went next to take a View of that which they call the Pool of *Bethesda*. It is one hundred and twenty Paces long, and forty broad, and at least eight deep, but void of Water. At its West End it discovers some old Arches now damm'd

up. These some will have to be the five Porches in which sat the Multitude of Lame, Halt and Blind, but the Mischief is, instead of five there are but three of them. This Pool is contiguous to one Side of St. Stephen's Gate, on the other to the Area of the Temple.

From hence we went to the Convent or Nunnery of St. Anne. The Church here is large, and entire, and so are Part of the Lodgings; but both are desolate and neglected. In a Grotto under the Church is shewn the Place where they say the *Blessed Virgin* was born. Near this Church they shew the *Pharisee's House*, where *Mary Magdalen* exhibited those admirable Evidences of a penitent Affection towards our Saviour: *washing his Feet with her Tears, and wiping them with her Hair*. This Place also has been antiently dignified with holy Buildings, but they are now neglected.

This was our Morning's Work. In the Afternoon we went to see *Mount Gibon*, and the Pool of the same Name. It lies about two Furlongs without *Bethlehem* Gate Westward. It is a stately Pool, one hundred and six Paces long, and sixty seven broad, and lin'd with Wall and Plaister, and was, when we were there, well stor'd with Water.

The next Day we took our Leaves of the holy Sepulchre; this being the last Time, that it was to be opened this Festival.

Upon this finishing Day, and the Night following, the *Turks* allow free Admittance for all People, without de-

manding any Fee for Entranee as at other Times; calling it a Day of Charity. By this promiscuous Licence, they let in not only the Poor, but, as I was told, the Lewd and Vicious also; who come hither to get convenient Opportunity for Prostitution, prophaning the holy Places in such a Manner (as it is said) that they were not worse defiled even then when the Heathens here celebrated their *Aphrodisia*.

To conclude: If this Extract, and the Dissertation before it, be thought somewhat longer than was absolutely necessary, we have yet good Reason to hope, that no Body will find them tedious; such an historical Digression (if that may be called a Digression which helps to illustrate) being very proper to relieve the Mind, after so much grave Argumentation as was before introduced. It hath all along been our Endeavour, to make this Work as agreeable as it is instructive; and the Success of this Method, hath sufficiently convinced us that we have made a right Choice. The different Tastes of a great Number of our Readers are, indeed, to be satisfied by no other Way but this; for there are some Persons, who cannot be excited by any other Principle than that of Curiosity, to read a Book that treats even of the most important Things. Persons of the best Sense will easily excuse our saying thus much by Way of Apology, since it is very likely that they themselves have often made the same Reflexion in our Behalf. But we proceed with our History.

CHAP. V.

I. *Jesus* departs from *Jerusalem*, and baptizes. *John* continues to do the same. II. A Dispute between some of *John's* Disciples and the *Jews* about the Baptism of *Jesus*. III. IV. V. *John* reproves his Disciples, bears a fresh Testimony to *Jesus*, and teaches the Necessity of Faith in him. VI. *John* is cast into Prison by *Herod*.

AFTER the Holy Days of the *Passover* were ended, *Jesus*, together with some of his Disciples, went into another Part of *Judea*, where he continued some Time, and by the Ministry of his Disciples, baptized those *Jews* who resorted to him, and offered themselves for that Purpose. In the mean Time *John* remained at *Enon*, in that Part of *Samaria* that is near to *Jordan*, not far from *Scythopolis* and *Salim*; which Place was chosen by him, as commodious for the Purpose of baptizing, because of the large Pools of Water which there abounded; and hither the People came to him, and were baptized of him, according to his Institution. For *John* was not as yet cast into Prison, when *Jesus* himself first began to publish the Doctrine of Repentance to the World, and personally to receive Profelytes into his Kingdom by Baptism.

II. About this Time there arose a Debate between the *Pharisees* and some of *John's* Disciples, concerning the receiving of Penitents by washing them in Water, as it was practised by *Jesus* and *John*. Probably the *Pharisees* might ask what Need there was of Baptism to purify the *Jews*, who were born in Holiness; or, if the Baptism of their Master was sufficient, why *Jesus* baptized after him, since that seemed to argue him greater than *John*, and able to confer a higher Degree of Purity. For as the *Pharisees* believed in neither, it is likely they might prefer *Jesus* in their Dispute with *John's*

Disciples, merely from a Spirit of Opposition. Now *John's* Disciples, who were zealous for their Master, and had no true Notions of the Character of *Jesus*, were so much disturbed at what the *Pharisees* said, that they repaired to *John* with a Sort of Complaint against *Jesus*, for that he drew many to his Baptism, and thereby hindered them as it were from coming to *John*, who alone they thought was a proper Person for administering this Ordinance. How comes it to pass, said they, that he who was with thee the other Day beyond *Jordan*, to whom thou gavest so remarkable a Testimony, should himself also baptize, and draw so many unto him? Seest thou not that the Number of thy Disciples, and thy Fame, which is now very great throughout all the Country of the *Jews*, will be hereby lessened.

III. To this *John* answered and said, It is not the Part of a good Man to assume greater Authority to himself than he hath been invested with by God; and therefore as my Commission doth not equal me to *Jesus*, I dare not intermeddle with what he is pleased to do. You yourselves can bear me witness, that I ingenuously own'd I was not the *Messiah*, but only sent before him by God, to prepare the Minds of the *Jews* for his Reception. Would you have me to call him to account for his Actions, whose Servant and Fore-runner I am? When a Bridegroom is alone with his Bride in secret Conference, the Friend of the Bridegroom, who listens at the Door, and understands by

by some Signal that all Things succeed to his Wishes, will be so far from envying him his Happiness, that he will rather congratulate him, and rejoice with him. † *Jesus* is this Bridegroom, and the Church is his Bride; I am only the Bridegroom's Friend: My Joy is therefore fulfilled, now I hear that he to whom I bore a publick Testimony is graciously speaking to his Church, and calling her by this and other Methods to fit herself for his Embraces; or, in other Words, that *Jesus* so chearfully executes his Office, and that so many repair unto him, to receive his Baptism.

IV. Of this *Jesus*, continued the *Baptist*, I will now inform you farther: He must daily increase in Reputation and Authority; but I, who am only his Harbinger, and whose Office is at an End when he manifests himself to the World, must proportionably decrease. And it is very reasonable that it should be so; for he is superior not only to me, but to *Moses* himself, and to all the other Prophets that ever came into the World. For he that cometh from above, not only by his Mission from God, as I and all the Prophets did, but by his Original, is above all that are descended of earthly Parents only. Furthermore, he that is thus earthly as to his Rise, can be a Minister of such Things only as are suited to the Nature of an Inhabitant of the Earth: (For instance, *Moses* of carnal Ordinances, I of Water Baptism, the Prophets of Obedience to the Law of *Moses*.) But he that came immediately from Heaven, to teach the Will of his Father to Men, is above all, as well in the spiritual Nature of his Doctrine, Ordinances, and Promises, as in

the Excellency of his Person: For he testifies to the World what he hath seen by the Irradiation, and heard by the immediate Dictate, of the Holy-Ghost dwelling in him. And yet those who embrace his Doctrine, compared with those who do not, are as none.

V. He that receiveth the Testimony of *Jesus*, doth thereby in Effect only profess that he taketh for certain Truth whatever proceedeth from God: For what Doctrine *Jesus* declares, are not to be taken as the Expressions of a Man's Thoughts, but as divine Oracles; it being as impossible for him to lie, as that God should lie himself. The former Prophets had the Spirit given them in a limited Manner, to go only at such a Time, and impart such a particular Revelation: But *Jesus* always speaketh the Words of God; for the Spirit is not given by Measure to him, in whom are all the hidden Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge, Col. 2. 3. The Father loveth his Son, and hath given into his Hands the entire Knowledge and Revelation of his Will, with a Power to dispose of Happiness or Misery according to his good Pleasure: And therefore he that believeth on the Son, may be sure he hath a perfect Right to, and shall hereafter enjoy everlasting Felicity; but he that rejecteth the Authority and Doctrine of the Son, shall never taste this Felicity, but continues immutably and inevitably under the Wrath of God, due to him for his former Sins, and for this additional Crime of Impenitence and Obstinacy.

VI. Not long after his bearing this fourth Testimony to *Jesus*, the *Baptist*, being in that Part of the Country which

† Amongst the Jews, in their Rites of Espousals, there is frequent Mention of a Place where under a Covering, it was usual for the Bridegroom to discourse familiarly, but privately with his Spouse, whereby their Affections might be more knit one to the other. And whilst the Bridegroom thus talked with the Bride, the Friends of the Bridegroom hearken'd to hear whether all succeeded well or no; and when they heard the Voice of Joy, which was an Intimation from the Bridegroom that all was well, they rejoiced, and celebrated the Nuptials. See Hammond on John iii. 29.

was under the Government of *Herod Antipas*, Tetrarch of *Galilee*, a Man of a tyrannical Disposition, was by him undeservedly shut up in Prison, for having had the Courage to reprimand him for a Marriage, which he had contracted contrary to the Law of *Moses*. For *Herod* had married *Herodias*, the Wife of his Brother *Herod Philip*, and the Daughter of *Aristobulus* the Brother of them both: And this he had done too during the Life of *Philip*; which *John*, who did not spare his other Vices, plainly told him was incestuous, and contrary to the Law. *Herodias* being very much offended with *John* upon this Account, sought all Occasion to slay him; but hitherto in vain: For *Herod* himself had a Reverence for *John*, and was convinced of his Integrity and Innocence; on which Account he frequently attended to his Discourses, and did many Things according to his Admonitions, shewing Respect to the Authority of the Man. Nevertheless, being naturally of a cruel Temper, he would have gratified *Herodias* in this Affair, had he not feared the *Jews*, who looked upon *John* as a Prophet. And tho' he did not immediately put him to Death, yet his shutting up this famous Harbinger of the Gospel in Prison, put an End to his Ministry, after it had continued about three Years and an half, so that here began what is properly called the personal Ministry of *Jesus* himself, of which we shall treat in the following Books.

DISSERTATION

On several Particulars of the preceding Chapter.

THE Imprisonment of *John* happened, in all Probability, about the End of the thirtieth Year of the vulgar *Æra*, that is in the true Year of

Christ 34: For if *Jesus* was about thirty Years of Age when *John* began to baptize, as we read he was, and if *John* continued three Years and a half in the Exercise of his Ministry, as we have endeavoured to prove he did; it follows, that *Jesus* must be in the thirty-fourth Year of his Age when *John* was cast into Prison by *Herod*. The Time of the *Baptist's* Continuance in Prison, till he was put to Death at the Request of *Salome* the Daughter of *Herodias*, was a Year or more, if it be true, as is generally agreed, that his Death happened at the End of the thirty-first, or the Beginning of the thirty-second, Year of the *Vulgar Æra*.

We are informed by *Josephus*, that the Prison into which *John* was cast, was the Castle of *Macherus*, or *Macheronte*, which lay beyond *Jordan*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, to the North-East of the Lake *Asphaltites*, two or three Leagues from *Jordan*, and not far from the Place where that River discharges itself into the *Dead-Sea*. This Castle had been fortified by the *Asmoneans*, but *Gabinus* demolished it: After which it was fortified anew by *Aristobulus*, and lastly by *Herod*, who made it much stronger than ever it was before. Either at *Macherus*, or in the Neighbourhood of it, was an excellent Hot-Spring.

Josephus gives a very remarkable Testimony concerning *John the Baptist*, in the Place where he mentions his Imprisonment: For having been speaking of a Battle, in which *Herod* was routed, he goes on in the following Manner, according to our most common *English* Translation. "Now the Generality of the *Jews* were of Opinion, that this was only a just Judgment of God upon *Herod* and his Army, for the Business of *John*, surnamed the *Baptist*, which excellent Man this Tetrarch murdered. And what was his Crime, but only his exhorting the *Jews* to the Love and Practice of Virtue, and

and in the first Place of Piety and Justice; and to a Regeneration by Baptism, and a new Life, not by abstaining from this and that particular Sin, but by an habitual Purity of Mind, as well as of Body! Now so great was the Credit and Authority of this holy Man, as appeared by the Multitude of his Disciples, and the Veneration they had for his Doctrine, (for he had them entirely at his Devotion) that *Herod* did not know how far a Man of his Reputation and Spirit might influence the People towards a Revolt. So that, for fear of the worst, he chose rather to take him out of the way in time, before any Hurt was done, than to put it to the Hazard of an unprofitable Repentance when it should be too late. Wherefore he sent him bound to *Macherus*, (the Place before mentioned) with Order to have him put to Death; which was accordingly executed: And that impious Fact was followed with a divine Vengeance upon *Herod*, for the Blood of that just Man, as the *Jews* reasonably enough persuaded themselves." This Character of the *Baptist* from such a Person as *Josephus*, redounds very much to the Honour of that Harbinger of the Gospel.

The Death of *St. John the Baptist*, with the immediate Occasion and the Manner of it, will come into our History at the proper Place. But there are several traditionary Stories concerning him, which cannot properly be there introduced; and therefore such of them as we shall take any notice of at all, may be inserted in this Place.

'Tis reported that *Herodias*, when the Head of this good Man was given her by her Daughter *Salome*, pierced the Tongue of it with a Bodkin, in Revenge for the Affront which she had receiv'd from his Admonition to *Herod*.

The *Oriental* People pretend, that when *John's* Head was cut off, the Blood that issued from his Body could not be staunch-

ed, till God had revenged it by bringing Desolation upon the *Jewish* People. But probably this Expression, *the Blood was not staunched*, is the Eastern Taste, that is only figurative, and so signifies no more than that his Blood cried for Vengeance, till the Time of the Desolation of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*.

The *Mahometans* cite several Expressions of the Gospel, as used by *St. John*, though they really were our Saviour's. They have likewise composed Dialogues between *Jesus Christ* and *John the Baptist*. All this, though done without Ground, proves the Veneration which that People have for the latter.

We have no Account in the Gospel where *John* was buried: But in the Time of *Julian the Apostate*, a Tomb was shewn for his at *Samaria*, where the Inhabitants of the Country opened it, and burnt part of the Bones: The rest were saved by some Christians, who carried them to an Abbot of *Jerusalem*, named *Phillip*. 'Tis needless to enlarge on the pretended Translations of these Bones, particularly of the Head, which, if we believe the *Romanists*, is yet to be seen at *Amiens*. This Head was saluted by the ingenious Abbot *Villeloin*, who tells us in his Memoirs, that it was the fifth or sixth Head of *St. John* which he had the Honour to kiss. So apt is Superstition to multiply its Objects.

The Church of *St. John Baptist* at *Damascus* is celebrated, not only among Christians, but likewise among *Mahometans* and *Sabians*. This Church was at first dedicated in Honour of *Zachary*, *St. John's* Father; but it was transferred to the Son after the pretended finding of his Head at *Emesa*, in the Days of *Theodosius the Younger*. This Church is at present a Mosque; and the *Caliph Abdulmelch*, who took it from the Christians, for many Years laid out the Revenues of *Syria* in the Embellishment of it. But we

we return to what is more solid than these Relations.

There is a remarkable Agreement between several Passages of our Lord's Sermon to *Nicodemus*, and this last Discourse of *John* to his Disciples. In the former *Jesus* says, *John* 3. 2. *Verily, verily, I say unto thee, we speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen; and ye receive not our Witness.* In the latter *John*, speaking of *Jesus*, declares *ver. 32.* that *what he hath seen and heard, that he testifieth; and no Man receiveth his Testimony.* *No Man*, says our Lord, *hath ascended up into Heaven, but he that came down from Heaven, even the Son of Man, who is in Heaven:* In which Place he affirms the same Thing concerning himself that *John* afterwards intimates, when he tells his Disciples, that *he that cometh from Heaven is above all.* Again, *He that believeth on him*, says our Lord, speaking of himself, *is not condemned; but he that believeth not, is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the Name of the only-begotten Son of God:* Which answers exactly to *St. John's* Declaration, that, *He that believeth on the Son, hath everlasting Life; and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see Life, but the Wrath of God abideth on him.*

From these Instances, and others, considered together with the Circumstances of the Persons who spoke, we are naturally led to a Reflection on the visible Appearance of divine Wisdom and Providence on this Occasion. *John* had, during the

whole Time of his Ministry, told the People that he was the Harbinger of another Person, who was to succeed him in a superior Character, and baptized them with the Baptism of Repentance, into the Faith of this Messiah to come. After this, at the several Times when he saw *Jesus*, he bore witness that this was the Person of whom he had before spoken, and publickly declared how much his own Office was inferior to that of *Jesus*. At last, *Jesus* himself begins to appear, and in a Discourse with *Nicodemus*, a Ruler of the Jews, explains the Occasion of his coming into the World, and assumes to himself the Character of a divine Person, sent immediately from God, capable of instructing with more Authority and Certainty than any other Teacher, and of saving to the uttermost all that should believe in him. This *John* confirms in the Wilderness, with a Testimony in almost the same Words; adding that he himself *must decrease, whilst Jesus increased;* which was an Intimation that the Time of his Ministry was just at an End, and that he must now make Way for this greater Personage, as he immediately did upon being imprisoned by *Herod*. Here was a Chain of Evidences, for the Confirmation of their Faith, who had either attended hitherto on the Preaching of *John*, or might afterwards attended on the Preaching of *Jesus*, and hear from Report in what Manner he was introduced to the World.





THE
LIFE
OF OUR
Blessed Lord and Saviour
JESUS CHRIST.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

I. Jesus, having heard of the Consultations of the Pharisees, and of John's Imprisonment, departs from Judea towards Galilee. II. Upon the Road, he meets with a Samaritan Woman, at a Place called Sychar, and enters into Conversation with her. III. He discourses of the Holy Spirit, under the Similitude of Living Water. IV. Tells her the Secrets of her Life. V. Declares what is the true Worship of God. VI. Owns himself for the Messiah: His Disciples come to him: The Woman fetches her Neighbours. VII. Jesus's Discourse to his Disciples in the Woman's Absence. VIII. The Inhabitants of the City believe on him.



JESUS having spent some Time in Judea, in baptizing of Penitents, who repaired to him from all Parts in vast Multitudes, the Report of it

came to the Pharisees; who understanding that many came to hear him, and be baptized by him, than had done before to John, they consulted how to crush this new Sect, which they saw took its Rise in the



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Christ talketh with the woman of Samaria.



ST JOHN 4. Verse 7.
*There cometh a Woman of Samaria to draw water
JESUS saith unto her, Give me to drink*

Hale & Sculp

the very Heart of *Judea*, and which they judged repugnant to their Authority. *Jesus* being informed of their Consultations, (though he himself did not baptize, but by the Ministry of his Disciples,) and hearing likewise at the same Time that *John* was delivered up into the Power of *Herodias* by *Herod*, he departed from *Judea*, and returned into *Galilee*, having no Apprehensions of *Herod*, since he could not pass for one of *John's* Disciples. The *Sanhedrim*, in which were many of his Enemies the *Pharisees*, he knew had but little Interest with that Prince, who had no personal Pique against him, as he had against *John*; whereas in *Judea* the Power of the *Sanhedrim* was very prevalent, and he had reason to fear the utmost from their Malice.

II. Being on Foot, and therefore obliged to pass through *Samaria*, about Noon he came to a Town called *Sychar*, situate near to the Fields which *Jacob* heretofore gave to his Son *Joseph*, at his last Benediction. Hard by the Town there was a Well, made formerly by *Jacob*, and which bore the Name of that Patriarch; and upon this Well *Jesus* sat down, and rested himself, being wearied with traveling in the Heat of the Day. It happened at the same Time that a Woman of that Country came thither to draw Water, of whom *Jesus* requested some Water to drink; for his Disciples were gone into the City to buy Bread, and therefore could not assist him on this Occasion. The Woman perceiving him to be a *Jew*, and wondering at his Petition, ask'd him how he had been able to prevail with himself to desire Water of her, who was a *Sama-*

ritan. (For there being an antient and inveterate Enmity between the *Jews* and the *Samaritans*, they did not expect any good Offices one from the other; and it was forbidden to the *Jews* especially, to receive * any Favour from the *Samaritans*, under the Penalty of an *Anathema*).

III. *Jesus* answered the Woman by telling her, *If she knew the Opportunity that was then offered her by God, and who it was that demanded Water of her, instead of expressing her Wonder at his Request, she would have asked him for † living Water, which he was ready to give upon her humble Petition.* This *Jesus* spoke of the Holy Spirit: But the Woman not understanding him, and thinking he meant only material Spring Water, she immediately reply'd, "Sir, the Well is deep, and you have no Vessel to draw with: How then, supposing I should ask you, could you give me this living Water? Art thou greater and of more Power than *Jacob*, from whom we are descended, who dug this Well, and gave it to the Posterity of *Joseph*; who drank of it himself, with his Family and Cattle, there being no other living Water in all the Country?" To this *Jesus* answered; "He that drinks of this Well, shall in a little Time thirst again, and be forced to have recourse to it afresh; but whosoever shall receive of me the living Water I mentioned, shall have a never-failing Spring within him, that of its own accord shall yield him daily Refreshment here, and never cease to flow till it ends in everlasting Bliss and Happiness."

IV. The Woman still understanding him as grossly as before, began now to

* The *Jews* might buy of the *Samaritans*, and therefore our Lord's Disciples did not scruple to go into the City to buy Bread; but they were not to accept of so much as a Drop of Water, or a Morfel of Bread, by way of Benevolence; and to do this was a Crime equal to that of eating Swine's Flesh.

† A Hebrew Expression for Spring Water, in opposition to that which is standing, which they called *Dead*; for Instance, the *Dead-Sea*.

desire that *Jesus* would give her some of this living Water, that she might not thirst any more, nor have any farther need of the Water of the Well. Whereupon *Jesus*, turning the Discourse another Way, to make her more easily apprehend who he was, bid her go back into the City, and bring her Husband along with her to him. She told him frankly, she had no Husband. Then said *Jesus*, "'Tis true as you say, you have no Husband; but you have had five, from whom you have been divorced for your Adulteries; and he who now lives with you is not your Husband, you not having been married to him according to Law." The Woman ingenuously owned the Thing; and admiring that *Jesus*, who she saw was a perfect Stranger to her, should yet be acquainted with this Secret, she took occasion, from the Opinion she hence conceived of his extraordinary Knowledge, to put a Question to him, which was much disputed between those of her Nation and the *Jews*. "Sir, said she, I perceive by this Answer that thou art a Prophet, to whom God reveals Things unknown to others: Tell me therefore, (for I am certain thou knowest) upon what Grounds the *Jews* pretend that God should be sacrificed to only at *Jerusalem*, the primitive Patriarchs having offered their Oblations to him upon this *Mount Gerizzim*."

V. *Jesus* gave her this Answer: "Woman, believe me, the Time draws near, in which Men shall sacrifice to God, neither on this Mountain, nor at *Jerusalem*; for a Desolation shall overwhelm them both. But as to what concerns the Question between the *Jews* and the *Samaritans*, the Truth of the Matter is this: You of *Samaria* worship a God, whom you do not truly and savingly know, according to the full Revelation of him in his Word; but we *Jews* know the Divinity whom we worship, and serve him ac-

cording to those Laws to which he hath promised Salvation; for that salutary Doctrine which instructs in the right Worship of God, flows first from us, and a Part of that Knowledge only hath been derived to you. And as I before said concerning the Place of Worship, so I now say concerning the Nature of it, the Time draws near, nay is already begun, in which the true Worshipers of the Father must not worship him with carnal Sacrifices, but with spiritual Sacrifices, acceptable to him through his Son; not in the Types and Shadows of the Law, as the *Jews* now do; nor in that erroneous Manner which you practise; but in the Truth of the Gospel, which is the Perfection of all former Dispensations. And such spiritual Worshipers are those alone that shall be accepted: For the Father, who is a pure and perfect Spirit, can be properly worshipped only by giving up the Heart and Spirit unto him; and serving him according to the Precepts of the Gospel; and therefore such pure Worshipers as these, the Father seeketh to worship him."

VI. The Woman, having nothing pertinent to object to what *Jesus* said, (though a Doctrine vastly remote from what was commonly received among the *Jews* and *Samaritans*) and probably not yet perfectly understanding what he aimed at, waved a more particular Discussion of these Matters, and told him, "That she knew very well that when the Messiah came, all the Differences between the *Jews* and *Samaritans* would be composed, and that whatsoever was obscure in Religion, would by him be made clear." Hereupon *Jesus* took the Opportunity of telling her privately, *That he was that Messiah*: A Truth which he was not wont to declare plainly among the *Jews*. — Mean while his Disciples came back from the City, and wondering to find him discoursing with a *Samaritan* Woman, though

though they were ignorant of the Subject of their Conversation, and durst not ask him what it was that he had demanded of her. — But she returned into the Town, and persuaded the Inhabitants to go along with her to *Jacob's Well*, and see one who had told her such Secrets as it was impossible for him to have been informed of by any Man: *Is not this*, said she, *the Messiah, so much expected by both the Samaritans and the Jews?*

VII. The Inhabitants, persuaded by these Words of the Woman, accordingly came out. In the mean Time the Disciples presented Jesus with the Bread which they had bought, and intreated him to eat: But he told them, *He had other Bread that pleased him better, which they knew not of.* Upon this they questioned one another, whether any of them had brought him Bread privately; not knowing that he applied that Word to something else than what is vulgarly so called. Jesus perceiving their Error, told them, that *the Bread his Mind was refreshed and nourished with, consisted in a quick and punctual Execution of his heavenly Father's Command.* “You are wont, said he, when you sow your Barley, to raise your Hopes with this proverbial Expression, *'Tis but four Months between sowing and reaping:* But my spiritual Harvest approacheth much sooner, and if you understood what I now discourse to you about, you would say that the Corn I mean is already ripe for Harvest; for the Minds of many are prepared for the Reception of my Doctrine, and great shall his Reward be who reaps the Corn that I speak of, that is, who brings over many to a Belief in me. And whereas all you can expect from the material Fruits of the Earth, is the Sustenance of a frail and mortal Body; on the contrary, the spiritual Harvest that I mention shall be at-

tended with an everlasting Life, which will afford Matter of infinite Joy both to the Sower and Reaper. You have a common Saying among you, *One hath sowed, and another hath reaped;* which is applicable to the present Case: For I will send you abroad to gather in that Corn which you have not sowed; that is, you shall be the Instruments of converting many to a Faith in me, whose Minds by the reading of the Prophets have been already framed for virtuous Actions, and imbued with true Piety.”

VIII. By the Time that this Discourse of Jesus was finished, the Inhabitants of the City were gathered about him; many of them making no Question but that he was a Prophet, if not the Messiah himself, even before they had seen him, and merely from the Declaration of the Woman concerning his telling her the Secrets of her Life. They therefore desired him to continue with them for some Time; and he accordingly complied with their Request, and was familiarly conversant among them for two Days, contrary to the Custom of the Jews, who have no manner of Intercourse with the Samaritans. The Condescension of Jesus in this Particular, and the Excellency of his Doctrine and Behaviour whilst he remained in their City, brought over abundance of the Inhabitants to believe on him, besides those who were before converted by the Woman: And even these latter declared to the Woman, that they did not now believe on account of what they had heard from her, so much as from the Conviction which they had received from his own Mouth, that Jesus was that Messiah, who should be the Saviour of all the true Worshipers of God. — After the two Days were over, Jesus pursued his Journey into Galilee.

DISSERTA-

DISSERTATION

On the preceding Chapter, explaining some Particulars, and defending others.

THE Description given of *Sychar* by the Evangelist, leaves no room to doubt of its being the *Sichem*, or *Shechem*, of the Old Testament. *Josbua* appointed this City to the Tribe of *Ephraim*; and it lay in the Mountains belonging to that Tribe. After the Ruin of *Samaria* by *Salmaneser*, or according to others from the Time of *Alexander*, *Sichem* was the Capital of the Province in which it stood. It was ten Miles from *Skilob*, forty from *Jerusalem*, and fifty-two from *Jericho*. Other Particulars concerning it, will come in as we proceed.

The Reverend Mr. *Maundrell* visited *Shechem*, among many other Places in his Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jerusalem*. What he says of the Place, and of his Conversation with the High-Priest of the *Samaritans*, is worth inserting, as it will farther illustrate our Subject—" *Naplosa*, says he, is the antient *Shechem*, or *Sychar*, as it is termed in the New Testament. It stands in a narrow Valley, between Mount *Gerizim* on the South, and *Ebal* on the North, being built at the Foot of the former; for so the Situation, both of the City and Mountains is laid down by *Josephus*. *Gerizim* (says he) hangeth over *Shechem*. *Moses* commanded to erect an Altar towards the East, not far from *Shechem*; between Mount *Gerizim* on the Right-Hand, (that is to one looking Eastward on the South) and *Ebal* on the Left (that is on the North;) which so plainly assigns the Position of these two Mountains, that it may be wondered, how Geographers should come to differ so much about it; or for what Reason *Adrichomius* should place them both on the

same Side of the Valley of *Shechem*. From Mount *Gerizim* it was that God commanded the Blessings to be pronounced upon the Children of *Israel*, and from Mount *Ebal* the Curses. Upon the former, the *Samaritans*, whose chief Residence is here at *Shechem*, have a small Temple or Place of Worship; to which they are still wont to repair, at certain Seasons, for Performance of the Rites of their Religion. What these Rites are, I could not certainly learn; but that their Religion consists in the Adoration of a Calf, as the *Jews* give out, seems to have more of Spite than of Truth in it.

Upon one of these Mountains also it was, that God commanded the Children of *Israel* to set up great Stones, plaistered over and inscribed with the Body of their Law; and to erect an Altar and to offer Sacrifices, Feasting and rejoicing before the Lord. But now whether *Gerizim* or *Ebal* was the Place appointed for this Solemnity, there is some Cause to doubt. The Hebrew Pentateuch, and ours from it, assigns Mount *Ebal* for this Use; but the *Samaritan* asserts it to *Gerizim*. Our Company halting a little while at *Naplosa*, I had an Opportunity to go and visit the chief Priest of the *Samaritans*, in order to discourse with him, about this, and some other Difficulties occurring in the Pentateuch: Which were recommended to me to be enquired about by the Learned Monsieur *Job Ludolphus*, Author of *Æthiopick History*, when I visited him at *Frankford*, in my Passage thro' Germany.

Naplosa is at present in a very mean Condition, in Comparison of what it is represented to have been antiently. It consists chiefly of two Streets lying parallel, under Mount *Gerizim*; but it is full of People, and the Seat of a *Bassa*. The Valley between *Gerizim* and *Ebal* is not above a Furlong broad. We saw on our right Hand, just without the City, a small

small Mosque, said to have been built over the Sepulchre, purchased by *Jacob* of *Emmor*, the Father of *Shechem*. It goes by the Name of *Joseph's Sepulchre*, his Bones having been here interred, after their Transportation out of *Egypt*.

At about one third of an Hour from *Naplosa*, we came to *Jacob's Well*, famous, not only upon Account of it's Author, but much more for that memorable Conference, which our blessed Saviour here had with the Woman of *Samarita*. If it should be questioned whether this be the very Well that it is pretended for or no, seeing it may be suspected to stand too remote from *Sychar*, for Women to come so far to draw Water? It is answered, that probably the City extended farther this way in former Times than it does now, as may be conjectured from some Pieces of a very thick Wall, still to be seen not far from hence. Over the Well there stood formerly a large Church; erected by that great and devout Patroness of the *Holy-Land*, the Empress *Helena*. But of this the Voracity of Time, assisted by the Hands of the *Turks*, has left nothing but a few Foundations remaining. The Well is covered at present with an old Stone Vault; into which you are let down thro' a very strait Hole; and then removing a broad flat Stone, you discover the Mouth of the Well itself. It is dug in a firm Rock, and contains about three Yards in Diameter, and thirty five in Depth; five of which we found full of Water. This confutes a Story, (commonly told to Travellers, who do not take the Pains to examine the Well) that it is dry all the Year round, except on the Anniversary of that Day on which our blessed Saviour fate upon it; but then bubbles up with abundance of Water.

At this Well the narrow Valley of *Shechem* ends; opening itself into a wide Field, which is probably Part of that Parcel of Ground, given by *Jacob* to his

Son *Joseph*. It is watered with a fresh Stream, rising between it and *Shechem*, which makes it so exceeding verdant and fruitful, that it may well be looked upon as a standing Token of the tender Affection of that good Patriarch to the best of Sons." — This Account by Mr. *Maundrell*, is the same in many Particulars with that before given; and they both of them agree extremely well with the Landscape given us by the Evangelist, in his History of our Lord's coming to this Place. We would only take notice, that our modern Traveller is a little too free in making it a Matter of doubt, whether *Ebal* or *Gerizim* were the Mount on which God commanded an Altar to be erected, since the *Hebrew* Text determines it plainly to be the former, and since the *Samaritans* have made evident Interpolations in other Places of their Pentateuch. There is no doubt indeed, but that the *Samaritans* of this Day believe themselves to be in the Right as much as the *Jews*; but the ancient History of that People sufficiently proves, that when they first took upon them a Profession of the *Jewish* Religion, they did it only to serve a Turn, and were far from being influenced by that Sincerity and Zeal which have since appeared in their Posterity.

There is an Instance of this Insincerity of the ancient *Samaritans*, in that Part of the Conversation at *Sychar*, where the Woman says to *Jesus*, *Our Fathers worshipped in this Mountain*. Our Note upon this Place is, *That the Samaritans pretended they were the Descendants of the Patriarchs*. But this is to be understood of the ancient *Samaritans*, before the Times of the *Maccabees*, and when the State of the *Jews*, with respect to their Neighbours, was precarious: For in those Days, whenever the *Jews* met with Encouragement and Protection, the *Samaritans* strongly insisted upon their being descended from *Jacob*, and that they were

were allied to the *Jews*; but when these latter were in Adversity and under Persecution, they disclaimed the Alliance, declaring that they were Strangers in the Land which they possess'd. Afterwards, when the *Jewish* State was restored and settled by *Judas Maccabeus* and his Successors, the *Samaritans* no longer play'd thus at fast and loose, but constantly called themselves the Descendants of *Israel*. So that we may suppose the Commonalty among them were confirmed in the Opinion that they really were so long before the Time of our Saviour; and therefore it was no Mark of Insincerity in them that they claimed this Title, but in their Forefathers who had imposed this Error upon them. It was a political Pretence only at first; but in the Days of our Lord it was a Thing absolutely believed; and the *Samaritans* certainly thought they were hardly dealt with by the *Jews*, when they were deny'd by them the Honour of a Descent from *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, the Sons of *Joseph*, from whom, says *Josephus*, they deduced their Genealogy. We cannot think, at least, that the Woman of *Sychar* prevaricated with our Lord, whom she had just before acknowledged for a Prophet, on the contrary, it seems that she used an Expression which was familiar and in common Use with those of her Nation, when she called the Patriarchs, *Our Fathers*. Besides, the Question that follows appears to be put only with a Desire of learning the Truth, and being satisfied in a Matter which she thought of the utmost Importance.

The first Part of our Lord's Answer is thought to refer either to the Destruction of the *Jewish* Nation and Worship by the *Romans*, or to the Supplanting of their typical Religion by the Introduction of Christianity. The Words of our Lord, as delivered by *St. John*, chap. 4. 31. are, *Woman believe me, the Hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this Mountain, nor yet*

at Jerusalem, worship the Father. As if he had said, *This Controversy, of which you have desired a Decision, shall shortly be ended by removing the Occasion of it, that is, either by destroying the Places of which the Jews and you are now so fond, or by abolishing this way of worshipping God by Sacrifices, and giving Liberty to worship him spiritually in every Place.*-----Here it may be objected to the first Interpretation, which applies the Words literally to the two Temples at *Jerusalem* and on *Mount Gerizim*; that the *Samaritans* still continue their Worship in the latter, at least on the same Mountain where the latter stood, and therefore it cannot literally be said that the Worship at both those Places is destroyed. But this Objection is not sufficient to establish the other Interpretation; because on the other Hand, neither can it be said that the typical Way of Worship is wholly abolished, since it is continued by the *Samaritans* on the said Mount, and since even the *Jews* retain as much of it as the present Circumstances of their Dispersion will permit. So that the Difficulty is equal on both Sides. To remove it, we may either suppose that our Saviour meant in general, that the Worship at neither of these Places should make any Figure; or else, that the Words, *True Worshipers*, mentioned two Verses lower, are to be here understood. For so long as the *Mosaical* Dispensation lasted, the true Worshipers were those who worshipped God according to the Rules of it: But when the Gospel came to be preached, the Scene was changed, and the Precepts of that became the Standard of divine Worship. This Exposition gives a Turn to the Words of our Lord which is very easy and natural. "Woman, the Time cometh, when the true Worshipers shall worship the Father neither in this Mountain, nor at *Jerusalem*; though the same carnal Ordinances may be continued in Part,

Part, and for some time, at both these Places: For I have a Commission from the Father to teach a new and spiritual Religion to the World; and after I have fully delivered and explained that Commission, the true Worshipers will be those only who adhere to the Terms of it, and worship God in Spirit.

In the next Verse, *Jesus* tells the Woman, that they, the *Samaritans*, worshipped they knew not what: Which Words some think were spoken with regard to certain false Objects of Worship which they preserved; such as the Dove for Instance; with which idolatrous Practice they are charged by the Rabbies. But we have before taken notice, that the Charge on which this Exposition is founded, is itself a mere Calumny. *Josephus*, who inveighs against the *Samaritans* very severely upon other Accounts, never imputes to them this Crime: Besides, it was inconsistent to worship that which they were obliged by the Law of *Moses* to offer in Sacrifice, as they were the Dove. And farther, as the Woman's Question was only about the Place of Worship, there is good Reason to think that our Saviour's Answer was the same. Now it is observed, when the Strangers, from whom the *Samaritans* of After-times were descended, first came to *Samaria*, they knew not the Manner of worshipping the God of *Israel*. In this Case, when they became Profelytes to the *Jewish* Religion, it was their Duty to have gone up to *Jerusalem* there to have been made perfect in the *Mosaical* Institutions; a Part of

which was, that they should worship God in the Place appointed by him. But as they were deficient in this Point, they were justly chargeable with not worshipping the God of *Israel* truly, that is, not according to his Prescriptions in the Law, but according to their own Inventions. Which Charge continued nevertheless good, tho' they were afterwards instructed by Apostate *Jews* in all the other Ceremonies of the *Mosaical* Religion. For after the Temple at *Jerusalem* was built, and God vouchsafed to place his Name there, and to bless it with his peculiar Presence; so great a Part of the true Worship of God consisted in its being performed, either at, or with a Respect to, the said Temple, that no Worship could properly be said to be true and perfect without this Quality. And on this Account our Lord might justly charge them with not knowing that God, whose Will in one main Particular they did not observe, and to whom they could not therefore render any acceptable Service. But we, says he, know what we worship; for Salvation is of the *Jews*. As if he had said, "If you would obtain Salvation by your worshipping of God, you must join yourselves to the *Jews*, and perform your Worship in every Point according to the Revelations made to that People; to whom, as the Promise of a Saviour was given, so from them is Salvation to come to the World, according to God's Word to *Abraham* their Father, *In Thee shall all the Families of the Earth be blessed.*"

CHAP. II.

I. Jesus goes into Galilee, and preaches the Gospel there successfully. II. He preaches in the Synagogue at Nazareth. III. The Nazarenes admire him, till he reproaches them for their Infidelity. IV. They are enraged, and endeavour to throw him headlong from a steep Hill. V. VI. He goes again to Cana of Galilee, and heals the Son of a Nobleman of Capernaum. VII. He resides at Capernaum, and urges the Doctrine of Repentance among the Galileans.

NOW after John had been sent to the Prison of Machærus, Jesus being by the powerful Incitation of the holy Ghost stirred up to the publick Discharge of his prophetick Office, returned out of Judea into Galilee, having by the way conversed with the Woman of Sychar, as related in the preceeding Chapter. His Fame in the mean time was spread about all the Countries thro' which he passed, and the neighbouring Territories. And in every Town he went thro', he instructed the Jews in their Synagogues, and preached to them the Necessity of Repentance and Reformation of Life. The Substance of his Declaration to them, was in these, or the like Words: *The Days of the Messiah's Appearance, so long expected and prophesied of, are now come; and God's remarkable Judgments upon this whole Nation, are near at Hand; which there is no other Way of avoiding, but by believing the Gospel which I now preach, and thereby becoming Partakers of the Benefits of my Kingdom.* This he delivered in the Synagogues of Galilee, where, he was greatly admired by all that heard him.

II. Having visited several Cities of that Country, he came at last to Nazareth,

the Place where he had been educated; and according to his usual Custom, he went into the Synagogue on the Sabbath-Day, and stood up to read some Lesson out of the Prophets, agreeably to the Practice of the Jews. The Minister of the Synagogue upon this Motion delivered him the Book, or Roll, of the Prophet *Isaiah*; which turning over, * or unfolding, he happened upon the Place where it is thus written: *Isa. 41. 12. The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good Tydings to the Meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim Liberty to the Captives, and the opening of the Prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable Year of the Lord.* And when he had read these Words, he closed the Book, and restored it to the Minister, and sat down: Mean while the Eyes of all those that were in the Synagogue, were fixed on him. And as he sat, he began to preach to them concerning the Messiah, telling them, *That this Day that Prophecy of Isaiah was fulfilled.*

III. All that heard him were amazed at the singular Gracefulness of his Speech, and expressed their Wonder at the Power and Wisdom with which he delivered

* The Word here translated *open*, refers to the Manner of Writing among the Jews, which was not in Papers, or Parchments, sewed together after the modern Manner, but in one continued Page or long Roll, which was folded up to keep it from the Dust, or any other Harm. In Allusion to this, *The Heavens are said to depart away as a Scroll, when it is rolled together, Rev. vi. 14.*

himself. *Is not this, said they, the Son of Joseph the Carpenter?* For their being acquainted with the Meanness of his Education, made them the more inquisitive whence he had acquired so much Learning as he seemed to discover. However they gave no Credit to the Miracles they had heard of, because they never saw him perform any in their Presence. Which *Jesus* perceiving, he address'd himself to them in this Manner: "I know you are ready to object to me this Proverb, which is usually cast on Pretenders in Physic by way of Irony, *Physician, heal thy self*; that is to say, If I would be esteemed a Prophet among those who know me, I ought to shew some Miracles in my own Country also, especially in the Place where I have been educated, as I have done in other Parts, particularly at *Caper-naum*. But you are to take notice, that no Prophet hath ever been received by his own Countrymen with that Honour which was due to him, and that there are very few who deserve so great a Favour as to have Miracles wrought amongst them. There were doubtless many poor Widows among the *Jews* in the Days of *Elias*, when there had been no Rain for three Years and an half together, and a terrible Famine raged over all the Land of *Palestine*: Nevertheless the Prophet was sent to one poor Widow only, and she an Inhabitant of *Sarepta* in the Territory of the *Sidonians*. So also in the Time of *Eliseus* the Prophet, there were many *Jews* infected with a Leprosy; yet only *Naaman* a *Syrian* was healed by him of that Disease. In like Manner the Inhabitants of *Caper-naum*, and the remote and dark Parts of *Palestine*, are to have the Benefit of being Eye-witnesses of my

Miracles, whilst you are denied that Privilege.

IV. The *Nazarenes* were greatly enraged by this Speech of *Jesus*; it plainly appearing from thence, that he looked upon them as a People of very little true Religion, who would have no regard to any of God's Prophets, and consequently were unworthy of having any Miracles performed among them. Hereupon they unanimously rose up, and hurried him away to the Brow of the Hill upon which the City of *Nazareth* was built, intending to cast him down headlong from it. But *Jesus* upon this Occasion exerted his divine Power, and becoming on a sudden invisible to them, he passed through the Midst of the Multitude, no Man knowing in what Manner he had escaped out of their Hands.—After this he went into the other Parts of *Galilee*, where he was more kindly entertained; there being many in that Country who were present at *Jerusalem* during the Time of the preceding Passover, where they had seen the Miracles which *Jesus* wrought, particularly that of purging the Temple.

V. In this Progress coming to *Cana*, the Place where he had some Time before turned Water into Wine, a certain * Officer of *Herod* the Tetrarch, who had heard of his Return out of *Judea* into *Galilee*, came unto him, and desired that he would go with him to *Caper-naum*, and heal his Son, who lay there dangerously ill. The same Request was likewise put to him by the rest of the *Jews*, who would scarce believe on him upon any other Testimony than that of Miracles. This made *Jesus* upbraid them, saying, *Unless I work repeated Signs and Wonders directly before your Eyes, you will not believe*;

* This is the Sense of the original Word, which our Translators have rendered *Nobleman*. It seems that this Officer was a Jew, otherwise he could not come under the Lash of our Lord's Reproach, *Except ye see Signs and Wonders ye will not believe*: For it was not at all strange that a Heathen should refuse to be convinced without a Miracle.

whereas you ought to give credit to those who have been Witnesses of my former Miracles, and also to my Doctrine, and the Testimony of John the Baptist concerning me. But the Officer continued to press him still more vehemently to go along with him, urging the Necessity of making haste, because his Son was just at the Point of Death: And Jesus was at last prevailed upon by his Importunity to bid him return to Capernaum, with full Assurance that his Son was recovered.

VI. The Man hereupon went homewards full of Joy, believing that what Jesus had said unto him was true; as he soon after found: For by the Way, when he was not far from the City, his Servants met him, and brought him the agreeable News of his Son's Recovery. The Father then asked them at what Time he began to mend, and they told him that about the seventh Hour the Fever left him; which was the very Hour in which Jesus told him his Son was recovered. Convinced by this extraordinary Proof, the Officer, with all his Family, believed that Jesus was the Messiah, whom God had promised to send into the World. This, St. John tells us, was the second Miracle that Jesus wrought after his Return out of Judea into Galilee. For the first was his miraculous Escape out of the Hands of his Townsmen the Nazarenes, as above related. The Change of Water into Wine, tho' it was performed at the same Town of Cana, is not here to be understood, because it was done before he went up to the Passover at Jerusalem.

VII. After this Jesus wholly forsook his Habitation at Nazareth, because of the Unworthiness of its Citizens, and took up his Residence at Capernaum, where dwelt the Officer whose Son he had cured. This Place was situated on the Confines of the Tribes of Zebulon and Nephthalim, near the Lake of Genesareth: And on account of our Lord's dwelling here, what was said by the Prophet Isaiah concerning it on another Occasion, received a more full and proper Application, Isa. 9. 1, 2. *The Land of Zebulon, and the Land of Nephthalim, by the Way of the Sea beyond Jordan, in Galilee of the Nations. The People that walked in Darkness have seen a great Light: They that dwell in the Land of the Shadow of Death, upon them hath the Light shined.* For the divine Light of Christ's Doctrine expelled the Ignorance of many of the Galileans; it being customary for him to go into the Synagogue every Sabbath-day, and instruct the People, who were filled with Admiration of his Doctrine: For he did not preach to them after the Manner of the Doctors of the Law, who supported what they taught with the traditionary Authority of their Ancestors only; but he spoke as one endued with divine Power, and who delivered every Thing he said from the immediate Dictates of God.— And from this Time (John being still detained in Prison) Jesus began to urge the Necessity of Repentance among the Jews with greater Vehemency, and plainly to declare unto them that the heavenly Kingdom of the Messiah was near at Hand.

CHAP. III.

I. *Jesus* cures one possessed of a Demon. II. He heals *Peter's* Mother-in-Law of a Fever. III. Multitudes of diseased and possessed Persons brought to him, and cured by him. IV. He retires into a solitary Place, and after that continues to preach the Gospel. V. The miraculous Draught of Fishes in the Lake of *Gennesareth*. VI. *Peter* is struck with Astonishment. *Jesus* comforts him, and calls *James* and *John*. VII. He continues his Progress through *Galilee*. VIII. He cleanses a Leper, who publishes the Cure over all the Country. IX. He returns to *Caper-naum*, where abundance of People resort to him. X. He cures a Paralytic, who was let down thro' the Roof of the House. XI. He defends what he had said to the Paralytic against the Pharisees and Lawyers.

I. **J**ESUS being at a certain Time in the Synagogue at *Caper-naum*, they brought to him one possessed by an evil Spirit; who making Use of the Man's Organs, cried aloud, *Depart from us, what have we to do with thee, O Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us? We know well enough that thou art the Holy One of God, the promised Deliverer.* But *Jesus* not standing in Need of any such Suffrage, and not being willing to have that Truth as yet divulged among the *Jews*, commanded the evil Spirit to be silent, and instantly leave the Man: The Demon obey'd, but with a terrible Outcry, and after having tormented him with strange Convulsions, tho' without doing him any farther Harm.—All the People were immediately struck with Astonishment at the Miracle, and enquired of one another, what this new Doctrine of *Jesus* was, so eminently confirmed by God himself: *For*, said they, *his Authority and Power over the evil Spirits is so great, that he only commands them to depart, and they obey him.*—In this Manner they talked of his miraculous Performance, till the Fame of it was spread over all the Countries that bordered on *Galilee*.

II. There lived at that Time in *Caper-naum* four Fishermen who were Partners, *Peter, Andrew, James* and *John*, all together in one House, where *Peter's* Mother-in-law was then sick of a Fever. *Peter* and *Andrew* being now both known to *Jesus*, they brought him directly to their House from the Synagogue, and after having detained him some Time, told him of the sick Person, and desired him to cure her. *Jesus* complied with their Request; having found the Woman, as they had informed him, sick and in Bed. Coming therefore to the Bed-side, he commanded the Fever to leave her, which it immediately did: And then assisting her with his Hand, bid her raise herself up. The Woman perceiving herself cured, rose accordingly; and having in that Instant recovered all her former Strength, she administered to *Jesus*, and the rest, whatever they had Occasion for during the Time that they were in the House.

III. After the Sun was set, there was a prodigious Concourse of People from all Parts of the City, who brought those that were sick of any Manner of Disease, and such as were possessed with Devils, and laid them at the Door of the House where

where *Jesus* was; who cured them all severally, by laying his Hands upon them, without the Use of any other Means. The Demons all this Time (of which there were great Numbers) making use of the Organs of those that were possessed by them, loudly proclaimed him to be the Messiah, the Son of God. But he having severely checked them, commanded them to be silent. --- By these Cures that Prophecy of *Isaiah*, chap. 53. 4. which says, *He hath borne our Grievs, and carried our Sorrows*, may be said in a Manner to be fulfilled, in as much as out of Compassion to the Sick, he freed them from their Distempers.

IV. Early the next Morning, before Break of Day, *Jesus* went out of *Capernaum*, and retired into a solitary Place, that he might pray to the Father without Disturbance from the Importunity of the Croud, which flocked to him from all Parts of the City. But *Peter* and his Company, together with a promiscuous Multitude, followed after him; and having found him, they complained to him of his having withdrawn himself from them, when they earnestly desired his Presence, and put them to the Trouble of seeking after him: Nor would they afterwards suffer him to depart from them, till *Jesus* told them, that he was commanded to go to all the neighbouring Towns and Villages, and declare to them that the heavenly Kingdom of the Messiah would shortly be established. Accordingly he preached the Gospel in every Synagogue and Town of *Galilee*, and cast the evil Spirits out of the Possessed; which it was evident he performed by a divine Power, and not by the Assistance of Magic Arts, of which those evil Spirits themselves are the only Authors.

V. Being at a certain Time by the † Lake of *Gennesareth*, and the People pressing upon him to hear his Discourses, he saw two Fisher-boats, in one of which was *Peter* and *Andrew*, in the other *James* and *John*, with their Father *Zebedee*. These, as we said before, were Partners, and were now cleansing their Nets by the Sea-Side, not intending to make any more Use of them at this Time. *Jesus* desired *Peter* to take him into his Boat, and push it a little from the Shore, to prevent his being followed; that he might from thence with more Conveniency instruct the People, who throng'd to hear him. Being entered, he sat down, and preached to them after his usual Manner. After he had made an End of his Sermon, he commanded *Peter* to launch out into the deep Water, and let down his Net for a Draught. *Peter* told him, that they had laboured all Night in vain, having caught nothing; but that at his Command they would make another Trial. They accordingly did so; and no sooner was the Net thrown into the Water, but they inclosed a prodigious Number of Fishes, in so much that the Net was broken with the Weight in several Places; which forced them to cry out to their Partners in the other Boat to come to their Assistance. When these had rowed up to them, and they had all of them together drawn up the Net, they took out of it such a vast Quantity of Fish, as almost sunk both their Vessels.

VI. *Peter*, struck with Astonishment at the Miracle, prostrated himself at the Feet of *Jesus*, beseeching him to depart from him, who was unworthy to entertain so great a Guest, being a sinful Man, and afraid of offending him by some imprudent Action. * His Companions were

† Otherwise called the Sea of *Galilee*, or the Lake of *Tiberias*.

* Those whom he and *Andrew* had hired to assist them; such as the hired Servants of *James* and *John*.

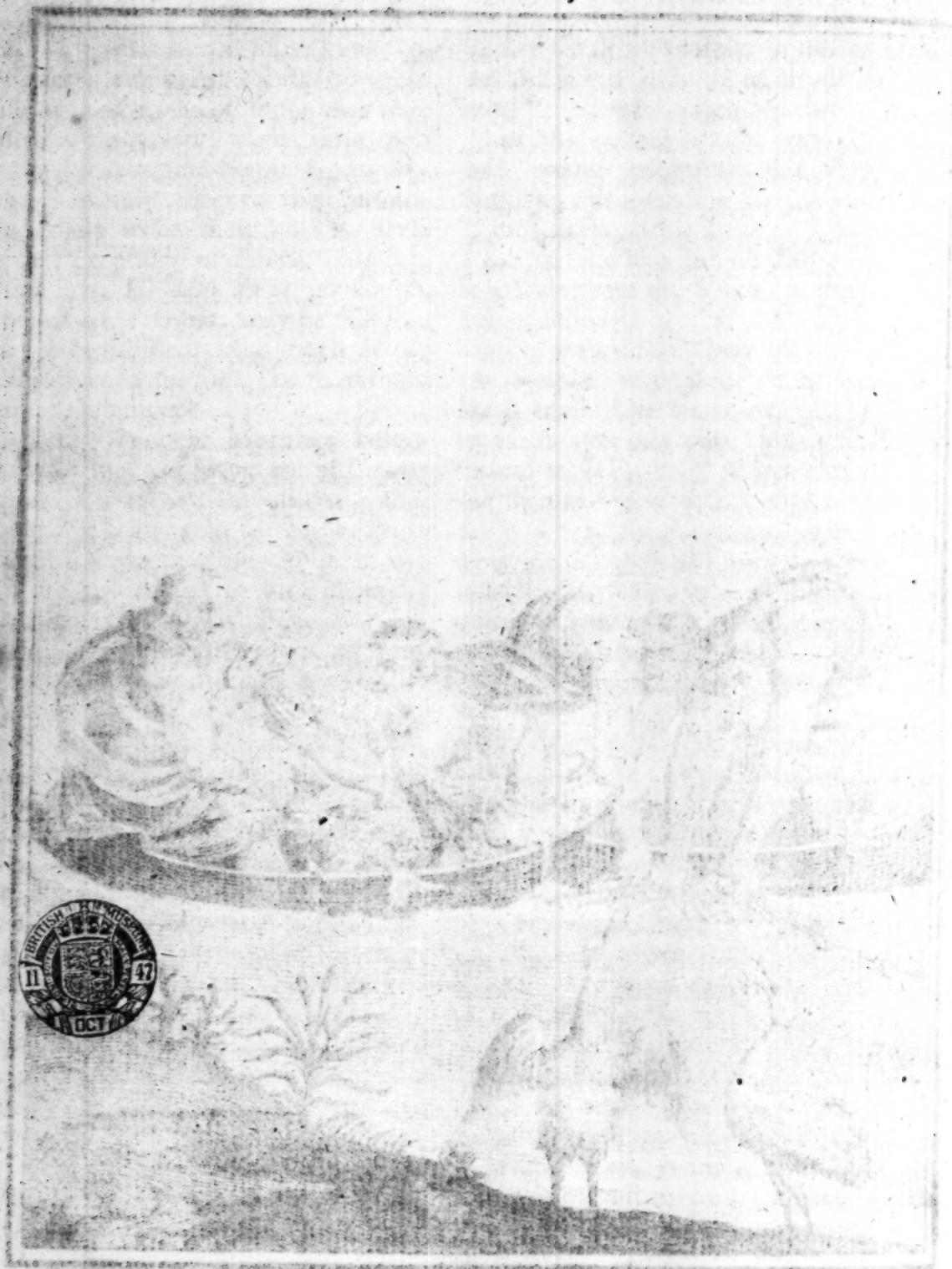
The Miraculous Draught of Fishes.



ST LUKE Chap. 5. Verse 8.

Hulett Sculp

Peter astonished at the Draught of Fishes, threw himself at Jesus's Feet.



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also terrified in the same Degree; for they all wondered at the Success that attended their Obedience to Jesus, after a whole Night spent in fruitless Labour. But Jesus said to Andrew and Peter, *Be of good Comfort: Henceforward, being my Disciples, you shall become Fishers of Men.* Upon this they came Ashore, and leaving their Nets and Boats, instantly followed Jesus to the other Boat, in which were John and James: || who had not observed the Miracle, tho' they assisted in drawing up the Net, not knowing that it was thrown into the Water at the Command of Jesus. For this Reason, having secured their Part of the Fish, they were busied in mending the Net that had contained them, which, as was noted before, was broken in several Places. When Jesus came to them, he commanded them also to follow him; which they immediately did, without any Hesitation, leaving their Boat with their Father Zebedee in it, and the rest of the Crew whom they had hired to assist them in their Employment.

VII. Accompanied with these Disciples, Jesus continued his Progress through Galilee, instructing the People in the Synagogues of all the Towns they passed through, in the Duties of Religion, and healing all the distemper'd Persons that were brought to him by a Word's speaking. His Fame by this Means spread not only over all Galilee, but through the whole Country of Celestria; and the Sick were brought to him from all Parts, without excepting such as were incurable by the Skill of Physicians, such as Demoniacs, Lunatics, and those that were troubled with only the slightest Infirmary. Which Miracles got him a prodigious Number of Disciples, out of Galilee, Decapolis, Jerusalem, and the several Parts

of Judea, and from the Country beyond Jordan.

VIII. It happened whilst he was publishing his Gospel at a certain City of Galilee, according to his Custom, that there came to him a Leper, who falling prostrate at his Feet, and worshipping him; Master, said he, *If thou wilt thou canst make me clean, which I therefore most earnestly intreat thee to do.* Jesus pitying his Condition, stretched forth his Hand, and touched him, saying, *I will, be thou cleansed.* Which Words were no sooner pronounced than the Leprosy departed from him, and his Skin recovered its former Colour. The Man still continuing there, Jesus rebuked him for it, and commanded him to depart immediately; charging him withal not to disclose the Manner how he had been cured, and farther advising him, to repair as soon as might be to Jerusalem, and offer himself to the Examination of the Priest, who was to determine in the Case of Lepers, whether they were rightly healed or not; putting him in mind, moreover, of the Gifts required by the Mosaic Law, that having performed all the legal Rites, his Cure might be deemed authentick, and he adjudged to be clean by a publick Declaration. By which Means Jesus avoided the Envy of the Priest, who were Judges in this Affair, and who otherwise might have calumniated him as an Invader of the sacerdotal Office; and perhaps thro' Spite would have pronounced the Man not cleansed, tho' they were never so well satisfied of the contrary. But the Man that had been cured, not able to conceal his Joy, and looking upon it as a Piece of Ingratitude so long to conceal so great a Benefit, divulged the Matter wheresoever he came, and with it the Fame of his Benefactor; which increased

|| If they had observed the Miracle, they would rather have been attentive to Jesus, than have gone immediately to mending of their Nets.

to that Degree, that greater Multitudes came to him daily, to hear him, and be cured by him: So that he could enter no City publicly, without a Croud about him; which obliged him to retire into desert Places, that he might have some Leisure, and be unmolested in his Devotions.

XI. Having made a pretty long Stay in *Perea*, he took Ship, and returned over the Lake of *Gennesareth* to *Capernaum*, the Place of his usual Residence. But scarce was he come to the House in which he lived, before the Rumor of his being arrived was spread all over the City. This, according to Custom, brought together a great Concourse of People from all Quarters to hear him; and among the rest were a considerable Number of *Pharisees*, and Doctors of the Law, who sat down in the Porch of the House, with an Intent to ensnare him in his Words; *Jesus*, in their Presence, cured all that fled to him for Relief, by the divine Power which always resided in him, and which appeared on every proper Occasion. Meanwhile the Multitude became so great, that not only the Porch was unable to contain them, but the very Street was crouded for some Distance round the Door.

X. As *Jesus* was preaching to the People there came certain Men bearing upon their Shoulders one stretched on a Couch, who was sick of the Palsy, and endeavoured to press through, that they might lay him at the Feet of *Jesus*, and intreat him to have Compassion on his miserable Condition. But not being able to accomplish what they attempted (the greater Part of the People being unwilling to quit their Places) they got into the Gallery of the House, and from thence to the Top of the Porch, and drew up the Paralytick, and his Bed, after them. Then uncovering the Roof,

they let him down with Ropes into the Middle of the Porch before *Jesus*; who by this Act of theirs perceiving the singular Persuasion which these Men had of the divine Power by which he wrought his Miracles, and the confident Expectation they were in of his performing a Cure on him, addressing himself to the Paralytick, he said, *Son be of good Comfort, thy Sins are forgiven thee.* Which Words were taken notice of by the *Pharisees* and Lawyers, and looked upon by them as injurious to the Deity. *Why*, said they within themselves, *doth this Man speak Blasphemies? Who can forgive Sins, but God only?* These were their Reflections, as not knowing that *Jesus* here spoke as a divine Person.

XI. But he perceiving their Thoughts by the divine Spirit which was in him, *Wherefore*, said he, *do you make this wrong Judgment of what I said, in your Minds? There is no greater Authority requisite to pronounce these Words, Thy Sins are forgiven thee, than these, Take up thy Bed and walk: For even this latter Command, if it has the proper Effect, discovers a divine Power in the Person who gives it. That these Words pronounced by me, will produce this Effect, you shall immediately be convinced; which ought to convince you also, that how contemptible soever I may appear to you, I have Power on Earth to forgive Sins.* Then turning towards the Paralytick, *Jesus* said to him, *Arise, take up thy Bed, and carry it away with thee upon thy Shoulders to thy Habitation.* All this he immediately performed before the Multitude, giving Thanks publicly to God for so great a Mercy, and not concealing by whom he had been cured. And all the People present, in like Manner, were seized with Admiration at what they saw, praising God, who had endued Man with so great Power, as

Or, the Punishment of thy Sins (*i. e.* thy Distemper) is remitted.

to be able to heal with a Word, all Manner of Distempers, confessing that they had never seen the like before, and being also struck with a certain religious Fear at the Sight of so unexpected a Miracle.

DISSERTATION

On several Particulars of the preceding Chapter.

IN the foregoing Chapter we have a great many Instances of the miraculous Power of *Jesus Christ*, in driving Devils out of the Possessed, and healing the most inveterate bodily Diseases with a Word. The Fishes of the Sea discover their Obedience to him, when after having mocked the assiduous Toil of our four skilful Fishermen, and their Assistants, during a whole Night, they suffered themselves to be taken at his Command in a much greater Quantity than was ever before seen together. On these Occasions abundance of useful Reflections might be made, both on the Goodness and Condescension of the Redeemer who wrought those Miracles, and the Excellency of Faith and Obedience in the Persons on whom or for whose Use they were wrought: But we chuse rather, according to our most usual Custom, to keep to those Topicks which tend either to explain, illustrate, or defend, the Facts themselves. Our blessed Lord bid the Leper, whom he had cleansed, *go and shew himself to the Priest*. This was in obedience to the *Mosaical* Institutions: For a Leper continued without the Camp or City, whilst his Distemper was upon him.

The *Mosaical* Institutions excluded Lepers from the Conversation of Mankind: It banished them into the Country and Places uninhabited. These are the

No. XLIX.

Words of the Law in that Case: *The Leper in whom the Plague is, his Clothes shall be rent, and his Head bare, and he shall put a Covering upon his upper Lip, and shall Cry, Unclean, unclean. All the Days wherein the Plague shall be in him, he shall be defiled, he is unclean; he shall dwell alone, without the Camp shall his Habitation be.* Many Persons attacked with this Disease often got together in Desert Places, and formed a kind of Society. We see Examples of it in the four Lepers, who were without the City of *Samaria*, when *Ben-badad*, King of *Syria*, besieged it; and in the ten Lepers, who came to *Jesus Christ*, and desired to be healed by him. This Particular was observed so punctually, that even the Kings themselves were driven from their Palace, shut out from Society, and deprived of the Government, whenever this Disease laid hold of them; as in the Instance of *Uzziab*, or *Azariah*, King of *Judab*, who was afflicted with this Malady, for attempting to offer Incense in the Temple, which none might do but the Priests.

Those who have treated of this Distemper in latter Ages, have made the same Remarks on it with *Moses*; but have distinguished a growing Leprosy from one already formed and become inveterate. The first of these may be healed; but the last has been judged incurable. Travellers who have seen Lepers in the East, say, that this Disease attacks principally the Feet; and *Maundrell* in particular, mentions some whom he saw in *Palestine*, with Feet swelled like those of Elephants.

An inveterate Leprosy, say the Physicians, may be discerned by a hoarse Voice, like that of a Dog that has been barking for some Time; and by the Persons speaking thro' the Nose, rather than by the Mouth: By a slow, heavy, disordered

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ordered Pulse; and by the Blood, which abounds with bright Corpuscles, and is all a scurfy Serum. The Person's Urine is undigested, settled, Ash-colour'd, and thick; the Sediment of it like Meal mixed with Bran. His Face is like a Coal half extinguished, shining, unctuous, bloated, and thick-set with very hard Pimples. His Eyes are red and inflamed, and come forward out of his Head. His Ears are swelled and red, eaten up with Ulcers about the Roof of them, and encompassed with small Kernels. His Nose sinks, because the Cartilage rots; his Nostrils are open, but have the Passages stop'd by Ulcers at the Bottom. His Tongue is dry, black, swelled, ulcerated, shortened, divided by Ridges, and beset with little white Pimples: The Skin of it is uneven, hard, and insensible, and contains only a putrified Liquor, instead of Blood.

The Nature and Causes of a Leprosy have been much argued on. The Generality are of Opinion, that the Cause of it is inward, in the Blood and Humours; and that it does not appear outwardly, till it has corrupted every Thing within. Others believe it owing to some outward Cause. Perhaps there may be Leprosies of both Sorts; in one of which Corruption of the Blood is the Cause, in the other the Effect, of this Disease. It is the Cause of it, when the Blood being inwardly corrupted, either by bad Diet, or any other Means, produces such external Effects, as are observable in Leprosies. It is an Effect, when this Disease is caught by touching any Person infected with it, or any thing belonging to him, by which Ways it is easily communicated.

† Lazarus the Brother of Mary and Martha. The Ignorance of former Times seems here to have confounded this real Person with the Lazarus in the Parable, who is described by our Saviour as a Leper, or at least, as one having a very loathsome Disease.

* The Roman Catholick have Old Testament Saints.

Lepers were formerly very frequent in Europe: They were called *Lazars*, and there were abundance of Hospitals built for them, called *Lazar-Houses*, or *Lazarotes*, and dedicated either to Saint † *Lazarus*, or Saint * *Job*. Of these Hospitals, *Matthew Paris* says, there were nine thousand in Europe. But for these last two hundred Years Leprosies are almost entirely ceased; or at least they have changed their Name, and Methods have been found out for curing them. Some of the ablest Physicians have believed, that a Leprosy differed from the Venereal Disease only in Name; and M. *Tournefort* in particular, who saw several Lepers in his Voyage to the *Levant*, makes no Doubt of the Truth of this Opinion. What he asserts is the more likely, because curable Lepers, where they are still called by that Name, are treated in the same Manner as People in the other Case are with us: And it is certain that both Distempers are sometimes incurable, when they are grown inveterate, and to a very high Degree of Malignity. Besides, the Name of Leprosy has gradually been lost, in Proportion as that of the Venereal Distemper has become more common. We hear, indeed, of some Leprosies at this Day; and probably what is now so called might antiently be included under the general Name, which might take in more than one Disease, as Diseases are now divided. However, this be, it seems apparent upon the whole, that the Venereal Disease was but too well known to the Antients, tho' they gave it a different Name, and a different Original, from what we ascribe to it at present.

CHAP. IV.

I. *The Calling of Matthew. Why Jesus conversed with Publicans.* II. *Why He, and his Disciples, did not practise such Severities as the Disciples of John and the Pharisees used.* III. *The impotent Man cured at the Pool of Bethesda.* IV. *The Jews murmur at his breaking the Sabbath.* V. *He publisheth the Author of his Cure, which exposes Jesus to the Rage of the Jews.* VI, VII. *Jesus declares himself to be the Son of God, the Object of divine Worship and saving Faith, and the future Judge of all Mankind.* VIII. *He appeals to the Evidence of John for his being the Messiah.* IX. *Also to the Miracles which he wrought in their Presence, and to the Scriptures.* X. *Lastly, he tells the Reason of their Unbelief, and assures them that they shall be condemned by the Writings of Moses.*

Afterwards Jesus went out to the Lake side, and a great Multitude followed him, whom he instructed in the Precepts of holy Living. At his going out of the Town, he saw a Publican, whose Name was Levi, or Matthew, sitting in the Custom-House, or Toll-Booth, upon the Duty of his Office. Jesus commanded this Man to follow him, who immediately quitting his Employment, obey'd, and became his constant Disciple. Not long after this the same Publican made a great Feast, and invited Jesus and his Disciples to it, as also many of his own Profession, and others of the same Stamp, Men generally of loose Lives. This being taken Notice of by the Pharisees and the Doctors of the Law, they asked Jesus's Disciples, how it came to pass that they and their Master, who seemed to make Profession of a stricter Sort of Life, thus kept Company with Tax-gatherers and others, whose Morals they well knew were none of the best, and who made no Account of the Cleansings required by the Law. Which Jesus over-hearing, without staying for his Disciples Answer, he told them that he was conversant with these People for the same Reason that a Physician visits his Patient; namely, to

convert them to a sound Mind, as the other restores Health to the Body. V. I sent, said he, not to exhort the Pious to a Change of Manners; but to teach a Reformation to those whose Vices have made it necessary for them: And this I do out of a Principle of Goodwill to Men; a Virtue which God has signified is more acceptable to him than all the external Offices of Religion which you so magnify, in these Words of the Prophet Hosea, chap. 6. 6. I desired Mercy and not Sacrifice: Which Passage you would do well to consider seriously, instead of carping at my Actions.

II. Now the Disciples of John, and of the Pharisees, used to fast often upon account of their Prayers; which those of Jesus were never accustomed to do. They came therefore to Jesus upon one of their Fast-Days, and told him, that these Days of Abstinence were frequent with them, that they might be the more employed in Prayer; whereas his Disciples had no Observances of this Nature: Which, they said, they much wondered at, since he did not pretend to allow them a softer or a more voluptuous Life than other People; and therefore they desired him to acquaint them with the Reason of this Difference. Jesus answered them in

these Similitudes: *As the special Friends of the Bridegroom, that have been invited to the Wedding, observe no Fasts while they continue with him; so likewise am I unwilling to impose any Fasts upon my Disciples, while I continue here among them; but the Time of their fasting will come, when I by Death shall be taken from them.* He added also, that he had Reasons not to require such an austere Way of Living of them as yet: *For, said he, as no one patches up an old tattered Garment with a Piece of new Cloth, and of a different Colour from it, lest the Rent thereby become the worse, and the Coat look the uglier for it; and as Men do not put new Wine into old Bottles, lest the Bottles burst, and the Wine be spilt; but chuse rather to put new Wine into new Bottles, whereby both are preserved: In like Manner, I am loth to alienate the Minds of my Disciples by such Severities you talk of; and therefore will wait till they have been inured to my Doctrine, and their Minds confirmed in the Practice of it, before I expect an Obedience to these Injunctions, which are yet too grievous to be complied with; lest by an unseasonable Austerity I should give them an Occasion to reject my Doctrine, and thereby involve themselves in utter Destruction.* Besides, continued he, *those who have been a long while habituated to one Way of living, are not presently induced to embrace the contrary: As he that hath accustomed himself to old Wine cannot suddenly relish the New, but prefers that which he hath a long Time been used to. For these Reasons cannot my Disciples, who but lately began to follow me, as yet bear with so thorough a Change in their Way of Living, as the Austerities which you practise would bring them to.*

III. After this the \dagger Passover drawing near, Jesus, as it had always been his Cu-

\dagger This was the second Passover in our Saviour's Ministry. The first was that at which he drove the Traders out of the Temple, See John ii. 13.

stom, went up to Jerusalem, to celebrate that Festival according to the Law. Now there was in the City, by the Sheep-Market, a Pool, and adjoining to it a Building consisting of five Porches, called in the Hebrew Tongue *Bethesda*, or *The House of Mercy*. In this were laid Persons sick of all Manner of Distempers, who had been given over by the Physicians; such as the Blind, the Lame, and the Paralytic; who all waited for the Troubling of the Water, that they might throw themselves into it, and recover their Health, or the Use of their Limbs. For at a certain Time of the Year an Angel came down and stirred up the Water; after which whosoever leaped into it first, was perfectly cured of whatsoever Disease they laboured under. When Jesus came to this Place, he took notice of one that had been afflicted with the Palsy eight and thirty Years; and understanding his Case, asked him whether he did not desire to recover his former Strength. The Man told him, he most earnestly desired it, but had no Body to put him into the Pool after the troubling of it; and while he endeavoured to creep into it without Assistance, he was always prevented by somebody stronger than himself, who stepping in before him, deprived him of the expected Benefit. Jesus taking pity of the Man, resolved to make him, an Instance of his divine Power, and accordingly said to him, *Arise, take up thy Bed upon thy Shoulders, and walk away with it.* He had no sooner spoken these Words, but the Man recovered his Strength, and did as he was commanded.

IV. The Day on which this was done happened to be the Sabbath; which made several of the Jews, who saw the Man walking with his Bed upon his Shoulders,

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ST. MARK & YULE 8
and they had not yet taken up of the
the same time as the former books.

CHRIST feedeth the multitude miraculously.



ST. MARK 8. Verse 8.

Mallet Sculp

So they did eat, and were filled, and they took up of the broken meat that was left, Seven baskets.

and imagined he had forgot the Time, put him in Mind of it, and that therefore it was not lawful for him to carry any Burden whatsoever from one Place to another. But the Man told them in Reply, that he had no Scruple upon him on this Account, having been commanded to carry his Bed from one of the Porches of *Bethesda*, by a Person who had there cured him of the Palsy by a Word's speaking; who without Dispute, he said, was a Prophet, and incapable of commanding any thing unlawful, since God had performed so remarkable a Miracle on his Behalf. The *Jews* then asked him with Indignation, Who it was that had set him upon this servile Employment on the Sabbath-Day, and thereby made him transgress the Law? But the Man that had been cured knew not *Jesus* by Name, and therefore looked round about to shew him to them: However, he could not cast his Eyes on him again; for *Jesus* had withdrawn himself from the Crowd immediately after he had performed the Cure, to avoid the Malice of the *Pharisees*.

V. Some time after *Jesus* met this same Person in the Temple, and putting him in Mind of the Benefit he had received, admonished him, that since by the Favour of God he had recovered from a Distemper that was laid on him for a Punishment of his Sins, he ought now to think in earnest of a Reformation, and seriously to set about it, lest by his Ingratitude he should draw down some more grievous Affliction upon himself, than that from which he had lately been delivered. The Man upon these Words presently knew *Jesus*, and thinking himself obliged to own the Author of his Cure, enquired out his Name; which having learnt, he went to those who had demanded of him who it was that had bid him carry his Bed on the Sabbath-Day, and told them it was *Jesus* of *Nazareth* who had cured him; pro-

bably hoping thereby to convince them that *Jesus* was indeed a Prophet, which Point was now a Matter of Dispute among those who had observed his Miracles. But this Information had a quite contrary Effect; for they looking on *Jesus* as a Violator of the Sabbath, were inflamed with Anger, and judged him to have committed a Crime worthy of Death; whereupon they consulted how they might have some capital Punishment inflicted on him, not daring to satisfy their Malice by their own Power, the *Romans* having deprived them of all Authority in capital Causes.

VI. *Jesus* slighting their Anger, told them that his heavenly Father poured out innumerable Blessings on Mankind upon any Day indifferently, and without any Respect had on this Account to the Sabbath; and that therefore they had no Reason to blame him, if after his Father's Example, he on that Day performed Works that were good and salutary. But the *Jews* were yet more enraged at this; supposing him to have insinuated, that it was not necessary to observe the Sabbath; and imagining that he had spoken Blasphemy, by styling God his Father in a peculiar Manner, and not using the Phrase that was common in such Cases, thereby seeming to make himself equal with God. To this *Jesus* answered by telling them, that tho' they rightly concluded from what he said that he affirmed himself to be the Son of God, and equal with the Father, yet was he far from speaking Impiety in this, or setting himself in Opposition to the Father: *For the Son, saith he, doth nothing of his own Accord, or without Commission for it from the Father, and certain Knowledge that the Father would have done the same; and therefore he cannot be blameable for having done good, even on the Sabbath-Day. For out of the infinite Love which the Father bears to the Son, he communicates all Things to him, by that Spirit with which he hath anointed him.*

him: and as a Consequence of this, you shall see greater Works than these, and more worthy of your Admiration, which the Son shall be enabled to perform by this Spirit. As the Father not only heals the Sick, but raises from the Dead whomsoever he pleases: so also shall the Son restore to Life whomsoever he will. And this Power of raising whom he will, the Father hath given him, because he hath made him the Judge of all Man: For the Father judgeth no Man, but hath committed all Judgment to the Son, who cannot execute this Office till he hath raised Men from the Dead. They therefore who worship the Father, must worship the Son also, as he who will be their Judge hereafter: But whosoever will not worship the Son, will not worship the Father, who hath invested him with this Authority and Power.

VII. Be assured that whosoever obeyeth me, and believeth on him who hath sent me, shall undoubtedly obtain everlasting Life, and shall not come into Condemnation for his past Sins, but be translated immediately after his Death, into a blessed State of Immortality: Which that you may be more convinced of, the Son of God shall in a little * while bid the Dead arise out of their Graves, who hearing his Voice shall instantly obey him. For as the Father hath the Fountain of Life in himself, and therefore can impart Life to others: so hath he given to the Son to have Life in himself, and to be able to raise by his own Power whomsoever he will. And he hath also given him Authority to condemn those that believe not on him; because being the Son of God, he hath notwithstanding humbled himself so far as to become Man, and to offer himself for the Sins of the World. Let not these Things seem incredible to you, for there certainly shall be a Time hereafter, in which not a

few only, but all the Dead, shall hear the Voice of the Son of God, and be raised out of their Graves: and then the Righteous, who have lived in a steady Course of Virtue, shall be rewarded with immortal Life, but the Wicked who have died impenitent, shall be doomed to receive those Punishments which they have deserved. And in this Judgment I, as the Son of Man, shall do nothing of my own Impulse and Pleasure, but as I receive the Terms of Absolution and Condemnation from my Father, so shall I judge: Therefore I shall condemn no Man unjustly, because I shall not pursue my own Will, but punctually obey my Father's Orders.

VIII. If in ascribing Power and Honour to myself, I required you to believe me merely on my own Word, you would not be to blame to distrust what I say: for he who pretends to be delegated from God, and hath no Testimony to confirm his Mission, cannot be a true Prophet: But there is one among you who bears Witness of me, whose Testimony, as it is not unknown to you, so ought it to be believed by you: I mean John the Baptist, who when you sent your Messengers to him, openly declared the Truth before them concerning me. I mention him not for my own Sake, but for yours, (for I need no Man's Testimony) that by believing what John hath said, you may be rescued from the Danger to which your Incredulity hath made you liable. He for a while shined forth among you, like a burning Lamp, and dispelled the Darkness of your Ignorance; and you seemed, tho' but for a short Season, to be pleased with his Light, owning him as a Prophet, and a just Man: For this Reason I insist upon his Testimony, as what should in the present Case be of considerable Weight, hoping it may work in you that Faith in me by which alone you can be saved.

* Our Saviour here seems to speak of the Bodies of the Saints that arose with him at his own Resurrection. Whitby. See Matth. xviii. 52, 53.

† At his own Resurrection.

IX. But I have yet a much greater Witness in my Behalf than the Testimony of John. The Miracles that I perform by Virtue of the Power which I have received from the Father, and in Obedience to his Commands; these bear Witness of me, and are a much clearer Demonstration of my divine Authority, and of my Mission from the Father, than any thing that John can say. And the Father himself, who hath sent me, hath also borne Witness of me, both by a Voice from Heaven declaring me to be his Son, and by the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon me: But on this I insist not, because you neither heard the Voice, nor saw the glorious Descent in a bodily Shape. I appeal to the Scripture therefore, the Revelation that God hath given you; which it is plain you have never seriously and impartially considered, because you believe not in me whom the Father hath sent. Search these sacred Writings, the Books, which you pretend to be diligent in the Examination of, and which you think are sufficient to direct you into the Way of everlasting Life! You will find that they testify of me, as of the Person thro' whom this everlasting Life is to be given; and yet you will not become my Disciple, that you may obtain it, though I promise it to all who truly believe on me.

X. Alas! 'tis not your Approbation and Esteem that I seek for, while I am thus speaking to you; I would only warn you of the evil Inclination which I discover in you: For, whatever you pretend, it is apparent from your Dealing with me, who come with

all these Testimonies, that you are destitute of all true Love of God. I have told you that I am come to you in God my Father's Name; and John the Baptist, the Miracles that I perform, and your Scriptures themselves, are all Evidences of this Truth; yet you believe me not: But there will come others, without any Evidence at all of a divine Commission, who shall impose upon you; these will you blindly follow. Indeed the Reason of your Disbelief of me is easy to be understood, since 'tis the Applause of Men you seek, which I have not to bestow: Hence it is that the Rulers, for fear of displeasing the People, and the People, for fear of displeasing the Rulers, dare not believe on me; mean while you all condemn the Favour and Approbation of God, which so manifestly attend on me and my Followers, and prefer to it a temporary Reputation.-----Do not, however, imagine that I shall accuse you to my heavenly Father; there is no need of it; Moses himself shall prove you guilty before God, though you depend so much upon his Doctrine, because you have not judged of me by the Rules which he hath given you. Therefore whatever you pretend, you certainly have no Reliance upon the Words of Moses: For if you believed him, you would also believe me; since he wrote of me so plainly, that whosoever looks upon his Prophecies to be true, must be assured in himself that I am sent by the Father. But since you do not believe Moses himself, whose Disciples you profess to be, 'tis no wonder, bated as I am by you, that my Words are not received among you with Credit.



CHAP. V.

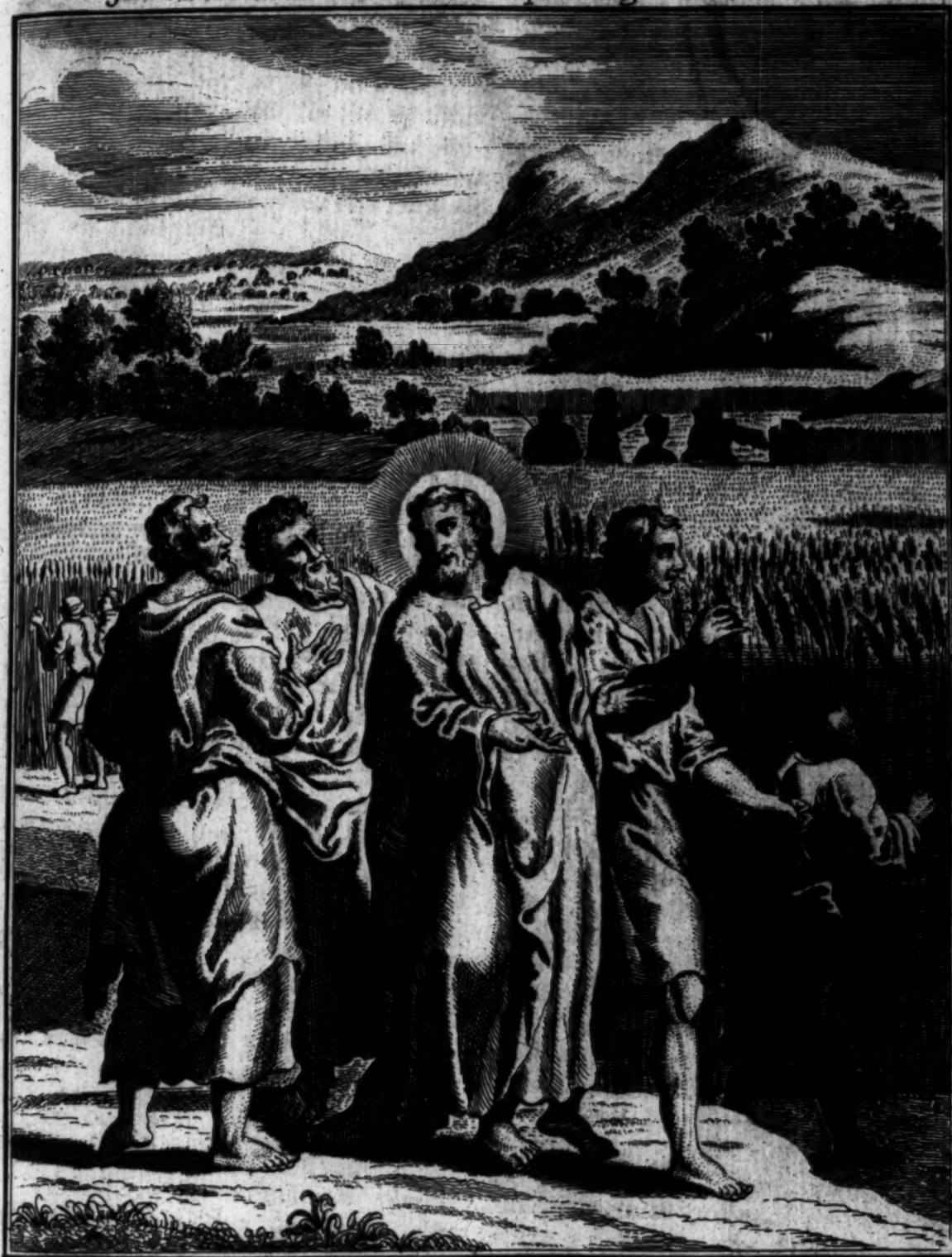
I. *The Disciples of Jesus gather some Ears of Corn on the Sabbath-Day. The Pharisees murmur.* II. *Jesus excuses his Disciples by the Examples of David and the Priests, &c.* III. *He reasons again of the Use of the Sabbath, on Account of a Man whose Hand was withered.* IV. *He cures the impotent Man, and avoids the Rage of the Pharisees, by departing to the Lake of Gennesareth. Multitudes come to him.* V. *He cures all Manner of Diseases, and drives out Demons, whom he commands to be silent. A Prophecy of Isaiah applied to Christ.*

IT happened on the first Sabbath after the second Day of the Passover, that as Jesus and his Disciples were returning out of Judea into Galilee, they passed through certain Fields of Corn. Now the Disciples being hungry, and perceiving the Corn to be almost ripe, they plucked off some of the Ears, and rubbing them in their Hands, eat the Grain. This was taken notice of by the Pharisees, who, as we have before remarked, were very superstitious in the Observance of the Sabbath. They told Jesus, therefore, that his Disciples had done what it was unlawful for any one to do on the Sabbath-Day, namely, they had gathered the Ears of Corn for their Eating; requiring him to give them a Reason for this Action of his Followers. Jesus complied with their Request, and turning their Thoughts to such Precedents, as they durst not dispute, excused his Disciples in the following Manner.

II. *Have you not read, says he, what David did, when he and his Retinue were hungry, and destitute of Viſuals? How he went into the House of God, in the Days of Abiathar, who afterwards was High-Priest, and, with his Permission, not only eat himself, but divided among his Followers, the Loaves that had been consecrated to God, and which it was not lawful for any to eat but the Priests? Or have you not read in the Law of Moses, that Sacrifices are to*

be offered up to God on the Sabbath, whereby the Priests violate the Rest due to that Day? And yet who ever blamed either David or the Priests for those Things? Now, it was the Necessity that David was in, being unprovided of any other Viſuals, that excused his making use of the dedicated Bread; and the necessary Service of the Temple, also absolves the Priests. In like Manner, 'twas Hunger that pressed my Disciples to the making use of the Ears of Corn; and this they did, being fatigued with accompanying me in my Journey, who am much greater than the Temple, and consequently than any Thing belonging to it. If therefore the Temple Service can excuse their Labour, who attend on it, from being a Prophanation of the Sabbath, much more will the Service which my Disciples owe to me, excuse their eating a few Ears of Corn, as they pass along, on the Sabbath-Day, that they may be the better able to attend on their Duty to me. And if you had duly considered what is so visible in all God's Word and Methods, that he prefers Charity to them that are in need, even before his own ritual Institutions, you would rather have acquitted my Disciples of this involuntary Deviation from the Duty of the Day, than have passed an unjust Censure on a necessary Action. Besides, know ye not that the Sabbath was instituted for the Good of Men; not that it should be so strictly observed as to endanger their Lives

S^T MATTHEW CHAP. XII.
JESUS went on the Sabbath-day through the Corn.



S^T MATTHEW 12. Verse 1.

*And his disciples were an hungered, and began to pluck the ears
of corn and to eat. But when the Pharisees saw it, they said.*

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by it, as if it had been made the very End of their Creation? therefore the ceremonial Observance of this Day, which ye suppose to be broken, may be dispensed with in Cases of Necessity: And the Son of Man, the Messiah, who is here present, and who I have told you is greater than the Temple, has undoubted Right to grant this Dispensation to his Disciples.

III. Upon another Sabbath-Day, having entered the Synagogue of a certain Place which he then resided at, Jesus took notice of a Man whom the Palsy had deprived of the Use of his Right Hand: Wherefore some of the Pharisees and Lawyers that were present, observed him, to see whether he would perform a Cure on the Man, that they might accuse him of having violated the Sabbath. But he perceiving their Intentions, called the sick Man to him, and placed him in the Middle of the Synagogue. The Pharisees hereupon asked Jesus, whether it was lawful to do Cures upon the Sabbath-Day? that according to his Answer, they might have something to accuse him of. But Jesus, not at all afraid of their Malice, asked them in return, Whether it were not lawful, according to the Opinion of the Doctors, and their ordinary Practice; if a Sheep fall into a Ditch, to drag it out on the Sabbath-Day? *Why then,* said he, *shall it not be lawful to do good to Man, who is of so much more Value than a brute Beast? But I will put another Question to you: Is it lawful to do good on the Sabbath-Day; or, if this be not, is it lawful to do evil? May we by the Law preserve Life, or destroy it?* But they made him no Reply, concealing their Malice under a sullen Silence; having nothing to object, and yet being unwilling to assent to what he had said to them.

IV. Jesus then, having looked round about him on them all, and being filled with Indignation at their Obstinacy, with a loud Voice commanded the Paralytic to

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stretch forth his withered Hand; which, upon his Obedience, immediately recovered its former Strength and Motion. Upon Sight of this Miracle, the Pharisees and Herodians, tho' of contrary Factions one to another, left the Synagogue in a Rage, as not being able to make any Reply to the Questions proposed to them by Jesus, and consulted together how they might put him to Death, or at least inflict some very grievous Punishment upon him, whom they looked on as a Violator of the Sabbath. But Jesus understanding their Design, departed from thence with his Disciples, and came to the Country about the Lake of *Gennesareth*: To which Place a vast Multitude repaired, not only out of the adjoining Parts of *Galilee*, but also from *Judea* and *Jerusalem* itself; as likewise out of *Idumea*, *Perea*, *Phenicia*, and the Borders of *Tyre* and *Sidon*; all on Account of his many and surprizing Miracles, the Report of which had been spread over each of those Countries, and had engaged the Attention of every Rank of Men.

V. By Reason of this Multitude, he ordered his Disciples to have a Boat in Readiness for him, that he might avoid the Croud which throng'd him on every Side: For he not only cured those whom he spoke to, or on whom he laid his Hands; but also they that only touched his Clothes, were healed of their Infirmities. Besides, those that were possessed, as soon as they saw him, fell down on their Knees before him, and being acted by the evil Spirits, who made Use of their Organs, proclaimed him to be the Son of God. But Jesus immediately commanded them to be silent, not being willing as yet to have that Truth divulged; probably lest his Followers, who were in Expectation of an Earthly Empire, should raise some Tumult on that Account, which might give Occasion to his Enemies, who waited all Opportunities to ensnare him,

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to represent him as a riotous and seditious Person. By this remarkable Prudence of Jesus, that Prophecy of *Isaiah* was fulfilled, in which we have the following Description of the Messiah: *Isa. 43. 1-4. Behold my Servant whom I uphold, mine Elect in whom my Soul delighteth! I have put my Spirit upon him; he shall bring forth Judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his Voice to be heard in the Street. A bruised Reed shall he not break, and the smoking Flax shall he not quench. He shall bring forth Judgment unto Truth.—And the Isles afar off shall wait for his Law.* In which Words are contained an excellent Character of the mild and merciful Temper of Jesus, so averse to all Sedition, and Tumult, and full of a zealous Concern for the Salvation of all those who have any Sparks of a good Disposition.

DISSERTATION.

Of the Sabbath-Day; and, of the Application of Old Testament Prophecies by the Evangelists.

THE Reader will observe, the History of plucking the Ears of Corn, is related, as well as many others, by no less than three of the Evangelists; among whom *St. Luke* has given us a Designation of the Time when it happened; but in such a Manner, as to have caused a pretty deal of Trouble to Interpreters. Our Translation renders his original Words by, *The second Sunday after the first*, than which Phrase nothing can be more obscure and unintelligible. For the clearing up of this Difficulty, we shall introduce two Conjectures on the Sense of the Evangelists, and intimate which we prefer, without entering into a long Disquisition of a Matter which we are certain will not be thought of the greatest Consequence.

The first Conjecture is that of the learned *Grätius*, which *Dr. Hammond* thinks to be the most probable of any, and therefore explains and confirms it in Words to this Effect. When any solemn yearly Feast fell on the Sabbath-Day, that Sabbath had an extraordinary Respect attributed to it, and was sometimes called a great Sabbath, or a great Day of Sabbath. Now three of these Feasts were, the Passover, the Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles; some Days of which Feasts were Days of solemn Assemblies; and these being Days of Rest, were a kind of Sabbaths, and distinguished from the other Days of the Feast by the Name of the Great Day, or the Great Day of the Feast. It was when any of those great Days of the Feast fell on the Sabbath-Day, that there was a Great Sabbath, which was always called a Prime, or first Sabbath. Of these Primes there were three; at the Passover, the Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles; that is, when any of the great Days of those Feasts fell on the Sabbath: And whenever this happened, they were called, according to their Order, the First Prime Sabbath, the Second Prime Sabbath, and the Third Prime Sabbath; the first when a great Day of the Passover fell on the Sabbath, the second when a great Day of Pentecost did the same, the third when the like happened during the Feast of Tabernacles. From all this the learned Author thinks it apparent, that the Words of *St. Luke* should be translated the Second Prime Sabbath, and that they mean the Great Day of Pentecost, falling that Year on the Sabbath-Day. This Conjecture is supported by some Quotations of parallel Readings.

The other Conjecture is that espoused by *Dr. Whitby*, who maintains that this Passage should have been rendered, *The First Sabbath after the Second Day of the Passover*: For after the first Day of the

Passover

Passover that was a Sabbath, from the *Morrow* of that Day, they were to count to themselves seven Sabbaths complete. Now this *Morrow* after the first Sabbath, which was a Rule for the seven following Sabbaths, was called the second Day of the *Passover*, or, of the Feast of Unleavened Bread; and from hence the next ensuing Sabbath was called, *The First Sabbath after the second Day of the Passover*, the next after that, *The Second Sabbath after the second Day*, &c. and so on to the Seventh. By this Exposition, Dr. *Whitby* thinks all that *Grotius* has advanced may be answered. Besides, the Barley and Wheat Harvest was gathered in before the Feast of *Pentecost*, and therefore it could not be during that Feast, that the Disciples plucked the Ears of Corn in the Field.—These Arguments in Behalf of this latter Conjecture, are what determined us to prefer it before the other, and accordingly we have followed Dr. *Whitby's* Paraphrase in the History of the Action now under Consideration.

We are next to take a View of the Exceptions of the *Jews*, and our Saviour's Answers, which were occasioned by this Action of the Disciples: And first of the Exceptions of the *Jews*, chiefly as contained in this Passage, *Why do thy Disciples on the Sabbath-Day that which is not lawful?* Which Words, by Interpreters, have had two different Significations put upon them, both of which we shall mention.

The first is taken from a Custom of the *Jews*, to abstain strictly from eating till the sixth Hour, or till the solemn Service was performed. This is said to have been observed with the utmost Religion, especially on their Sabbaths, and the great Days of any Feast: And this Strictness is thought to be alluded to by St. *Peter*, when, on the Day of *Pentecost*, he affirms, and as it were proves, that he and his Companions were not drunk, as was supposed, *because it was yet but the third*,

not the sixth, *Hour of the Day*, before which it was known the *Jews* did not eat or drink. Hence it is supposed, that the Quarrel which the *Jews* had against our Lord's Disciples, was on Account of their eating before the Time on a Sabbath Day, and not for their violating the Sabbathical Rest, by rubbing the Ears of Corn.

But the foregoing Interpretation, though given by very learned Men, seems not to be well founded: For as it is not intimated at what Time of the Day the Disciples did this, we have no Room to say that they broke thro' the Custom of fasting till the sixth Hour; nor have we any need to suppose this, in order to give Strength to the Charge of the *Jews*, since it is certain at what Time of the Day soever the Thing was done, it was a Transgression of the *Jewish* Canons. *Maimonides*, informs us, that "plucking the Ears of Corn was a kind of reaping, and therefore forbid on the Sabbath-Day." And the Accusation of the *Jews* has not a Word of the Morning Service in it, but sets forth only that the Disciples *did that on the Sabbath-Day*, which it was not lawful for them to do on that Day. It has no Regard, therefore, to any thing more, than their rubbing the Ears of Corn, and eating that which they had rubbed out. Which will appear farther, if we consider our Lord's whole Defence, and especially the Argument drawn from what the Priests did on the Sabbath-Day: For this cannot be applicable to the Case of eating before Morning Sacrifice, because we have no Reason to think that the Priests ever did this: For though they were employed about preparing the said Sacrifices, they might very well abstain from eating till the Offering of them was over. The Violation of the Sabbathical Rest, therefore, was the whole Charge of the *Jews*; which Charge our Lord proves invalid by two parallel Examples, in which, according to themselves, there was no such Violation committed.

The first Example is that of *David* and his Followers, who eat of the Shew-Bread when they were pressed with Hunger, though that Bread was appropriated only to the Priests. Here the Argument is, That if the Hunger of *David* and his Followers made the Breach of that ritual Law justifiable, which gave the Shew-Bread to the Priests only; the Hunger of our Saviour's Disciples must equally justify their Violation of that other ritual Law, by which the Observance of the Sabbath was enjoined. But if the Flight of *David*, when he made use of the Shew-Bread, was on a Sabbath-Day, as the *Jews* affirm; then his Example, as urged by our Lord, contains two Things, tending to justify the Action of the Disciples. That this Flight of *David* was on the Sabbath, they collect from the Text which says, that *Doeg was detained that Day before the Lord*, 1 Sam. 21. 7. For this Detention, they suppose, was occasioned by the Religion of the Sabbath. But they clear *David* of any sinful Violation of the Sabbath by his Flight, arguing thereon in this Manner: *Our Masters think it lawful for him, whom the Gentiles or Thieves pursue, to profane the Sabbath for the Preservation of his Life; for so we read of David, that when Saul sought to kill him, he fled and escaped.* Thus the *Jews* themselves furnish a new Argument against their own Objection. And as to the Supposition on which the other Argument is founded, *That the Laity might eat of the Shew-Bread for the Preservation of Life*, their own Canons expressly affirm it, in speaking of this very History of *David*: For on these Words of the History, *Yea, though it were sanctified this Day in the Vessel*, the Rabbinical Gloss is as follows: *It is a small Thing to say it is lawful for us to eat Bread removed from the Table; it would be lawful for us, in this extreme Hunger, even to eat the Bread now sanctified upon the Table, if there were no other.*

Indeed the Opinion, that a ritual Law might be violated for the Preservation of Life, had obtained among the *Jews* long before the Incarnation of our Saviour. *Dr. Whitby* thinks, that they had learned to dispense with the Sabbath on some necessary Occasions before the Translation of the Septuagint, because those Translators render a Passage of the Law in a Manner which seems to favour such a Dispensation, *Ye shall do no servile Work on it; but that which shall be done for the Sake of Life, that only shall be done by you.* But whether the *Jews* had given themselves this Liberty so soon, we will not pretend to determine; nor need we; because it is sufficient that, in our Saviour's Time, this Allowance was general enough to make the Example of *David* conclusive, and consequently our Saviour's Argument from it unanswerable.

Before we proceed to the other Example, we should take notice of a Difficulty that occurs in *St. Mark's* Relation of this Story. He tells us *Mark* 2. 26. that the Action of *David* was *in the Days of Abiathar the High-Priest*; whereas it is certain that *Abimelech*, the Father of *Abiathar*, was High-Priest at that Time. On this Account divers Criticisms have been used by Interpreters, to reconcile the Evangelist with the Prophet. *Dr. Hammond* thinks the Word which we translate *in*, should have been rendered *before*; *before the Day*, &c. *Dr. Lightfoot* supposes these Words, *the Son of*, to be understood, thus; *in the Days of Abiathar the Son of the High-Priest*: And he imagines that *Abiathar* may be named rather than *Abimelech*, because he brought the Ephod to *David*, and made the Enquiry by Urim and Thummim. Either of these Conjectures might be satisfactory, were it necessary to make use of either of them: But perhaps it will be better to say, with *Dr. Whitby*, that by the High-Priest here we need not understand him who was strictly

strictly so called, but only one who was eminent in the Order of Priests, as the Word frequently signifies. And can it in this Sense be applicable to any Priest more than *Abiathar*, who seems to have been *David's* peculiar Favourite?

To return from this Digression: *Christ's* second Argument, in Defence of his Disciples, is taken from the Work performed Morning and Evening by the Priests, in preparing and offering the Sacrifices: This, "saith *Christ*, by Virtue of the same Law, and Authority of the same Lawgiver, who commanded the Rest of the Sabbath, was done by the Priests on the Sabbath-Day; whence it is evident, that far more laborious Work than that of rubbing a few Ears of Corn, was, by God's Command, and in Obedience to the ritual Precepts concerning Sacrifices on that Day, to be performed: And if the doing of this, because in Obedience to the ritual Precept, be no Crime with the Priests, much less is it a Crime in my Disciples, that, in compliance with the great Law of Charity, and in order to render them fitter for their Attendance on me, they have rubbed out a little Corn to satisfy their Hunger." And to this arguing of our Lord, agree those Sayings of the *Jews*, cited by *Dr. Lightfoot* on the Place: *There is no Sabbath at all in the Temple: And, The servile Works which are done about holy Things, are not servile.* In Confirmation of which Argument, and in order to carry the Defence of his Disciples yet further, our Saviour adds, that all the Work by which the Jewish Priests profaned the Sabbath, was done only for the Service of their transitory Temple; whereas the Service done by his Disciples to their Lord, was Service done to one much greater than the Temple, (both in respect of Dignity, as being a divine Person, and of Sanctity, as being not only relatively holy, but sanctified even in his human Nature, by Inhabita-

tion of the Spirit:) What might be done therefore for the Service of the Temple, might much more be done for the Service of him, who was infinitely greater than the Temple.

This Argument our Saviour continues, still by Way of Comparison: Thus, the Observation of the Rest prescribed by the Law, was only the Observation of a ritual Command, like that of Sacrifice; but the feeding of the Hungry was a moral Precept: God therefore, by saying he would have Mercy rather than Sacrifice, sufficiently declared he would dispense with these ritual Precepts, when the Observation of them obstructed the Rules of Charity and Mercy. And this was also suitable to that Declaration of the *Jews* that *to love our Neighbour as ourselves, is more than all Burnt-Offerings and Sacrifices.*

Our Saviour's last Argument is taken from the Law of Circumcision, which required, that their Children should be circumcised on the eighth Day, though that were the Sabbath; and Circumcision was a Work of considerable Labour. The Occasion was this: *Jesus* went up to *Jerusalem*, at a Feast, some time after he had offended the Rulers, by healing an impotent Man at *Bethesda* on the Sabbath-Day; and notwithstanding their Prejudices, began again to teach boldly in the Temple; upon which the People wondering, he said unto them, *I have done one Work, and ye all marvel. Moses therefore gave unto you Circumcision (not because it is of Moses, but of the Fathers,) and ye on the Sabbath-Day circumcise a Man! If a Man on the Sabbath-Day receive Circumcision, that the Law of Moses should not be broken, are ye angry at me, because I have made a Man every whit whole on the Sabbath-Day?* The one Work which he himself hints at, was his afore said Cure of the impotent Man at the Pool of *Bethesda*; and as he well knew they still had a Grudge against him upon

upon that Account, he endeavours to excuse himself by this Example of Circumcision: As if he had said, "Since the Rest of the Sabbath may be broken for the Circumcision of an Infant, which is but a ritual Precept, surely it may be so for the Restoration of a Man to Health that has been diseased thirty eight Years, which is a Work of Humanity and Charity." And this also was agreeable to the Canons of the *Jews*, their wise Men speaking thus: *They do all Things necessary to Circumcision on the Sabbath-Day, tho' this may seem prophane on that Day.*

Upon the whole then, we find that the Drift of our Saviour's Reasoning whenever he spoke on this Subject, tended to establish one great Truth, that it was necessary to prefer a moral Duty before a positive Precept; and consequently, that feeding the Hungry, healing the Sick, or, in a Word, relieving the Afflicted in any kind, is so far from being criminal, even in those Times that are most solemnly devoted to sacred Uses, that it is a Fault to omit those good Offices, out of Regard to such Times.

Now we have been thus long on this Point, it will not be amiss, if, to avoid our being obliged to speak again on the same Subject, we add a Remark or two of a more general Nature concerning the Sabbath, and consider the End for which the Observation of it was first enjoined the *Israelites*, and how far we Christians are bound by the same Injunction. This will also prevent our being misunderstood in any of the preceding Particulars, as if we supposed *Christ* to set more lightly by the Sabbatical Rest than he really did, or than Christians now a-days ought to do.

In the first Place we are to consider for what End God commanded the Observation of the Sabbath to the *Israelites*; and this was, that thereby, as by a Symbol or Type, they might testify and profess what

God they worshipped: The Reason of which will appear from the following Reflections.

All Nations had something in their Ceremonies, whereby they signified the God they worshipped: Thus among the Heathens, in the Worship of the celestial Gods, as they termed them, and of those which were deified Souls of Men, there were different Rites, whereby the one was known from the other. Those Gods who had formerly been Men, had Funeral Rites in their Services, as Cognizances that they were Souls deceased; and each of them an Imitation of some remarkable Passage of the Legend of their Lives, either of some Action done by them, or some Accident which befel them: As in the Ceremonies of *Osiris* and *Bacchus*, is obvious to any that reads them. And indeed it is natural for Servants and Vassals, by some Mark or Cognizance, to testify who is their Lord and Master: Thus in the *Revelations*, the Worshipers of the Beast receive his Mark; and the Worshipers of the Lamb carry his Mark, and his Father's Mark in their Fore-heads. Hence came the first Use of the Cross in Baptism, as the Mark of *Christ*, the Deity to whom we are initiated; and the same afterwards was used in all Benedictions, Prayers, and Thanksgivings, in Token they were done in the Name, and Merits, of *Christ* crucified: So that in the Primitive Church this Rite signified no more than the Words wherewith we conclude all our Prayers, and Thanksgivings, when we say, *Through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour*; though afterward it came to be abused; as almost all other Rites of Christianity were, to abominable Superstition, by the *Romanists*.

Agreeably to this Principle, and this Custom of all Religions, and of all Nations, the Lord *Jehovah*, Creator of Heaven and Earth, ordained to his People the Observation of the Sabbath-Day,

Day, for a Sign and Cognizance, that he should be their God, and no other. *It is for a Sign, saith he, between me and you, that I Jehovah am your God.* And in another Place: *The Children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath, to observe the Sabbath throughout their Generations, for a perpetual Covenant; it is a Sign between me and the Children of Israel for ever; for in six Days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, and on the seventh Day he rested:* As if he had said, it is a Sign that the Creator of Heaven and Earth is your God.

But for the distinct Understanding of this Signification, we must know that the Sabbath includes two Respects of Time: First, that which in general regards one Day of seven, or the seventh Day after six Days Labour: Secondly, the Designation, or fixing of that seventh Day upon the Day we call *Saturday*. In both, the sabbatical Observation was a Sign and Profession that *Jehovah* and no other was the God of *Israel*: The first, according to his Attribute of Creator; the second of Deliverer of *Israel* out of *Egypt*. For by sanctifying the seventh Day, after they had laboured six, they professed themselves Vassals and Worshippers of that only God, who created the Heaven and the Earth, and having spent six Days in that great Work, rested the seventh Day; and therefore commanded them to observe this suitable Distribution of their Time, as a Token that their religious Service was appropriate to him alone. And this is that which the fourth Commandment, in the Reason given from the Creation, intendeth, and no more but this.

But since they might profess this Acknowledgment, as well by any other six Days working, and a seventh's resting, as by those he pitched upon; there being still (what six Days soever they had laboured, and what seventh soever they had rested) the same Conformity with their

Creator; let us see the Reason why they pitched upon those six Days wherein they laboured, for labouring Days, rather than any other six; and why they chose that seventh Day, which we call *Saturday*, to hallow and rest in, rather than any other.

And this was, that they might profess themselves Servants of *Jehovah* their God, in a Relation and Respect peculiar and proper to themselves; namely, that they were Servants of that God, who redeemed *Israel* out of the Land of *Egypt*, and out of the House of Bondage; and who upon the Morning Watch of *that very Day* which they kept for their Sabbath, overwhelmed *Pharoah*, and all his Host, in the *Red Sea*, and saved *Israel* that Day out of the Hand of the *Egyptians*. This is gathered from the Repetition of the Decalogue in *Deuteronomy*, where that Reason from the World's Creation given in the Decalogue at *Horeb* being left out, *Moses* inserts this other of the Redemption of *Israel* out of *Egypt* instead thereof, as the Reason, why those six Days rather than any other six for Work, and that 7th Day rather than any other 7th for Rest, were pitched upon, as *Israel* observed them. *Remember, saith he, Deut. 5. 15, thou wert a Servant in the Land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty Hand, and a stretched-out Arm: Therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath-Day: Not commanded thee in general to chuse one Day of seven, (for of that another Reason was given, the Example of God in the Creation;) but commanded the particular Designation of that Day which thou now keepest.*

But whether this Day were in Order the seventh from the Creation or not, the Scripture is silent; for where it is called in the Commandment the seventh-Day, that is only in respect of the six Days of Labour, and therefore, whensoever it is so called, those six Days of Labour are mentioned

mentioned with it. The seventh Day therefore is the seventh after six Days of Labour, nor can any more be inferred from it. The Example of the Creation is brought for the chusing of one Day of seven, as we have shewn, and not for the Designation of any certain Day for that seventh. Nevertheless, it might fall out so, by the Disposition of divine Providence, that the *Jews* seventh Day was both the seventh in order from the Creation, and also the Day of their Deliverance out of *Egypt*. But the Scripture nowhere tells us it was so, and therefore it may as well be not so: And certain it is that the *Jews* kept not that Day for a Sabbath till the raining of *Manna*: For that which should have been their Sabbath the Week before, had they then kept the Day which afterward they kept, was the fifteenth Day of the second Month; on which Day they marched a wearisome March, and came at Night into the Wilderness of *Sin*; where they murmured for their poor Entertainment. That Night the Lord sent them Quails; the next Morning it rained *Manna*, which was the 16th Day, and soon six Days together; the seventh, which was the two and twentieth, it rained none, and that Day they were commanded to keep for their Sabbath. Now if the two and twentieth Day of the Month were the Sabbath, the fifteenth should have been, if that Day had been kept before: But the Text tells us expressly, they marched that Day, and, which is remarkable, the Day of the Month is never named, unless it be once, for any Station but this, where the Sabbath was ordained; otherwise it could not have been known, that that Day was ordained for a Day of Rest, which before was none. And why might not their Day of holy Rest be altered, as well as the Beginning of their Year was, for a Memorial of their Coming out of *Egypt*? We can see no Reason, why it

might not; nor find any Testimony to assure us it was not.

And thus much of the *Jewish* Sabbath, how and wherein it was a Sign, whereby they professed themselves the Servants of *Jehovah*, and no other God.

Now we come to the second Thing propounded; To shew how far, and in what Manner, the like Observation binds us Christians, who are Worshipers of the same God with the *Jews*, though not altogether under the same Relations.

In general, therefore, we say that the *Christian*, as well as the *Jew*, after six Days spent in his own Work, is to sanctify the seventh; that he may profess himself thereby a Servant of God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, as well as the *Jew*. For in the one Day of seven, as a Memorial of the Creation, the *Jew* and *Christian* agree; but in Designation of the Day they differ. For the *Christian* chuseth for his Day of Rest, that which with the *Jews* was the first Day of the Week, and calls it *The Lord's Day*; that he might thereby profess himself a Servant of that God, who on the Morning of that Day vanquished Satan, the spiritual *Pharaoh*, and redeemed us from our spiritual Thralldom, by raising *Jesus Christ* our Lord from the Dead; begetting us, instead of an earthly *Canaan*, to an *Inheritance incorruptible in the Heavens*: In a Word, the *Christian*, by the Day he hallows, professes himself a *Christian*; that is, as *St. Paul* speaks, *To believe on him that raised up Jesus from the Dead*. So that the *Jew* and *Christian* both, tho' they fall not upon the same Day, yet make their Designation of their Day upon the like Ground: The *Jews*, the Memorial Day of their Deliverance from the temporal *Egypt*, and temporal *Pharaoh*; the *Christians*, the Memorial of the Deliverance from the spiritual *Egypt*, and spiritual *Pharaoh*.

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But might not the Christian, as well have observed the *Jewish* for his seventh Day, as the Day he doth?" The Answer is, No; he might not: For, in so doing, he would seem not to acknowledge his Redemption to be already performed, but still expected. For the Deliverance of *Israel* out of *Egypt* by the Ministry of *Moses*, was intended for a Type and Pledge of the spiritual Deliverance, which was to come by *Christ*; their *Canaan* also, to which they marched, being a Type of that heavenly Inheritance, which the Redeemed by *Christ* are taught to look for: Since therefore the Shadow is now made void by the coming of the Substance, the Relation is changed, and God is no longer to be worshipped, and believed in, as a God foreshewing and assuring by Types; but as a God who hath performed the Substance of what he promised. And this is that which *St. Paul* means, where he saith, *Col. ii. 16. Let no Man judge you, henceforth, in respect of a Feast-day, New-moon, or Sabbath-day, which were a Shadow of Things to come, but the Body is of Christ.*

Thus we have seen the general Reason, for which both *Jews* and Christians keep one Day in seven, for a Day of Rest unto God; and also the particular Reason of each for fixing upon that Day which they respectively keep, preferable to any other. But here we expect to have it asked, "How a ritual Institution, varied according to the different Circumstances of the People who observe it, can contain an Obligation, both upon *Jew* and Christian, for the keeping of one Day in seven, in Memory of the Almighty's Rest from Creation? And how that Rest from Creation can properly be commemorated, in a Festival which has been thus varied from one Day to another, and which at this Time is kept on different Days by different People?" To which we answer, that when God mentions his own Rest

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from Creation, as a Reason for keeping one Day in seven, he does not urge it as a Reason for the keeping of any particular Day of the Seven, preferable to another: For this there was another Reason to be given of a more particular Nature. This particular Reason was the Deliverance out of *Egypt* for the *Jews* Seventh-day, and the Deliverance from the Power of Satan for the Christians First-day, as before hinted. So that in a Word, the Sabbath, both *Jewish* and Christian, hath two Foundations; the one, which is the Rest after the Creation of the World, is common to them both; the other is peculiar to each, the Deliverance from *Pharaoh* to the *Jews*, and the Deliverance from our spiritual Enemy to us Christians: And this is the Sum of the whole Matter.

Only one Question remains to be examined, and that is, "Whether, from the Beginning of the World, the Law of the Sabbath was given by God? And whether the Seventh-day was kept by the Antients, in Memory of the Creator's Rest, before the Revelation was made upon Mount *Sinai*?" Here several Fathers, and some *Jewish* Doctors, have asserted the Affirmative; and *Manasseh Ben-Israel* in particular, assures us, that, according to the Traditions of the Antients, *Abraham* and his Posterity having preserved the Memory of the Creation, they observed the Sabbath also in Consequence thereof. We may add the Testimonies of *Philo*, *Josephus*, *Aristobulus*, *Tribullus*, *Lucian*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*; who all seem to confirm the same Opinion. *Philo* says, that *the Sabbath is not a Festival peculiar to any one People or Country, but is common to all the World; and that it may be named the general and publick Feast, or the Feast of the Nativity of the World.* *Josephus* advances, that *there is no City, either of Greeks or Barbarians, or any other Nation, where the Religion of the Sabbath was not known.* *Aristobolus* quotes

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Homer and *Hesiod*, who speak of the Seventh-Day, as of a Day that is sacred and venerable. *Tibullus*, speaking of the Feasts that were observed by the *Roman Women*, alludes to the holy Seventh-day of the *Jews*. *Lucian* informs us, that the Boys of his Time kept Holiday on the Seventh-day. *Clemens Alexandrinus* speaks of the Sabbath in the same Terms as *Aristobulus* just now quoted, and to the Testimonies of *Homer* and *Hesiod* adds that of *Callimachus*, who also celebrates the Seventh-day. And the learned *Grotius*, quoting most of the Authors here introduced, observes that the Memory of the Creation's being performed within seven Days was preserved, not only among the Greeks and Italians, but also by the Celts and Indians, who all of them divided their Times into Weeks. For this he quotes *Philostratus*, *Dion Cassius*, and *Justin Martyr*; also the antient Names of the Days, as preserved by *Scaliger* in an antient Oracle, and in some Verses of *Orpheus*.

There are some, who believe that *Job* observed the Sabbath-day; because at the End of seven Days he offered a Sacrifice to the Lord for his Children. Some Rab- bies also inform us, that *Joseph* observed the Sabbath in *Egypt*.

But the contrary Opinion is not without its Proofs also. A great many Fathers and Commentators hold, that the Benediction and Sanctification of the Sabbath, mentioned by *Moses* in the Beginning of *Genesis*, signifies only that Appointment then made of the Seventh Day, to be afterwards solemnized and sanctified by the *Jews*. It does not appear from any Passage of Scripture, that the ancient Patriarchs observed the Sabbath, or that God had any Design to oblige them thereto, before the Law took Place. And *Philo* himself says, that the *Hebrews* having forgot which was the Day of the Creation of the World, began to be ap-

prised of it again, when God having caused it to rain Manna all the other Days of the Week, did not permit it to rain any on the Sabbath-day. Which Conceit of *Philo*, by the way, confirms what we have said above, that the Sabbath was not kept by the *Israelites* at their Coming out of *Egypt*, till the End of the first Week of Manna, whatever it might have been by their Predecessors; and shews, that the *Jewish* Author was sensible, from the Words of *Moses*, of a Neglect of the preceding Seventh-day. As to the Pagans, the Seventh-day which was honoured by them, and of which some of their Authors have spoken as of an Holiday, seems to have been dedicated to the Honour of *Apollo*, or to have been kept only in Imitation of the *Jews*, some of whose Ceremonies the Pagans superstitiously copied, as they did of all the other Nations with whom they had any Commerce.

For our own Part, we should not take upon us to say any Thing in this Dispute, were it not that the allowing the Observance of the Sabbath to be universal, and as antient as the Creation, would be making it the Effect of some natural Principle, which informed the Antients that it was their Duty to keep this Day, rather than of any positive Institution of God, given peculiarly to his own People; which is what we can by no means believe to have been the Case. For that the Sabbaths, and other Feasts of the *Jews*, were given to them as Signs, to distinguish them from other People, is what the Prophet *Ezekiel* says expressly, *Ezek. xx. 12, 20.* and what we have argued for in several preceding Paragraphs. And if they were Signs given to the *Jews* for a Characteristic, certainly they could not be given to those other People, from whom these Signs were to distinguish them; though several Nations might copy the *Jews* in this Point, as they did in that of Circumcision, and that so antiently, as not to leave

leave the Moderns any Footsteps of the Time when, or the Occasion from which, this Imitation began. There is no doubt but this was the Case in many other Particulars; and if in many others, why not in the present? Conclude we therefore with *Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Eusebius, and Bernard*, that neither the Patriarchs before the Deluge, nor those that came after to the Time of *Moses*, observed the Sabbath; and that the Manna's ceasing to fall on the Seventh Day after it began, which *Philo* believes to be the Renewal only, was the Original of this Observance.

In fine, without enquiring whether the Command concerning the Sabbath be as obligatory to us Christians as it was to the *Jews*, we may conclude, says Dr. *Hammond*, from the Equity of that Command, many Things of Use to us. As, *First*, That it is not only lawful, but, for a publick Community of Men, necessary, to set apart some set Times for God's Service, and by the same Reason, some set Places, set Vestments, set Gestures, and other the like Ceremonies, such as may best comply with, accompany, and heighten, our spiritual Performances to God. *Secondly*, That what is thus set apart to God's Use, is said to be sanctified or hallowed, that is, to have a separate Respect due to it; such, as that it must not ordinarily be mixed with prophane and common Uses; which is also the Import of the Rest joined with the Hallowing, the not mixing our worldly Employments with our divine Performances. *Thirdly*, That the Remembrance of God's special Mercies, is a fit Hint, or Occasion, to pitch upon some Day, or Time, or Place, &c. in Relation thereto, and thus to discriminate it from others. Such was the Creation of the World, mentioned above to both *Jews* and Christians; the Coming out of *Egypt* in the *Jewish* Church, and the Resurrection of *Christ* in the Christian Church.

The Time thus set apart is to be employed to the Practice and Advancement of Piety, in private, and in publick; in private, by Reading, Prayer, Thanksgiving, Meditation, &c. in publick, by publick Exercise of the same Duties, together with preaching and instructing of Youth, by the Hand of a lawful Minister, chosen to be a publick Person, both from God to us, and from us to God. And to these we should join the Use of the Sacraments, in such Manner, and with such Frequency, as shall seem good to those to whose Charge we are committed. And all this should be done with all due Care, Reverence, and Zeal; not slightly, or formally, or prophanely; but so, as will best tend to the Increase of Piety and Charity, to the Benefit, not ensnaring of Mankind; the Sabbath (and all such Institutions) being, as our Lord expresses it, *made for Man, and not Man for the Sabbath*.

The Importance of the Subject, which we have hitherto treated of in this Dissertation, will, we presume, be a sufficient Excuse for our having continued so long thereon. But, that we may not seem as it were to dwell upon any one Thing, we now proceed to the other Point, which we proposed to consider; namely, the Import of this Phrase, *That it might be fulfilled*, as used by the Evangelists in their Applications of Old Testament Prophecies to *Christ*. Here the Enquiry will be, *Whether these Words sometimes only note that such an Action may by Accommodation be said to be the fulfilling of the Words of the Prophet cited, because they were more signally accomplished by that Action, than by the Action to which they in the Prophet relate, though no such Thing was intended by the Prophet, or by the Spirit of God, when the Words were spoken? Or, Whether it be necessary, by Virtue of those Words, to say, that the Holy Ghost intended the Prophecy quoted should refer*
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only to, or at least, should be more signally accomplished by, that Action or Passage to which it is applied by the Evangelists? In answer to which we shall observe two Things.

First, That when the Phrase runs in this absolute Manner, *This was done, that, or, to the End that, such or such a Prophecy might be fulfilled*; it is then necessary to say, that the very Completion there mentioned is what was intended by the Holy Ghost, since otherwise the Action by which the Prophecy is there said to be completed, cannot, in Propriety of Speech, be performed for that End.

Secondly, That when the Words run only thus, *Then was fulfilled such a Thing spoken by the Prophets*, we may if we please admit of a Completion by Way of Accommodation only; (tho' perhaps there is no Necessity for so doing.) For since the End of doing such an Action is not expressed, the same Reason for an immediate Intention of the Holy Ghost, that holds good in the preceding Form, cannot obtain here.

There is but one considerable Objection against the first of these Rules, and that is taken from these Words of St. *John*, chap. xii. 37, 38. *But tho' he had done so many Miracles before them, yet they believed not on him; That, or, to the End that, the saying of Esaias the Prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake, saying, Isa. liii. 1. Lord, who hath believed our Report? and to whom hath the Arm of the Lord been revealed?* For since the Prediction could be no Cause of their Infidelity, it seems improper to affirm, that the *Jews* believed not, to the End that this Prediction might be verified.

To this Dr. *Whitby* answers, that in all Predictions of evil Actions to be performed by free Agents, or Agents capable of being diverted by a providential Interposition, there is not only a Fore-knowledge that the Action, if Providence interpose

not, will be done, but a Declaration that Providence will not interpose to hinder them for doing it. The Import of these Words, therefore, may be no more than this; that God foreseeing the Infidelity of the *Jews*, left them to the Blindness and Hardness of their own Hearts, permitting them to continue in it, that the Saying of *Isaiab* might be fulfilled. So that tho' the Prophecy was not the proper and internal Cause of their Infidelity, yet was the Completion of the Prophecy the final Cause of the divine Permission; and therefore the Action in such Case is ascribed to God, tho' he be no ways productive of it, because he suffers it as a Punishment of Men's evil Dispositions. Thus God is said to *send among Men strong Delusions to believe a Lye, because they received not the Truth in the Love of it, but had Pleasure in Unrighteousness*.

Of these Prophecies that were directly and properly fulfilled in *Christ*, and of which it is said, that such and such Actions of *Christ* were performed *that they might be fulfilled*, we may distinguish two Sorts: *First*, those which contained such Characters of the Messiah as it was necessary for the *Jews* to know, and which therefore they did know were to belong to him only, or chiefly. *Secondly*, those which tho' they were primarily and fully accomplished in the Actions of *Jesus Christ*, and therefore properly applied to him by the Evangelists, were yet not understood by the *Jews* as belonging to their Messiah, and consequently were no Proofs to them that *Jesus* was that Messiah.

In the first Rank of these Prophecies, we must reckon such as these: *That a Virgin should conceive, and bear a Son; that their Messiah was to die for the Sins of the People; that he should come riding on a Colt, the Foal of an Ass; that his Sides should be pierced, &c.* For we must suppose it natural for the *Jews* to enquire, touching such Words as these, *Of whom speak-*

speakeſt the Prophet this? And hence we find that their Doctors did, by Tradition, expound theſe Words of their Meſſiah. And in the ſame Light we muſt conſider their Notions of a Similitude between the Characters of *David*, and the *Meſſiah*; it being expreſſly foretold, and generally received among them, that their Meſſiah was to be the Son of *David*: Whence nothing is more common in their Writings, than to apply to him the Words of *David*, and even to call him *David*, after the Example of the holy Prophets, ſaying of their King Meſſiah, *David is his Name*. For this being the Caſe, it could not be difficult for them to believe, that the Words ſpoken by, or relating to *David*, might, by the Intention of God, have a higher and more eminent Completion in this *David their King*.

But then ſecondly, there are other Prophecies applied to *Chriſt*, which it is not eaſy to conceive how, without teaching, they ſhould expect to ſee accompliſhed in their Meſſiah: As, that by theſe Words of *Hoſea*, *Out of Egypt have I called my Son*, ſhould be predicted his being called out of *Egypt* after the Death of his Perſecutor: That what was ſaid by the Prophets of the Meſſiah's being deſpiſed and rejected, ſhould be made good by his dwelling at *Nazareth*, a deſpiſed City: That by the coming of the Meſſiah to them, the Lands of *Zabulon* or *Naphtali* ſhould be enlightened: That by doing of his Miracles in Secrecy, and without

Contention, ſhould be fulfilled theſe Words of the Prophet, *Iſa. xlii. 2. He ſhall not cry, nor lift up, nor cauſe his Voice to be heard in the Street*. Of ſuch Paſſages as theſe we may venture to ſay, that the *Jews* did not know, unleſs they received it by Tradition, that they had any Relation to the Meſſiah whom they expected; yet were they all fulfilled in the Actions of *Chriſt*.

But then there was no Neceſſity for the *Jews* to know before hand, that any of the Actions of *Chriſt* were intended by the Prophets in theſe Places; theſe Prophecies being produced by the Evangelists, not to prove that *Jeſus* was the Meſſiah promiſed to the *Jews*, or to convince the Infidel; but only as Inſtances, which they by the ſame Spirit which ſpoke by the Prophets, were aſſured did belong to him. And of this all the believing *Jews*, and Gentiles, might be certain, upon the ſole Authority of the Evangelists, who they ſaw aſſiſted by the ſame Spirit which moved the Prophets, and thereby enabled to give us the true Interpretation of them. This was enough with Relation to theſe particular Prophecies; ſince as to the proving that *Jeſus* was the Meſſiah, that was ſufficiently done by thoſe other Prophecies mentioned before, which contained diſtinct and unalienable Characters both of his Perſon and Office, and which were therefore produced by the Evangelists to that Purpoſe, in their proper Places.





THE
L I F E
OF OUR
Blessed Lord and Saviour
JESUS CHRIST.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

- I. *Jesus retires, and at his Return chuses the twelve Apostles. Their Names.*
 II. *He goes with the Apostles into the Plains, and from thence to Capernaum, &c.* III. *He ascends into a Mountain, and pronounces the eight Beatitudes.*
 IV. *Woes denounced against the Rich, the Voluptuous, and the Honourable.*
 V. *The Character and Duty of Christ's Disciples.* VI. *Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfil, the Law.*



NOT long after his Retreat from the Pharisees, *Jesus* being in a hilly Part of the Country, retired one Evening from his Disciples, and went into a Mountain, where there was a

House of Prayer, in which he continued all Night without Interruption, in fervent Devotion to his Father. At Break of Day he returned to his Disciples, and having called to him several of them by Name, he chose twelve out of those whom he called,

called, to be his constant Attendants. To these he gave a *Hebrew Name*, which in *Greek* is *Apostle*, and signifies *Messenger*, because he designed to send them abroad with the good Tidings of his approaching Kingdom: Which that they might the more successfully publish, he gave them the Power of working Miracles, and casting out evil Spirits. The Names of these Persons were as follows: *Simon*, who, as we have related, was called *Cephas* or *Peter* by *Jesus*, when he first saw him; *Andrew*, the Brother of *Simon*; *James* and *John*, the Sons of *Zebedee*, whom he called *Boanerges*, or *Sons of Thunder*; *Philip*; *Bartholomew*; *Matthew*, named also *Levi*; *Thomas*, whose Surname was *Didymus*; *James* the Son of *Alpheus*; *Judas* the Brother of *James*, called also *Thaddeus*; *Simon* surnamed the *Canaanite*, or *Zelot*; and *Judas Iscariot*, who afterwards betrayed *Jesus*.

II. With these *Jesus* came down from the Mountains into the Plains, whither the rest of his Disciples repaired to him; as also a vast Multitude of People from *Jerusalem*, and all *Judea*, and the maritime Parts of *Phenicia*, (where are situated the Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*) either to hear his Doctrine, or to present their Sick to him for Cure. There were brought also such as were possessed with evil Spirits, whom he likewise healed; and not only those whom he spoke to, or on whom he laid his Hands, were cured by him, but, as usual, even those who barely touched his Clothes: So that a miraculous Power, of curing all Manner of Distempers, seemed continually to flow from him. And having, in this Manner, continued some time in the Country, he returned to *Capernaum*, and lodged in the House at which he formerly sojourned. Here the Concourse of People that came to hear him, or be freed from their Infirmities by him, was so great, that he had not so much as time to eat or drink; By which continual

Molestation he was so affected, that a Rumour was spread about of his being fallen into a Swoon, or that he was beside himself; which made some of his Relations, who were settled at *Capernaum*, come to him, that they might be in a readiness to assist him, on any difficult Occasion, or officiously to remove him out of this Hurry to some of their own Habitations.

III. But *Jesus*, to avoid the Inconvenience of the Multitude, went up again into the mountainous Part of the Country, and was followed by a great Number of Disciples, whom he there instructed in a Morality far superior to what had ever been taught by the *Jewish* Doctors. He began his Discourse with pronouncing Blessedness on several virtuous Characters, which he thus enumerated and described.

——— Blessed, said he, are the Poor in this World, and those, who, how high soever their Condition may be, are yet humble and lowly in their Minds and Affections; for they shall be Partakers in the Felicity of the *Messiah's* Reign. ——— Blessed are they that mourn thro' a Sense of their spiritual Wants and Infirmities; for they shall be comforted at present with an Assurance of Pardon, and hereafter with eternal Felicity. ——— Blessed are they who are of a meek, submissive, quiet, and courteous Disposition; for they shall enjoy the Benefit and Protection of Government, and not be deprived of their Possessions, like those who are of a turbulent and seditious Temper. ——— Blessed are they whose Appetites are removed from the mean Objects of Sense, and who are as concerned to be righteous before God, and to become the Objects of his Favour, as the hungry Man is to have Meat, or the Thirsty Drink; for such as these shall be sure to obtain what they pursue, both here and hereafter. ——— Blessed are they who are compassionate and pitiful towards the Wants and Infirmities of other Men, whether of their Souls or of their Bodies; who

who are apt to relieve and pardon, to give and forgive: For God shall deal with them as they deal with others; he shall answer their Requests in Time of Necessity, and be abundantly merciful to them at the great Day of Accounts. ----- Blessed are those who have their Minds purged from evil Thoughts and Inclinations; for they shall be rewarded hereafter with that Vision of God, which none who are not thus pure shall ever attain to. ----- Blessed are they who labour earnestly for Peace, and make it a great Business of their Lives to reconcile Men of opposite Principles and Practices; in doing which they shew their Resemblance of God, who is peculiarly stiled the God of Peace: These shall be owned for the Children of the most High, and as such shall be rewarded.

----- Blessed are those who suffer for their Discharge of a good Conscience, and for their steady Adherence to Truth and Virtue; for their Sufferings shall be rewarded with the Kingdom of Heaven, from which their Persecutors shall be excluded.

----- Finally, Blessed shall ye be, when Men shall revile and persecute you, when they shall separate you from their Assemblies, and raise all Manner of evil Reports against you, for your Faith in me, and your Profession of my Name: You ought to be so far from grieving at these Things, that you have the greatest Reason to be filled with Joy and Exultation, since God will reward on you their multiplied Revilings and Slanders, with a multiplied Recompense in another World. Thus were the Prophets formerly dealt with, who came with Commissions immediately from God, and whom if you continue to imitate them in suffering patiently, you shall communicate with in the Enjoyment of the divine Favour to all Eternity.

IV. But, on the contrary, wretched are those whose Characters are opposite to what have been here mentioned. ----- Miserable are the Rich who vaunt themselves upon that Account, and who impart none of their

Wealth to the Relief of the Indigent: These bless themselves upon the Account of their Riches, and have nothing farther to expect from God. ----- Miserable are those that abound in all Manner of Delicacies, and bestow nothing out of their Abundance to the Relief of the Necessities of the Poor; hereafter they shall suffer what will be as intolerable as the greatest Hunger.

----- Unhappy are those who, because of their uninterrupted Prosperity, give themselves to perpetual Feasting and Jollity; the Time will come when their Mirth shall be turned into continual Grief and Anguish.

----- Envy not the Condition of those who have the greatest Reputation among the Jews: The Ancestors of these very Jews in like Manner applauded the false Prophets, while the true Messengers of God suffered under their Obloquy and Defamation.

V. O all ye that embrace my Doctrine, you are like those salt Ashes that are employ'd in the manuring of Land, which, if they once lose their Saltness, are for ever useless, and thrown out into the High-way, and trodden under Foot. Thus ought you in your Words and Actions to incite Mankind to the Pursuit of Virtue, in which if you should fail, there is no one upon Earth, neither in Judea, nor any other Country, that can reclaim you: So that if you prove wanting in your Duty, like those insipid Ashes, you will become for ever an unprofitable Burden on the Earth. ----- You are like to a Light illustrating the whole Globe of the Earth; wherefore it behoves you to take Care that your Doctrine be not obscur'd with the least Cloud of Vice or Error. 'Twill be impossible for you not to be taken Notice of, and you will resemble a City seated upon an Eminence, and conspicuous afar off. And this indeed you ought to be acquainted with, since it is for this very Purpose that you have been called by God. As Men light a Lamp to be of Use to all the Family, not to obscure the Light of it by covering it with a Bushel, and

so frustrating the very End it was designed for; so shine out by the Light of your Doctrine, and a holy Life; that Men observing your Words and Actions to be conformable to your Profession, may praise your heavenly Father, and give Thanks to him for sending such Men into the World to dispel the Darkness it was involved in.

VI. Do not imagine, because I say some Things repugnant to the common Notions of the Jews, that I am come with Design to teach Men that they are now no longer under any Obligation to the Law of Moses and the Prophets: On the contrary, I am sent by God to acquaint them more fully with their Duty, and to explain and perfect those Institutions. While Heaven and Earth shall last, not the least Tittle of the moral Injunctions delivered by Moses and the Prophets shall be cancelled. And whoever teaches that any the least divine Precept of Morality, because it seems to him of small Importance, may be omitted, and by his own Example encourages others to the Neglect of it, shall be as lightly regarded by God in the Account he will take of the Inhabitants of his heavenly Kingdom.

VII. You know that when the Law was given to your Ancestors, Murder was made a capital Crime by God himself; but I am further to inform you, that not only that and the like enormous Crimes shall be punished in the Life to come, but the smaller also, and such as are scarce reputed Faults by the Jews. Whosoever shall indulge his Anger, and behave himself passionately without Cause, shall suffer such Punishment as may be compared to that capital one inflicted by the lesser Councils. But he that shall habituate himself to scoff at and jeer his Neighbour, shall hereafter be sentenced to as severe Punishment, as those who are condemned by the greatest Council for the greatest Crimes.

You know that God in the Decalogue has prohibited Adultery, which Crime hath by him since been made capital; but I declare

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further unto you, that the very Inclinations of the Mind are criminal, and that whoever looks on another Man's Wife with Eyes inflamed with Lust, and wants only an Opportunity to perpetrate the Fact, that Man is already an Adulterer in his Mind, and accordingly shall be punished by God, who knows the most hidden Secrets of the Heart, although these vicious Appetites do not fall under the Cognizance of a Court of Judicature.

Moses commanded your Ancestors, that if any Man had a mind to repudiate his Wife, he should give her a Bill of Divorce, which might testify that the Woman was dismiss'd by her Husband, and was supposed to leave her at her Liberty to marry whomsoever she pleased: But I tell you, whoever puts away his Wife for any other Cause than that of Adultery, doth thereby lay an Occasion of Sin in her Way; and whoever marries her is no better than an Adulterer.

You have been told, that it was prohibited to your Ancestors to forswear themselves after having been abjured by God, and that they were commanded to perform what they thus promised out of a Reverence to the Deity; but they were not forbid to swear upon any Occasion whatsoever, nor were there any Punishments assigned to the Breakers of those Oaths, in which the Deity is not immediately invoked as Witness. But I absolutely forbid the Use of Oaths, which is so common among you upon the slightest Occasions, not only those in which God is expressly invoked, but all Forms of Swearing whatsoever.

You know it was the Precept of Moses to your Ancestors, that there should be a mutual Intercourse of Kind-dealing among those of the same Family, and Partakers in the same Religious Duties; but that they should avoid all Familiarity and Friendship with other People, that they should never enter into a League and Covenant with those who had assailed them with horrid Imprecations, and that they should wage perpetual

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War

War with some of the idolatrous Nations. Learn now another Lesson of me, learn to love your Enemies, and to act as friendly with them as with those who are circumcised; to oppose Blessings to their Curses, and Love and Beneficence to their Injuries and Hatred; and to requite those who persecute you for the Sake of your Religion with all outrageous Malice, with your Prayers to God that he would restore them to a better Mind, and accumulate his Benefits upon them.——If you thus behave yourselves, you will be the Imitators of your heavenly Father, and deserve to be stiled his Sons; for he is thus beneficent to all Men, blessing Good and Bad alike with the common Influence of the Sun and fruitful Showers. But if you love those only who have the same Affection for you, what Reward and Favour can you for this expect from God? Certainly the very Publicans, the worst of Men, return Love for Love. If you then aim at Perfection, be full of Pity and Bounty towards those from whom you expect nothing, nay such as seem to deserve quite another Usage; for thus your heavenly Father pours down his Benefits upon the Good and Bad, and expresses his Kindness indifferently to all Men.

I have told you, you ought to be beneficent; but take heed that you do not exercise your Bounty merely to be taken Notice of by Men, if you expect any Reward from God; for this you will be frustrated of, if Glory and the Praise of Men be the only Thing you aim at.

When you pray to God, do not imitate those Dissemblers in Religion, who are wont to pray standing in the Synagogues and most frequented Places, not out of any Zeal for Devotion, but to obtain the Character of religious Persons, which Reputation is all the Reward they will receive. But as for you, when you are disposed to pray, let it be in the most retired Part of your House; and there, shutting the Door, pour forth your Petitions to God, who shall

one Day publicly reward this your secret Devotion.——

When you fast in private, upon some religious Account, do not, like the Hypocrites, appear abroad with a squallid Look, that all may pry into the Occasion of it. These certainly shall obtain no other Reward than that Praise they court. You therefore, when you fast, make it your Business to conceal it; appear abroad as at other Times, in your usual Dress, with your Head anointed, and your Face washed, according to the Custom of the Place. Men indeed will know nothing of your Fasting: Suffice it that your Father is not ignorant of it, who observing what you have thus done privately, will one Day publicly reward your Devotion.

Seek not for Riches here on Earth, which are liable to Rust and Moth, and the Rapaciousness of Thieves; but be solicitous after Riches in Heaven, where nothing of this Nature is to be feared. In this happy Temper you will not be disturbed with the usual Care and Anxiety after Riches; for since the Mind generally accompanies the Riches, if these are thought to be in Danger, your Mind will necessarily be molested with Care and Concern for them.

And this Obedience will secure you from the Fear of ever wanting necessary Food or Raiment: For God, who has given you Life and a Body, will also bestow upon you whatever is necessary for the Sustenance of that Life, and Defence of your Body from the Injuries of the Weather; and he who is the bountiful Author of your Being, will not refuse you those lesser Benefits which conduce to the Preservation of it. Reflect upon the Condition of the Birds, who fill no Storehouses against a Time of Scarcity, and yet are abundantly supplied by the Providence of God: You have no Reason then to fear that he will neglect you, the Condition of whose Being is so vastly preferable to theirs. You ought therefore to rest satisfied, that while you perform those Duties which God

requires of you, you shall by him be supplied with all the Necessaries of Life. If God fix the Period of your Continuance here on Earth, there is not a Man of you can, with his utmost Thoughtfulness, lengthen it by one Moment. Wherefore you ought not to be so careful about the Preservation of your Life, as thereby to neglect any of God's Precepts, who is able, without the least Care of yours, to preserve it, and can also, whenever he pleases, deprive those of it who are over solicitous about it. Consider also the Lillies and other Flowers of the Field, which grow up and flourish without any human Art or Labour, neither do they themselves acquire that Beauty which we discover in them by their own Skill or Industry; and yet I tell you, that Solomon, heretofore the most glorious Monarch in the East, did not equal the natural Ornament of these Flowers with his most magnificent Attire. You have then no Reason to dread the want of Raiment; for if God provide so bountifully for these Plants, which after a short Duration are burnt up and consumed, how much greater Care will he take of Men, who are designed by him to be eternally happy, provided they live in Obedience to his Laws? Think you that he will suffer them to fall into so miserable a Condition, as to be destitute of necessary Food and Raiment? They who entertain these Thoughts, have no very religious Sense of the Deity.

Condemn no one rashly, lest hereafter you be punished for your rash Censure; rather acquit all that may be acquitted, that you yourselves in like Manner may be absolved by God: For Judgment shall pass against you with the same Severity that you have exercised; and as you have treated others, you must expect to be treated by God. Therefore, before you undertake to censure the Actions of other Men, descend into yourselves, and examine strictly whether you are not defiled with the like or greater Vices than you are ready to upbraid others with: For it would be absurd to animadvert severe-

ly on the slightest Fault of your Neighbour, if at the same Time you take no notice of your own much greater Crimes. And with what Face can one Man exhort another to Repentance, chargeable it may be but with some small Fault, who at the same Time scarce ever troubles himself about a much greater Vice he himself is infected with, and never thinks of a Reformation? O you Counterfeiters of Virtue, first purge yourselves from your own most vitious Defilements, before you pretend to correct the Failings of other Men.

Whatever you find you stand in need of in your religious Course of Life, ask of God, and it shall be granted to you. Make a diligent Search after Knowledge, and implore the divine Assistance that your Search be not in vain. Knock against the Door that conceals from you the Knowledge of what it concerns you to be acquainted with, and it shall be opened, and secret Things shall be revealed unto you.

Be liberal to others, that God may be liberal to you, not only in restoring to you what you have thus parted with, but in bestowing on you much more valuable Benefits, in which he will have respect to the Charity you have shewed towards others.

The Door of Life is strait, and the Path that leads to it narrow and unfrequented, while the Gates of Destruction stand wide open, and the high Road to it is always crouded: If then you pursue your Happiness in good Earnest, you must do it in the narrow and less frequented Way.

Take great Care you be not imposed upon by fallacious Prophets and Teachers, who in their outward Appearance are Sheep, that is, seem to have the Inoffensiveness and Harmlessness of that Creature, but inwardly are as rapacious as Wolves.

'Tis not an outward Profession of being my Disciple, or the bare calling of me Lord and Master, that shall intitle any to the Rewards of the Kingdom of Heaven, which belong to those only who shall lead Lives

conformable to the Laws of my heavenly Father. Many will say unto me in that Day, wherein I shall distribute those Rewards among the Pious, that they have been Prophets in my Church, that they have cast out evil Spirits, and performed many Miracles: To whom I shall openly declare, that inasmuch as they did not join Sanctity of Manners, with those Gifts I had bestowed upon them, they ought not to be accounted my Disciples; and are not to expect to share with me in the Happiness of my Kingdom, since they did not throw off their vitious Habits. 'Twill be in vain for any then to call me Lord and Master, who have not obeyed my Precepts; for they only can be esteemed my Disciples, whose Practice has been conformable to my Commands.

When Jesus had finished these Discourses, the whole Multitude were in Admiration, both of his Doctrine, and the Authority that went along with it: For whereas the Doctors of the Law were wont only to expound Moses, and the Doctrines handed down to them from their Ancestors; Jesus, on the contrary, acted as one that had received Commission from God himself, no otherwise than Moses had done before him, and propounded his Doctrine to them with the Authority of a Legislator.

DISSERTATION I.

Of the Beatitudes, &c.

IN the first Part of this Sermon, containing the eight Beatitudes, every Christian is so far concerned, as to be obliged to believe, 1. That he is no farther a Christian, than he hath in him those Graces, to which the Blessedness are there prefixed: 2. That every one of those Graces hath Matter of present Blessedness in it; the Word Blessed in the Front denoting a present Condition, ab-

stracted from that which we may afterwards expect: 3. That there is Assurance of future Blessedness to all those that have attained to those several Graces.

To begin with the first of these Graces, *Poverty of Spirit*. This Phrase may possibly signify a Preparation of Mind to part with all worldly Wealth, a Contentedness to live poor and bare in this World: But a more warrantable Interpretation is, that it signifies a lowly Opinion of one's self, a thinking one's self the meanest vilest Creature, least of Saints, and greatest of Sinners; contrary to that spiritual Pride of the Church of *Laodicea*, which said, she was *rich, and encreased with Goods, and had need of nothing*, not knowing that she was *wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked*. This is that Infant Child-like Temper that *Christ* prescribes, as so absolutely necessary to a Christian.

The present Blessedness of such as have this Temper, consists in this, 1st. That they possess an amiable Quality, a Charm of Love amongst Men, wherever it is met with; whereas on the other Side, Pride goes hated, and cursed, and abominated by all; drives away Servants, Friends, and all but Flatterers. 2^{dly}. In this Poverty of Spirit there is a Seed-plot of all Virtue, especially Christian; which thrives best, when it is rooted deep, in the humble lowly Heart: And it hath the Promise of Grace; *God giveth Grace to the Humble*, but on the contrary, *resisteth the Proud*. The Assurance of future Blessedness annexed to this Character, is expressed in these Words, *for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven*. Which signifies primarily, that *Christ's Kingdom of Grace*, the true Christian Church, is made up peculiarly of such: Thus in the Answer of *Christ* to *John*, it is said in the Close, *Matt. 11. 5. The Poor have the Gospel preached unto them*, or are wrought on by the preaching of the Gospel: And

as in another Place, Matt. 18. 4. *He that shall humble himself as this Child, the same shall be greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven:* And again, *for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven,* or the Church; into which he therefore commands them to be permitted to enter, and chides his Disciples for forbidding them. Thus is the *Kingdom of Heaven* to be interpreted in divers Places of the new Testament, as is observed by those who read with Care. And this Kingdom of Grace here, is but an Introduction to that of Glory hereafter; for he that lives here the Life of an humble Christian, shall there be sure to reign the Life of a victorious Saint.

The *Mourning*, to which the second Blessing is joined, signifies, not, as some imagine, a miserable and comfortless Condition in this World, nor a sorrowing for the Corruptions of others, but Contrition, or godly Sorrow, conceived upon the Sense of our own Wants and Sins. 1st. Of our Wants; such as, of original immaculate Righteousness and Purity; and of Strength and Sufficiency to do the Duty which we owe to God our Creator, to *Christ* our Redeemer, and to the Spirit our Sanctifier. 2^{dly}. Of our Sins; as, of original Depravity, and Proneness to all Evil; of the actual and habitual Sins of our unregenerate, and the many *Slips and Falls* of our *most regenerate Life*.

Much of the present Felicity of these Mourners, is that which results from the Sense of this blessed Temper; there being no Condition of Soul more wretched, than that of the obdurate Sinner, who is in a kind of Numness and Lethargy: On the contrary, this feeling of Sin, and Sorrow for it, is an Argument that we have some Life in us, and so true Matter of Joy to all that find it in themselves. And therefore it was very well said of St. *Augustine*, *Let a Christian Man grieve, and then rejoice that he doth so*. Besides, the mourning Soul is like the watered Earth,

like to prove the more fruitful by that Means.

The Assurance of future Felicity that belongs to Mourners, is set down in these Words, *For they shall be comforted. Christ*, who hereafter gives, now makes Promise of Comfort to such. The *reaping in Joy* belongs peculiarly to them that *sow in Tears. Godly Sorrow worketh Repentance to Salvation*, when all other *worketh Death*. And besides, this Assurance ariseth from the very Nature of Comfort and Refreshment, of which none are capable but disconsolate *Mourners*; nor indeed is Heaven (the Vision of God, and Revelation of his Favour) ever Matter of so much Bliss, as when it comes to those that wanted Comfort, and when it *wipes away all Tears from their Eyes*, who *went mourning all the Day long*.

Meekness, the third Grace to which a Blessing is annexed, signifies a Softness, Mildness, and Quietness of Spirit, expressing itself in many Passages of our Life, both towards God, and towards Man. *First*, In Relation to God; by believing what he affirms, be it never so much above our Reason, (when it is a Captivation of the Understanding to the Obedience of Faith;) by doing what he commands, and then it is Obedience; or by enduring what he sees fit to lay upon us, and then it is Patience: In a Word, 'tis Chearfulness in Affliction, Contentedness with our Lot whatsoever it is, the being *dumb* or *silent to the Lord*, and resolving with old *Eli*, *It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good*. All which Faith, Obedience, Patience, though they be Virtues in themselves, distinct from Meekness strictly taken, may yet be very fitly reduced to that Head, in as much as Meekness moderates the Wrath, which would by Consequence destroy them.

Secondly, In relation to Men, whether Superiors, Equals, or Inferiors. 1. If they be our Superiors, then 'tis Modesty, and

and Humility, and Reverence, to all such in general; but if withal they be our lawful Magistrates, then our Meekness consists in Obedience, acting all their legal Commands, and submitting to their Punishments which they shall justly inflict upon us. 2. If they be our Equals, we must consider them either as our Friends, or our Enemies, or of a middle Nature. If our Friends, then Meekness consists, in the not provoking them, *for the Wrath of Man worketh not the Will of God*; in bearing with their Infirmities; in kind, mild, discreet Reproof of them; in Patience and Thankfulness for the like from them again; and in *submitting one to another in Love, every one thinking another better than himself*. If our Enemies, then it is the meek Man's Part to love, to do good, to bless them, and pray for them; in no wise to recompence Evil with Evil, Injury with Injury; in no wise to *avenge ourselves, but to overcome Evil with Good*. If neither our Friends, nor Foes, then Meekness consists in humble modest Behaviour towards them, neither striving and contending for Trifles, nor molesting with vexatious Suits, nor breaking out into causeless Anger, nor doing ought that may provoke them to the like. If, lastly, our Equals be those to whom we have done Injury, then Meekness towards them consists in acknowledging the Fault, and being ready to make Satisfaction; in going and desiring to be reconciled to such a Brother, and willingly submitting to all honest Means tending to that End.—— 3. Towards Inferiors, Meekness expresses itself in Condescension and Kindness, in neither oppressing nor tyrannizing, nor taking the Rod when it may be spared, nor *provoking to Wrath* Servants, Subjects, or Children.

The very Possession of this Grace is a present Felicity to the meek Man; it being of all others the most delightful, both

as that which adorns us in the Eyes of others, (and is therefore called the *Ornament of a meek and quiet Spirit*) and as that which affords us the greatest Matter of inward Comfort. For Example, that Part of Meekness which is opposed to Revenge, and consists in bearing of Injuries, is to a spiritual-minded Man Matter of infinite Delight, for these Reasons: 1st, As it conquers that mad Passion of Revenge, and gets Victory over one's self, which is the greatest Act of Valour. 2^{dly}, As it conquers the Enemy, of which there is no such Way, as the *soft Answer*, which, saith the *Wise Man*, *turneth away Wrath*. Feeding the hungry Enemy, saith St. Paul, *Rom. 12. 20.* is the *heaping live Coals upon his Head*, which is the Way that Metalists use to melt those Things that will not be wrought on by putting of Fire under them; (and this the Apostle farther expresses by the Phrase of *overcoming Evil with Good*.) 3^{dly}, As by it we outstrip all the *Jewish* and *Heathen* World, which had never attained to this Skill of *loving Enemies*, at the least of thinking it a Duty to do so. In a Word, Meekness is Matter of present Felicity to us, in respect of the Tranquillity it gains us here, within our own Breasts, a Calm from those Storms that Pride, and Anger, and Revenge, are wont to raise in us; and in Respect of our peaceable living with others, without Strife and Debate, without Punishments and Executions, that are the Portion of turbulent Spirits. Which is the Meaning undoubtedly of the Promise in the *Psalmist*, *The Meek shall inherit the Earth*, that is, shall generally have the richest Portion of the good Things of this Life: From whence our Lord's Promise in the Gospel being taken, though it may be accommodated to a spiritual Sense, yet undoubtedly it literally denotes the Land of *Canaan*, or *Judea*, which is oft in the Old and New Testament called the *Earth*. So then

then the Promise of *inheriting the Earth*, will be all one with that annexed to the fifth Commandment, that *thy Days may be long in the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee*; that is, a prosperous long Life here is ordinarily the meek Man's Portion. And this he that shall observe the ordinary Dispensations of God's Providence, shall find to be most remarkably true, especially if compared with the contrary Fate of turbulent Persons.

But this temporal Reward can no ways deprive the meek Man of the eternal: For as the temporal *Canaan* was to the *Jew*, a Type, and to them that obeyed, a Pledge, of the eternal; so is the Earth here a real Inheritance below, and a Pledge of another above. And this is the meek Man's peculiar Advantage; a double *Canaan* is thought little enough for him; the same Felicity in a Matter attending him, which we believe of *Adam*, if he had not fallen; a Life in Paradise, and from thence a Transplantation to Heaven. The like we read of them that part with any Thing dear to them for *Christ's* Sake, or in Obedience to *Christ's* Command, (a Character which belongs especially to the Meek:) *He shall have a hundred fold more in this Life, and in the World to come Life everlasting.* And unless it be here to the Meek, or to *Godliness* in general in one Place, we meet not with any other temporal Promise in the New Testament: And therefore this Place here may be resolved very well to be parallel to that other, not only in the hundred Fold, or Inheritance in this Life, but in that Addition also of everlasting Life after this. Besides, other Places of Scripture there are, that intimate the future Reward of the Meek; as where *the meek and quiet Spirit* is said to be *in the Sight of God of great Price*, 1 Pet. 3. 4. and that *if we learn of Christ to be meek, we shall find Rest to our Souls*, Matt. 11. 29. And

even here, the Blessedness in the Front, noting present Blessedness, cannot rightly do so, if there were no future Reward also belonging to it; it being a Curse, no Blessing, to have our good Things with *Dives*, or, with the Hypocrite, our Reward in this Life, and none to expect behind in another.

We come now to the fourth Grace, on which a Blessing is pronounced, namely, *Hungring and Thirsting after Righteousness*: Which Righteousness may be of two Sorts, inherent and imputed: The Inherent is imperfect, proportioned to our State, consisting in the mortifying of Sins and Lusts, and in some Degrees of holy new Life; the Imputed, is *Christ's* Righteousness accepted as ours, which is in plain Words, the Pardon of our Sins, and Acceptation of our Persons in *Christ*. Hungring and Thirsting may be joined both together, and taken for one common Appetite of both those Kinds of Righteousness. Or, if we please, we may more distinctly set them thus: That as *hungring* literally is an earnest Appetite or Desire of Food; so here, in a spiritual Sense, it is adapted to the first Kind of Righteousness, that of God's sanctifying Grace, which is as it were Bread or Food to the Soul, to sustain it from perishing eternally; in which Sense, *hungring after Righteousness*, will signify an eager impatient Desire of Grace, of Sanctity to the Soul, and that Desire attended with Prayer and Importunity to God for the obtaining of it. And in like manner, *thirsting after Righteousness* may be thus defined: That as *thirsting*, in a literal Sense, is a Desire of Moisture to refresh, so it is here appropriated to that Kind of Righteousness, consisting in Pardon of Sin, which is the refreshing of the panting Soul mortally wounded, and *longing after the Water-brooks*, like the Hart in the *Psalmist*, Psal. 42. 1. to allay the Fever consequent to that Wound: And so thirst-

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ing after Righteousness, will appear to be a most earnest Desire of Pardon, and petitioning of it from God in *Christ*, and never giving over that Importunity, till he be inclined to have Mercy.

Now as Appetite to Meat is a Sign of Health in the Body, so is this Hunger in the Soul, an Evidence of some Life of Grace in the Heart, and in that Respect Matter of present Felicity: Whereas, on the other Side, the Decay of Appetite, is a consumptive Symptom, and the not caring for Grace or Pardon, for Sanctification or Justification, is the most desperate Condition in the World. And as to the future Happiness that attends this Hungering, we may expect as much of it as God's Promise of filling can afford. Nay, proportionably to the two Parts of the Appetite, the State of Glory is full Matter of Satisfaction to each. There is perfect Holiness, without Mixture of Infirmary or Carnality, answerable to the hungring after inherent Righteousness; and there is perfect Pardon and Acquittance from all the Guilt and Debt of Sin, and so the Thirst of imputed Righteousness is satisfied also. So that he who hath no other Hunger or Thirst but these, or in Comparison of these, shall be sure to find Satisfaction; which they that set their Hearts upon carnal worldly Objects, hungring after Wealth and secular Greatness, or the Gratification of their Lusts, shall never be able to arrive at, either here or hereafter; such Acquisitions being here, if attained to, very unsatisfying, and in another World there is no expectation of ought that shall be agreeable to such Desires.

Mercifulness, the fifth Grace, or Christian Virtue, signifies abundance of Charity, Goodness, and Benignity. There are in the Scripture-style two Words near kin to one another, Justice and Mercifulness, often going together; but the latter has a much higher Sense than the

former: The first signifying the legal Charity, that both the Law of Nature and *Moses* require to be performed to our Brethren; but the second an abundance or supereminent Degree of it: Expressions of both which we have from the Apostle, under the Titles of the *righteous Man*, and the *good Man*.

This Mercifulness expresses itself in two Things especially, in Giving and Forgiving. By *giving* we mean the bestowing of all Sorts of Things, that our Abilities, and other Wants, may propose to us: Such are, Relief to those that are in Distress, Ease to those in Pain, Vindication of honest Mens Reputation when they are slandered; but above all to Mens Souls, good Counsel, seasonable Reproofs, Encouragement in performing of Duty, Comfort in Time of worldly Afflictions, strengthening in the Ways of God, and whatsoever may tend to the Good of any Man. By *forgiving* must be understood, the not avenging of Injuries or Reproaches on others, the not suffering their Trespases against Men, nay, nor Sins against God, to cool or lessen our Charity and Mercy to them; but loving and compassionating, and shewing all Effects of true Christian Mercy, as well to Enemies and Sinners, as to Friends.

Now the present Delight of having made another Man happy, of rescuing a poor Soul wrestling with Want from that Pressure, of relieving him that was, as it were, appointed to die; is certainly the most ingenuous Pleasure in the World. The Gloriousness of so doing is a kind of God-like Act; one of the two Things which *Pythagoras* could say were common to us with God; especially if it be an Act of spiritual Mercy, an Alms to the Soul. To rescue a poor Sinner dropping into Destruction, by Conference, Advice, or Example, is in a Manner to partake of that incommunicable Title of *Christ*, that of Saviour: It is a Thing to which, saith *Ari-*

Aristotle, as to an heroic Quality, belongs not Praise, but Blessing; according to that of St. Paul from our Saviour, *It is more blessed to give, than to receive*, Acts xx. 35. Which supposes that it is a blessed Thing to give.

And the Assurance of future Blessedness to such as are merciful, is the greatest in the World, from this Promise annexed, *They shall obtain Mercy*. God's Punishments are mostly answerable to our Sins, he thinks good to give us a Sight of our Transgressions by the Manner of his Inflictions, and so he is also pleased to proportion his Rewards to our Graces; Mercy to the merciful most peculiarly: By Mercy meaning not only Acts of Bounty, and Liberality, such as temporal and spiritual abundance; but Mercy in pardoning, and not imputing our Sins. Upon which ground it is, that in the Form of Prayer which he hath himself prescribed us, he annexeth the *forgiving of all Trespases against us*, to our Prayer for *Forgiveness to ourselves*, as the Condition without which we may not hope for such Forgiveness.

Proceed we to the sixth Beatitude, pronounced on those who are *pure in Heart*. Where the Heart signifies the inner Man, and especially the practical Part, or Principle of Action. And the Purity of that is of two Sorts; the *First*, that which is contrary to Pollution; the *Second*, that which is contrary to Mixture: As Water is said to be pure, when it is clean, and not mudded and defiled; and Wine is said to be pure, when it is not mixed. In the first Respect it excludes Carnality; in the second Hypocrisy.

Now a Man is said to be pure in Heart, in the first Sense, when not only in the Members, or Instruments of Action, but even in the Heart, all Parts of Carnality or Worldliness are mortified. As when we neither are guilty of actual Uncleaness, nor yet consent to unclean Desires; No. LIII.

may, feed not so much as the Eye with unlawful Objects, or the Heart with filthy Thoughts: And because there are yet other Pieces of Carnality, as Strife, Faction, Sedition, and Pride; all these must be wrought out of the Heart, or else we have not attained to this Purity; but are, in the Apostle's Phrase, *still carnal*. And so in regard to Worldliness, we are pure in Heart when we not only keep from Acts of Injustice, and Violence, but from Designs of Oppression, and from coveting that which is another's.

We may be said to be pure in Heart, in the second Sense, (that is, as Purity is opposed to Mixture) when we attain to Sincerity; when we favour not ourselves in any known Sin; when we deal doubly with God; when we divide not between him and our own Lusts, our own Ends, our own Interests; between God and Mammon, God and the Praise of Men, &c. For this is a great Part of the damning Sin of Hypocrisy, against which there are so many Woes denounced; it is the *halting between God and Baal*, the not loving and serving God with all our Heart, the admitting other Rivals to come in Competition with him.

But here, to obviate a Mistake which some sincere Persons have run into, we would observe, tho' no Man who is strictly either carnal, or an Hypocrite, can be a good Christian; yet the Truth is, that as long as we live here, and carry this Flesh about us, somewhat of Carnality there will remain to be daily purged out: And so also some Relicks of Hypocrisy; somewhat of ourselves, our own Credit, our own Interests, still secretly interposing in our godliest Actions: But these (so they be not suffered to reign and to carry the main of our Actions after them) may be reconcileable with a good Estate, as human Frailties which we cannot in this Life be free from.

To the first Sort of Purity belongs, as a pre-
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a present Felicity, that Contentment which results from having overcome and kept under our carnal Part, and brought it into some Terms of Obedience to the Spirit; the Quiet and Rest that proceeds from Purity of Heart, contrary to the Disquiets and Burnings that arise from unmastered Lusts; the Ease of *not serving the Flesh, to obey it in the Lusts thereof*; that Quiet of Conscience, which is occasioned by the Absence of those Pangs that constantly attend the Commission of carnal Sins. The same may in some Measure be affirmed of all other Branches of the first Kind of Purity. And for the Second, as it is opposite to Mixture, or Hypocrisy; the Conscience of that is matter of great Serenity of Mind, of Christian Boldness towards both God and Man. Towards God, when we have no Intricacies, Windings, or Doublings within us; when we need no Disguises or Artifices of Deceit; but can venture our selves naked and bare to God's Eye, with a *Prove me, O Lord, and try me; search out my Reins and my Heart*. And so towards Men, when we fear not the most strict Survey, and have a Treasure of Confidence, thro' which we dread not the Face of any Man; when we have no Pains, no Agonies for fear of being discovered; which the Hypocrite is still subject to.

The Reward appointed hereafter for those who are pure, consists in the Vision of God, which none but the Pure are capable of, and which hath no Matter of Felicity in it to any but such.

The Reason why only the Pure are capable of the Sight of God, is, because God is a Spirit, and cannot be seen by carnal Eyes, till they be cleansed and purged, and in a manner spiritualized; which though it be not done thoroughly till another Life, yet Purity here, such as this Life is capable of, is a most proper Preparative to it; and therefore is said to be that, *without which no Man shall see*

the Lord, Heb. xii. 12. And the Reason why the Vision of God hath no Felicity in it, but to the Pure, is, because a carnal Faculty is not pleased with a spiritual Object; there must be some Agreeableness, before Pleasure is to be had, and Pleasure is always necessary to Felicity.

The Word *Peace-Makers*, in the seventh Beatitude, signifies no more than peaceableminded Men. The Notion of *making*, in Scripture Phrase, belongs to the Bent of the Soul: Thus to *make a Lye*, is to be given to lying, to practise that Sin, to be set upon it. So, *to do Righteousness and Sin*, notes the full Bent and Inclination of the Soul to either of them. And thus, to *make Peace*, both here and elsewhere, signifies to have strong and hearty Affections to *Peace*.

The last Beatitude belongs to those that are *persecuted for Righteousness Sake*, and to those that are *reviled falsely for Christ's Sake*: Which Expressions differ one from the other, only as a more general Word, and a more special. Persecution signifies properly and strictly being pursued, and hunted, as Savage Beasts are wont to be; but in common Use denoteth whatever Calamity or Affliction the Malice or Tyranny of others can lay on us; and Reviling is one special Kind of Persecution, which is most frequently the true Christian's Lot. Those that have no Strength or Power to inflict other Injuries, have yet these Weapons of their Malice always in Readiness: And they who are not good Christians themselves, do in their own Defence think themselves obliged to defame those that are; their good Actions, when they are silent, being made *to reprove their Thoughts*. Wherefore they endeavour by their Tongues to revenge themselves upon them, to redeem their Reputation by that Means.

As to the Phrases, *for Righteousness Sake*, and *falsely for my Sake*, they contain a Restraint or Limitation of the Subject, and

and inform us, that the Beatitude belongs not to those indefinitely that are persecuted and reviled; (for many may thus justly suffer as Thieves, as Murderers, Evil-doers, Busy-bodies, and receive little Joy or Blessedness in that;) but to those peculiarly that are true Christians: And that when they suffer either 1st, For some good Action wherein their Christianity and the Testimony of a good Conscience is concerned: As when Men are reviled or persecuted, because they will not either forsake, and apostatize from *Christ*, or in any particular Occasion offend against him; or when some Christian Performance brings a consequent Persecution, or Reproach upon them: Or 2^{dly}, For some indifferent sinless Action; which though it be not done in necessary Obedience to *Christ*, yet bringing unjust Persecution or reviling falsely upon them, may, though in an inferior Degree, belong to this Matter. And in this Case the Persecution that so falls on them, may be thought to be permitted by a wise and good God, for the Benefit of the Christian; either as a Chastisement of his other Sins, that he may not be condemned with the World; or as a Means of Trial, whether he will bear it patiently and christianly.

The present Felicity of such Sufferers as these, consists in several Particulars: As, 1st, In having their evil Things in this Life, that so all their Good Things may remain on Arrear, unpaid till another Life. 2^{dly}, In the Honour and Dignity of suffering for *Christ's* Sake. 3^{dly}, In our Conformity with the antient Prophets and Champions of God in all Ages. 4^{thly}, In the Comfort that proceeds from his Evidence and Demonstration of our being true Christians: For that is the Meaning of, *Yours is the Kingdom of Heaven*, namely, the State of Christians, or the true Christian State:

And it is a Christian Aphorism, that *God chastens every Son*; and that the good Things, that are given to Christians here, shall be with Persecution. 5^{thly}, In this Pledge of God's Favour to us, that we are thought worthy to suffer Shame for his Name. 6^{thly}, In the Assurance of a greater Reward hereafter, proportioned to our Sufferings here, expressed in these Words, *Great is your Reward in Heaven*.

But it having been said, at our entring on the Beatitudes, that we were no farther to believe ourselves Christians than we should find in us all the Graces to which these Beatitudes are prefix'd; there may be some Difficulty in apprehending how this can be true with Respect to the last, namely, That a Man cannot be a Christian unless he be persecuted and reviled: In order, therefore, to clear that Difficulty, we shall observe these four Things. 1st, That though to be persecuted is no Duty of ours; yet, to bear it patiently, and to rejoice in it when it befalls us for Righteousness Sake, is a Duty required of all Christians. 2^{dly}, The very being persecuted, though it be not a Duty, is yet a Mark and Character, of a Christian; and the Scripture seems to affirm, that no good Christian shall ever be without his Part in it. And, indeed, it will be hard to find out one holy Man, that hath passed through his whole Life without this Portion. 3^{dly}, If some good Christians be found, who are not persecuted, yet still the Preparation of Mind for the enduring of Persecution is necessary to every Christian. 4^{thly}, The being persecuted shall contribute much to the Increase of our Glory, and so may still be said necessary respectively, though not absolutely, to the attaining of that Degree of Glory: And therefore this is placed after all the rest, as a Means of perfecting and consummating the Christian; that as the former seven are necessary to the attaining any

Crown at all, so this to the having so rich a Crown, as is intimated in the Promise of a great Reward in Heaven.

Having thus gone thro' the eight Beatitudes, and the Characters to which they are affixed, we come to the four Woes, or Maledictions, that are added by St. Luke, as denounced by our Lord against those that are *Rich*, those that are *full*, those that *laugh*, and those that are *well spoken of*. The Reason why St. Luke recites only four Woes, is thought to be because he has given only four of the Blessings, that so there might be a mutual Correspondence between the one and the other: For, in Fact, we are to suppose that in all the Blessings mentioned in St. Matthew's Gospel, the opposite Curses are to be understood, tho' none of them are there recited. However, the Antithesis observed by St. Luke in his Expression is not at all unnecessary, or superfluous; for it may serve not only for a Terror to Evil-doers, but for a Warning to the Pious, that they do not inadvertently suffer themselves, in any Instance, to be drawn within the Reach of these Maledictions. We know how apt we are to grow giddy in Prosperity, and to have our Minds debauched by the Favour and Applause of Men: Even the best of Christians are no ways irreproveable in these Points, when they are blest with an Affluence of good Fortune.

We shall not here enter into Particulars, (because what has been said concerning the Blessings may be a Guide with Regard to what is opposed to them,) any farther than just to make a few necessary Observations: One of which is, That by the *Rich*, who are here cursed, we are not to understand all that are favoured by Providence with an Abundance, but only such as seek *their Consolation* in this World, which our Lord therefore tells them *they have received*: Intimating, that for as much as their Wealth has taken them off

from any Care concerning the Life to come, they shall have no Share in the Felicity of that Life. This can be all that is meant; for we are sure that *Christ* hath not absolutely cast out of his Kingdom the good Things of this World, provided they do not become a Snare to his Followers, and draw down their Thoughts from those Things that are above; which St. *Austin* very aptly illustrates, when he takes notice, that *poor Lazarus* was carried by the Angels into the Bosom of *rich Abraham*. It is in the same Sense that our Saviour denounces Woe against the *Full*; meaning such whose *Gods are their Bellies*, and who mind the Pleasures of Earth and Sense so as totally to neglect any higher Views. These shall certainly *bunger*, when they are removed from their present Enjoyments; because in a State of Immortality, nothing can fill the Soul but the Fruition of God, of which, as they have no Taste, so they shall have no Share. In like Manner, those that *laugh*, are put for voluptuous Persons, who reduce the whole Rule of their Lives to this *Epicurean Maxim*, *Let us live To-Day, for To-Morrow we die*; thinking the Future not worth a Moment's Concern, and endeavouring to grasp the whole Circle of Pleasures and Joys in one Instant *Now*. As for the last Malediction, the Intent of it is to correct our Ambition and Vanity; for as there is nothing more common than to seek the Good-will and Praise of Men, or at least to be drawn aside by them when they offer, our Lord warns his Disciples to beware of those Temptations which are the Ruin of so many: Which Admonition is addressed chiefly to Ministers of the Gospel, who can have no greater Foe than an inordinate Desire of Applause; it being impossible for them not to disguise the pure Doctrine of *Christ*, when their only or chief Aim is to please, and to gain Esteem from Men, which can be done no other way than by falling in, either

ther directly or indirectly, with their Interests and Passions. The Phrase *All Men* (*Woe unto you when all Men shall speak well of you*) regards only the Men of this World, who never cherish any but false Prophets and Deceivers, that abuse the good Word of God to the mean Purposes above-mentioned: For it would be hard indeed that the Praise of good Men should be a Curse to the Minister who receives it: On the contrary, it is doubtless a Blessing. The Praise here meant, is only that which is incompatible with the Service of *Christ*.

After the Beatitudes, our Lord proceeds (in the four next Verses according to St. *Matthew*) to shew the Necessity that the Graces and Virtues of Disciples, or Christians, should be evident and exemplary to Heathens, Sinners, and all indefinitely who may be attracted by such Example. This is enforced by four Similitudes: 1st. Of Salt, which as long as it is Salt, hath a Quality of seasoning all other Things, to which it is applied; 2^{dly}, Of the Sun, whose Office it is to illuminate the World: 3^{dly}, Of a City on a Hill, which is conspicuous: 4^{thly}, Of a Candle set in a Candlestick, which giveth Light to all that are in the House. By all which he expresses that those Graces are not to be accounted Christian, which either do not bring forth Fruits, and so remain but dull Habits, or which are not made exemplary to others.

Some have imagined that these Metaphors, *Salt of the Earth*, *Light of the World*, &c. are applicable only to the Apostles, and the Ministers of the Gospel their Successors, and not to every private Christian: But the contrary is evident; for all private Christians are the Disciples, to whom *Christ* here speaks, as we observed at the beginning, (and the same Auditors continued to every Part of the Sermon) and so the Duty of exemplary Lives is in some Measure required of eve-

ry one of them, who before were bound to be meek, or peaceable, or pure, that is, of all those that are entered into the School of *Christ*.

What is here meant by this Necessity that Christians must be evident and exemplary, is this: That a Christian must not content himself in doing barely what *Christ* expressly commands, but must also dispose his Actions so as may most tend to God's Honour, which consists in bringing in many Disciples to him, and which ought to be precious to a Christian next to the Salvation of his own Soul. Most contrary to which are the Practices of those, who professing Religion, commit such Things as even Nature itself, and sober Reason abhors, (such are circumventing of other Men, and many Times unclean Sins, that ought not to be named) and so bring up an evil Report upon the Christian Religion, and defame it in the Opinions of Men: Whereas a Christian ought to labour the Conversion of others, and the extending of God's Kingdom, for which he daily puts up a Petition in our Lord's own Words,

DISSERTATION II.

Of our Saviour's fulfilling, or perfecting, the Law.

WE are now to enquire, Whether *Christ*, in his Sermons on the Mount, added to the moral Laws of the Jews? And, if he did, in what Particulars and Degrees? By which Means shall we be led into the full Sense of the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th Verses of the fifth Chapter of *Matthew*, which runs thus: *Think not that I came to destroy the Law or the Prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till Heaven and Earth pass, one jot, or one Tittle, shall in no wise pass from the Law, until all be fulfilled. Whosoever therefore*

therefore shall break one of these least Commandments, and shall teach Men so, he shall be called the least in the Kingdom of Heaven. For I say unto you, that except your Righteousness shall exceed the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no Case enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

By the Words *Law* and *Prophets*, in this Place, and where-ever else they are joined together, we are to understand all the Scriptures of the Old Testament, containing the whole System of the Religion of the *Jews*, as it was gradually completed by the several Revelations of his Will, which it pleased God to make to that People. The same Thing is sometimes expressed by the Word *Law* alone, especially in the New Testament, where it is put in Opposition to the Gospel, or the new Covenant introduced by *Jesus Christ*. By them we are here to understand only the moral Part of that Religion; for as to the ceremonial Part, that did not essentially belong thereto, but was only introduced as typical of a more perfect Revelation by *Christ*, who, at his coming, abolished all other Sacrifices by the Sacrifice of himself, and, being the Substance of all that was shadowed in the exterior Part of their Worship, of Necessity put an End to the Resemblances and Symbols therein contained.

Agreeably to this Sense of the Law and the Prophets, our Saviour in the Verses above quoted attests two great Christian Truths. 1st, That Christianity is not contrary to the Laws by which Mankind had been formerly obliged, nor any Ways destructive to them. 2^{dly}, That *Christ* hath perfected the Law, and carried the Obligation of it higher, in many Particulars, than it ever before was carried by any of the *Jewish* Doctors.

First, That Christianity is not contrary to, nor destructive of, the Laws by which Mankind had formerly been obliged.

Christ now commands nothing that the natural or moral Law had forbidden, and forbids nothing which that had commanded. This is affirmed in three Forms in the Verses above. First, we are told, *He came not to destroy the Law and the Prophets*, that is, the Doctrine designed and taught by them; and it would be a very dangerous Error to think he did, *Think not that I came to destroy*, &c. Secondly, He affirms with an Asseveration, that the *least Tittle of the Law* shall not be destroyed, that is, lose its obligatory Force, *till all be fulfilled*, or, more properly, *till all Things be done*, that is, till the World be at an End, or *till Heaven and Earth pass away*, and is dissolved. Thirdly, He pronounces clearly, that he who affirms any the least Commandment of the Law to be now abrogated, and not only breaks them himself, but teaches others that they are not obliged to keep them, *He shall be called the least in the Kingdom of Heaven*, that is, shall not be accounted a Christian; for so the Kingdom of Heaven frequently signifies in the Scripture; as we have several Times observed.

The second Thing attested in the foregoing Verses is, that *Christ* hath perfected the Law, and carried it higher, than the most studied Doctor among the *Jews*, thought himself obliged by it formerly. And this is affirmed here also by two Phrases: First, *I came not to destroy the Law, but to perfect it*. The Greek Word which we render *fulfil*, is answerable to an *Hebrew* one, which signifies not only to perform, but to *perfect*, to *fill up*, and *complete*; and so is rendered sometimes by one, sometimes by the other. And the Greek itself is so used in like Manner; for when it refers to a Word or a Prophecy, then it is to *perform*, to *fulfil*. In other Cases it is to *fill up*, to *complete*, to *perfect*. And that it is so in this Place, may appear by the antient Greek Fathers, who express it by the Similitudes, either

of a Vessel that had some Water in it before, but now is filled up to the Brim; or, of a Picture that is first drawn rudely, the Limbs only, and the Lineaments; but when the Hand of the Painter comes to draw it in Colours to the Life, then it is said to be filled up. 2dly, Our Lord tells his Disciples, that, *Except their Righteousness, that is, Christian Actions and Performances, exceed the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees*, that is, go higher than that strictest Sect of the *Jews*, the Doctors among them, thought themselves, or taught others that they were obliged to go; they *shall in no case enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*, neither pass for Christians here, nor prove Saints hereafter. In which Words, says Dr. Hammond, he doth not pitch on the Names of Scribes and Pharisees peculiarly, as those that were the greatest Evacuators of the Law by their own hypocritical Practices, or false Glosses in some Particulars; but the Pharisees as the most exact Sect among the *Jews*, and the Scribes, as the Doctors of the Law, and those that knew better what belonged to it than other Men; and both together, as those *that sat in Moses Chair*, and taught there truly, though they practised not, the Doctrine of the *Mosaical Law*, in that Manner, as others were obliged to perform it. This same Truth is also further proved in the Remainder of this Chapter, by Induction of several Particulars of the Law, first barely set down by *Christ*, and then with *Christ's* Improvement added to them in this Form of Speech, *but I say unto you*.

Though what has been said in the preceding Paragraphs, be sufficient to prove that *Christ*, in his Sermon, and particularly at the End of the fifth Chapter, did really add to the Moral Law of the *Jews*, in those Precepts of it which he recites; yet because some are of a contrary Opinion, it may not be amiss to give their Reasons, that so the Reader may be at

Liberty to judge for himself in this Matter. For if the *Jews* can be brought up to us in their Morality, there will be no Danger in believing their System to be more perfect than is here represented. But then, on the other Hand, if we must descend to the *Jews*, and allow that no more was meant by our Saviour than was before expressed by *Moses*, the Danger will be very great; since we shall be apt to think lightly of many Practices that are contrary to the Gospel, but which the *Jews* allowed themselves in, because they thought them not forbidden in the Law. The Question then is, *Whether the seeming Additions of our Saviour were Improvements and Extensions of the antient Precepts, or only Corrections of those false Glosses that had been put on them by the Pharisees and Doctors of the Law?* The former Opinion we have hitherto endeavoured to maintain; those who are of the latter, give the following Reason for it: *That according to the Rules given by Divines for the Interpretation of the Decalogue, what our Lord adds to the Letter of the Third, the Sixth, and the Seventh Commandment, must be contained under the genuine Import of those Precepts.* These Rules are, 1st, *That where any Vice is forbidden, that must be consequentially forbidden, which is a natural Means, an ordinary Occasion of, a Provocation, Inducement, or Temptation to, that Sin:* It being, say Civilians, the Property of a good Law, not only to destroy Vice, but the Occasion of it. 2dly, *That when any Evil is forbidden in the Decalogue, the least Degree of that Evil is forbidden:* For the Degree, according to the forecited Authors, changes not the Kind. Now from these two Rules are deduced the following Consequences.

First, That vain Swearing, or Swearing in our ordinary Discourse, must be forbidden in that Command, which requires us not to swear falsely, or take the Name of God in vain. For the Reasons

of

of the Prohibition of false Swearing are these: 1. Because it is a Prophanation of the sacred Name of God, *Thou shalt not swear by my Name falsely, neither shalt thou prophane the Name of thy God.* Levit. xix. 12. Now by swearing in our common Discourse, we make this sacred Name common, and therefore prophane it. 2. Because this Custom of swearing in our ordinary Discourse, naturally leads to the Sin of Perjury: It being the Observation both of a Heathen and a Jew, as well of St. Austin a Christian, *That from a Custom of Swearing, Men quickly slide into Perjury.* And what can be expected of a common Swearer, but that he should violate, as well as prophane, the Oath of God; since by his Practice it appears, that he looks not upon an Oath with due Reverence? Furthermore, it is not reasonable to conceive, that God should permit the Jews to swear lightly by his Name, when the Heathens, by the Light of Nature, condemned this Practice; and there is no Precept in the Books of Moses, in which vain Swearing is so likely to be forbidden, as in the Third Commandment; therefore we ought to think it is forbidden there.

Secondly, Hence it follows, according to these Authors, that all causeless Anger, and Rancour of Spirit against others, and all the Expressions of it, by provoking Language, and reviling Censures, must consequently be forbidden by those Words, *Thou shalt not kill*; because such Anger, and such Expressions, dispose us to those Contentions which often end in Blood: And so that Contempt of others, which makes us not to value our Lives, and that Hatred which in divine Construction is accounted Murder, must be also included within this Prohibition.

Thirdly, Hence it likewise follows, according to the same Writers, that all Lustings of Heart, after the forbidden Enjoyment of a Woman, and all such Usage of the Sight, the Touch, or any

other Sense, as naturally are Incentives to any Filthiness of the Flesh, must be forbidden by those Words, *Thou shalt not commit Adultery*: For since, as our Saviour affirms, *Matt. xv. 19. Out of the Heart proceed Fornications and Adulteries*, it is plain they must be in the Heart, before they break out into Action; and they can be in the Heart in no other Sense, but by the Lustings of it after such Action.

These three Commandments are all that Christ hath mentioned in the fifth Chapter of Matthew; two of them, those concerning Murder and Adultery, respect our Duty to our Neighbour, and only one, that of Swearing, regards our Duty towards God: And this is the only Precept of the first Table that Christ hath recited. But then, in other Places of this Sermon, he hath gone through three other Commands of the second Table: The Eighth, that against Stealing, he hath changed into *doing unto others as we would they should do unto us*; The Ninth, against bearing false Witness, into *not judging of others*; the Tenth, of not Coveting, into *taking no Thought, and not suffering a Desire of Wealth to master us*: And if the foregoing Rules and Consequences will hold good in the Particulars to which they are applied, they will also hold good in all the rest; whence it will follow, that Christ hath, in this Sermon, added nothing to the Duties, either of the first or second Table, but only corrected the false Glosses that were put on them. And this is affirmed in plain Words, by those who introduce these Arguments; but we think not with sufficient Reason; as we trust will appear, when the following Considerations are joined to those afforded above.

First, That none of the Israelites, even of those who lived nearest to the Time of Moses, and before the Law could be perverted by Misinterpretations, seem to have

have understood the Precepts of the Decalogue in that high Sense, in which our Saviour hath explained them. This will appear from the Practice of the best Men among that People, of Men who seem to have been favoured peculiarly by God, as every one will perceive who considers their Histories.

Secondly, That if *Christ* had intended in this Discourse, only to have corrected the false or imperfect Interpretations of the Scribes and Pharisees, he would have named them, and pointed out those Particulars, in which they had either perverted, or misunderstood, or imperfectly comprehended the Sense of, the original Text of the Law; as he did on many other Occasions, where that was apparently his sole, or at least his principal Intention. Nor do we think it a satisfactory Answer to say, that *Christ* hath sufficiently mentioned the Scribes and Pharisees, by telling his Disciples, That *except their Righteousness exceeded the Righteousness of those Sects, they should in no Case enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*: For besides that there is another Interpretation of this Passage, more obvious than what is here insinuated, (as we have shewn above;) we believe that our Lord, who was now speaking to the Understanding of his Hearers, would not have left them to find out the distant Connection between this Passage and all the succeeding Precepts, if any such Connection had been intended, but would rather have repeated the Names of the Scribes and Pharisees, as often as he had Intention to correct them.—Observe, we do not say that the Scribes and Pharisees had not corrupted the Law, having elsewhere proved that they had done it in an astonishing Manner; nor do we deny that *Christ* might glance at those Corruptions in the Text of Scripture last quoted, as well as at the Strictness of their exterior Worship: We only deny, that the Correction of these

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Corruptions was the sole Intent of our Saviour, in those Parts of his Sermon where he explains and improves the Law of *Moses*.

Thirdly, Had our Lord designed not to add any Thing to the moral Law, but only to expound it better than the Scribes had done, he would not, after the Recital of the Law, have added this authoritative Form of Speech, *But I say unto you*: It would have been sufficient, in that Case, to have said, *Moses commands you further so and so*; or to have used any other Expression, which might have signified, that they did not understand the Precept in its full Extent. This we look upon to be an Argument worthy of Notice; nor can we think that any good Reason can be given for our Lord's speaking so much in the Style of a Legislator, by those who look upon him in this Place as no more than a Commentator on Laws already known.

Fourthly, It is universally acknowledged, that whatever *Christ* hath done in this Sermon, he hath elsewhere improved the moral Law of the *Jews*, and even the Law of Nature, not only by setting some of the antient Precepts higher than they were before, but by adding some Commands entirely new, about Duties that were till then unknown in the World. Now if he did this on other Occasions, why should we not suppose he did it here; since he appears to have delivered this Discourse in a more positive and magisterial Manner than almost any other in the Gospels; infomuch that when he came down from the Mountain (as the Evangelist observes very much to our Purpose) *the Multitude were astonished at his Doctrine; for he taught them as one that had Authority, and not as the Scribes*.

One of the new Commandments added by *Christ*, according to the Judgment of all, and the express Words of Scripture, is that wherein he commands Christians to love one another, as he hath loved

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them,

them, that is, *so as to lay down their Lives for their Brethren*. There was no Law of Nature, or *Moses*, that required this; nor did the Reason of it, *Christ's* laying down his Life for us, prevail before: And therefore this is stiled, by way of Excellency, *his Commandment*, and in another Place, *his new Commandment*.

It is moreover granted, that *Christ*, even in this Sermon, hath added to the permissive Laws of *Moses*; or rather, restrained Christians from acting suitably to those Permissions. For example, the Law of *Moses* permitted a Man to divorce his Wife, *if she found not Favour in his Eyes, by reason of some Matter of Uncleanness in her*; that is, as the *Jews* interpret the Place, something that rendred her disgusted by, and offensive to him: But *Christ* hath plainly forbidden all Divorces, upon any other Cause than that of Fornication. In like Manner hath he also done with Regard to the Law of Retaliation, by which the *Jews* were permitted to exact Vengeance of those who had injured them, whereas the Christian must not gratify his Displeasure, or desire the Hurt of any Man, though never so much his Foe. Nay, our Lord hath gone yet farther, and commanded us, not only not to resist an Evil Person, but to turn the other Cheek also, to him who hath smitten us on one Cheek already: Which is a Duty founded only on the Perfection of Christian Patience; there being no Shadow of a Precept for this Degree of Meekness and Sufferance in the Law of *Moses*, nor any Possibility of deducing it from the most refined System of natural Obligations.

But even supposing it possible that all what our Saviour says in this Sermon, might have been discovered by a close Attention to the Dictates of Nature and Reason, (which we are far from granting;) yet still it will be nevertheless manifest, that *Christ* hath added to the Moral Laws of *Moses*, which in this State

of the Case must be thought to be less perfect than the Laws of Nature. For certainly, whatever Nature might dictate, none of those Duties could be absolutely required by *Moses*, for the Neglect or Breach of which he gave them express Permission. For Instance, supposing it according to the Law of Nature, That no Man should put asunder what God hath joined together, and consequently that Divorces on slight Occasions were Breaches of this Law; yet since *Moses* allows of Divorces on slight Occasions, it follows, that no Law of his was broken by such Divorces, and therefore that absolute Obedience to the said Precept of Nature was not required by him. We do not deny, that Duties of the highest Perfection might be recommended by *Moses* in his more general Precepts; but then they were only recommended: For to say that they were absolutely commanded by him, when he gave Permission for the neglect of them, should be a Contradiction in Terms. If then *Christ* only abrogated those Permissions which were an Hindrance to Perfection, and improved the Moral Counsels of *Moses* into positive Commands, certainly we need not scruple to say he added to the Moral Law of *Moses*. And this is all we contend for.

In fine, We may now plainly see what that Law was, which *Christ* came not to destroy, but to fulfil; and also that the Interpretation first given of the Word *fulfil* is just. *Christ* came not to destroy the Moral Law, so far as it was hitherto revealed: But to fulfil it, by abrogating those permissive Laws, which were given the *Jews* because of the Hardness of their Hearts, to the Prejudice of perfect Morality; and those ceremonial Laws, which were given them as Shadows, but which also drew away their Thoughts from the more perfect Works of Justice and Mercy; and by filling up the Vacancies, and finishing all the rude Sketches, that had till then

then remained in the System of Moral Duties. This we take to be the Sum of the whole Matter.

We shall conclude this Discourse with the Resolution of one or two Difficulties more, that may occur in reading what follows. It will be observed, that the Precepts which *Christ* hath added to the Moral Law, are most of them concerning such Duties as respect our Neighbour, or Duties of the Second Table: On which Occasion it may be enquired, *Why is there nothing here added by Christ concerning the Duties of the First Table, which immediately respect God, save only in the Third Commandment, about Swearing?* To which we answer, That besides the Wisdom of God, which we must acknowledge sufficient in this Matter, many Reasons might be farther rendred for this Course of *Christ's*; especially this, That the Duties of the First Table were set high under *Moses*, and explicated enough already; and *Christ* needed not to repeat, save only what he meant to improve, or farther to illustrate and explain; and therefore he repeated not these. Now for this, a farther Reason may be rendred, taken from the different Œconomy, or Administration of Things, under the Old and New Testament. Under the Old Testament, God resided among the *Jews* particularly himself, in his Divine Nature, (without taking upon him our Flesh;) revealing himself to *Moses* in the Mount, in Visions to him, and to other of the Patriarchs in illustrious Apparitions, and to the People continually in the Oracle, and so immediately disposed of all Things, that the Government of the *Jews* was by their Writers styled, the *Government of God himself*. This Revelation of God himself, and immediate Residence among them, might make it fit and proper for him to give them Precepts for the Worship of God, and for all manner of Duties of that Kind, as distinct, punctual, clear, and

high, as could be; and so indeed it was. They had an explicit elevated Law of Piety in general, *To love the Lord their God with all their Heart, with all their Soul, with all their Mind, and with all their Strength*: And for the Particulars of outward Performances, they had so many Cautions, so many Ceremonies, such strict Performances of all Kinds, that *Christ* did rather think fit to take off from the Weights of those Burthens, than to add to them. And 'tis a common Observation, that the ceremonial Part of the Old Testament Law, and all that which was typical, and presignificative of somewhat to come, was obligatory only to them, to whom 'twas given, but not to the Gentiles, no nor to the very Profelytes under the Old Testament, that came and lived among the *Jews*, unless they would be Profelytes of Justice, that is, would be in their Obedience as perfect *Jews* as they; much less, under *Christ's* Kingdom, is it obligatory to the Christian World. But then the State of the Gospel being of another Œconomy, God the Son taking our human Flesh and Soul upon him, and becoming very Man among us, it was reasonable, that he should heighten our Obligations of Duty to that Nature, which he had thus heightened, by assuming it; and by giving us in our Flesh many sublime and visible Copies of Charity toward all Mankind, should require us readily to transcribe them; especially when he had taken off so much of the former Burthen of Ceremonies from our Shoulders, and so lessened our Weight, and yet given more Grace, than before was allowed under the Law, to sustain it.

This, we presume, will pass for a very reasonable Account of the Matter. But then it may be demanded, *Why one of the four Precepts concerning God, is mentioned and improved by Christ, and none else?* Now the Reason of this, we think, is clear: Because though that Command-

ment concern God, by calling him to witness whensoever we swear, and by calling him to witness a Lye, if we swear falsely; yet ordinarily it respecteth Men also, and that more principally, because they are wronged by our Perjury; the promissory Oath being indeed a Means of securing another of any Thing which we promise him, and the breaking of that, the betraying of his Fortrefs, which was to have secured him. And therefore it is observable in St. *James's* Prohibition of Swearing, that he adds to the negative Precept, this affirmative Command, *Let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay Nay*; that is, let your Word be as good as an Oath; be you most strict in making good, or performing your Promises. And this we conceive to be the Pitch to which *Christ* desired to raise us in this Matter, that we should be so punctual in performing our Promises to Men, that they might not need an Oath from us, to believe us in any Thing; and so that we should never swear at all, or have any Excuse or Pretence to do so.

To conclude this Particular, we may remark that *Christ*, having taken our Flesh upon him, the Generality of all his Sermons and Precepts do chiefly respect our Brethren; and even of the other Sort of Precepts, that concern God, he is content they should sometimes give way to those to our Fellow Christians; *I will have Mercy*, saith he, *and not Sacrifice*; intimating, that when both cannot be performed, he prefers the Work of Charity, or Mercy to our Brethren, before the other.

DISSERTATION III.

Of our Saviour's Improvements of divers Precepts of the Law.

IN this third Dissertation on *Christ's* Sermon on the Mount, we are to

consider those six Precepts, at the End of the fifth Chapter of *Matthew*, which our Divine Lawgiver either added to the Moral Law of the *Jews*, or explained in a higher Sense than they had before. Or, to speak more fully, we shall enquire into the original Sense of those antient Laws which *Christ* there recites; and then point out and explain the Improvements of, or Additions to, the said Laws, which were delivered by *Christ* after the Recital of them. The antient Laws were concerning *Killing, Adultery, Divorce, Perjury, Retaliation*, and *Loving of Neighbours*; three of which, those of *Killing, Adultery*, and *Perjury*, were Precepts of the Decalogue; the other three, concerning *Divorce, Retaliation*, and *loving of Neighbours*, were collected from other Parts of the *Mosaical* Institutions, and are rather Permissions than Commands. In each of these *Christ*, as we just now hinted, first gives the Sense of the old Law, and thereby confirms it; affording by that Means a Proof of what he had just before said, namely, that he came not to *destroy*: Then he annexeth his new Law to it, and so confirms the other Part of his previous Declaration, which was that he came to *fulfil*, or *perfect* it. So that the Method which we propose to follow, is the same that was followed by our Lord himself, as well in explaining each Precept separately, as in the Order of the Whole.

But before we descend to Particulars, it is necessary to enquire what is meant by those prefatory Forms of Speech, which our Saviour useth before these several Laws; which Forms are two: *First, Ye have heard that it was said by them of old Time: Secondly, Ye have heard that it hath been said*, or, more concisely, *It hath been said*. Now the Phrase, *Ye have heard*, signifies, *Ye have been taught*, and that out of the Word of God, or the Books of *Moses*. This is common to all these several

ral Precepts, except that of Divorce, where we have the concise Form just now mentioned. But the Words, *by them of old Time*, are found only before three of the Precepts, and are a Denotation that what follows is taken out of the Decalogue.

In these Words it deserves our Notice, that *By them* is a wrong Translation, and is therefore mended in the Margins of our Bibles, where the original Word is rendered *To Them*, as undoubtedly it signifies, that is, *To the Jews your Ancestors*. And that this is a special Denotation of some Law of the Decalogue, there can be no Reason to question, if we observe that the three Precepts to which it is prefixed, are three distinct Commandments thereof, namely, the Sixth, the Seventh, and the Third: *Thou shalt not kill*; *Thou shalt not commit Adultery*; *Thou shalt not forswear thyself*, or, *take the Name of God in vain*. As for the other three, of Divorce, of Retaliation, and of loving Neighbours and hating Enemies, which have not the same Form or Phrase prefix'd, they are not properly, as we just now observed, Commands of the *Mosaical* Law, but Permissions or Indulgences allowed the *Jews*, but now recall'd, and denied Christians. But more of this in its proper Place.

In the first of these Precepts rehearsed by Christ, which is the sixth of the Law, the first and principal Thing forbidden, is the Shedding of Man's Blood, by way of killing, or taking away his Life; God only, who gave us Life, having Power to take it away again. But then God having the Power over the Life of Man, may without Doubt take it away by what means he pleaseth; either immediately by himself, or by any Man, whom he appoints to execute his Will. Thus might *Abraham* kill his Son when God bid him; but though *Abraham* had not Power over his Son's Life, yet God had; and his bidding *Abraham* kill him, was not any

thing contrary to this Law, which only forbids Man to do it, but doth not forbid God. In the like Manner, God having commanded the *Murderer's Blood to be shed by Man*, and thereby estated the Power of the Sword on the Magistrate; not only permits him, and makes it lawful for him, thus to punish Malefactors, but also commands and requires him so to do, as his *Minister to execute Wrath*. The Word *Thou* in the Commandment must therefore signify the Man of himself, without Power or Commission from God; which yet he that hath it must exercise justly, according to the Laws of God and Man, or else he breaks the Commandment also; this Commission being not given to him absolutely and arbitrarily to use as he list, but according to defined Rules in the Scripture. And accordingly the Laws of every Nation, being made by the supreme Power, may afterwards be justly executed by such subordinate Magistrates as are *sent by him for the Punishment of Evil-doers, and, the Praise of them that do well*.

But hence it appears, that a Man may not in any Case kill himself; having no more Power over his own Life, than over another Man's. Therefore how gainful soever Death may seem to any one, yet is he to submit to God's Providence, and to wait, though it be in the most miserable, painful, wearisome Life, till God please to give him Deliverance out of it. As to particular Instances, such as that of *Sampson*, who killed so many by pulling away the Pillars, and involved himself in the same Destruction; we may remark, that he was a Judge in *Israel*; and such in those Days, did God ordinarily move by his Spirit to do some extraordinary Things: And it is to be imagined, that God incited him to do this; for if he did not, he were not to be excused in it. So likewise those, who, rather than they would offer to Idols in the Primitive Church,

Church, killed themselves, and remain still upon Record for Martyrs; if the same could be affirmed of them which is here conceived of *Sampson*, that God incited them to do this, they would by this be justified also. But having under the Gospel no Authority to justify such Pretence of divine Incitation, it will be safest to affirm, that this was a Fault in them, which their Love of God, and Fear that they should be polluted by Idols, was the Cause of: And so though it might as a Frailty be pardoned by God's Mercy in *Christ*, yet it was not this killing themselves that made them Martyrs, but that great Love of God, and resolving against idolatrous Worship, which testified itself in killing themselves for that Cause.

We see then that Murder, of what kind soever, was the principal Thing forbidden in the Law by this Commandment: But though that was the special Matter of the Precept, yet by way of Reduction, other Things which are preparatory to this, or Offences of this Nature, but of a lower Degree, are also forbidden. As mutilating or maiming any Man's Body; wounding him, which may possibly endanger his Life; entering into, or accepting, or offering of Duels; wherein, whether we may kill, or be killed, whichever it prove, we are guilty of Murder. Nay, if by the Equality of Fortune both come safely off, yet the voluntary putting one's self on that Hazard, is Guilt enough for a whole Age's Repentance, and Humiliation.

Here it may be asked, "Whether no Injury or Affront be sufficient to provoke me to offer a Duel?" To which we answer, None: For that Injury, whatever it is, if it be a real one of a considerable Nature, will be capable of a legal Satisfaction; and that must content me; private Revenge being wholly prohibited by *Christ*. Or if it be such, that the Law allows no Satisfaction for, that is an Ar-

gument that it is light and inconsiderable; and then sure the Life of another Man, and the Danger of my own, will be an unproportionable Satisfaction for it. Neither if another Man send me a Challenge, may I accept of it, though I shall be defamed for a Coward, if I do not. For as to that Excuse of Honour, it is most unreasonable that Obedience to God's Commands should be an infamous Thing. And if so impious a Custom has prevailed, I must yet resolve to part with Reputation, or any Thing, rather than with my Obedience to God. Besides, we may observe, that there are two Sorts of Cowardice, much differing the one from the other; the first proceeding from fear of being beaten, or killed; the second from fear of hurting, or killing another. The most valiant Despiser of Dangers may be allowed to have a great deal of the Second of these, and will certainly have as much of it, as he hath either of good Nature, or Religion; and that will restrain Duels as much as the other. And might this but pass for an honourable and creditable Thing, the Fear of the other kind of Discredit would work little upon us. For the World is now generally grown so wise, that a Man may without any Dishonour, fear being killed or hurt; and even to run away from such Dangers, being very imminent, is creditable enough. But let our Fears be of which Kind soever they will, this should always be the prevailing Argument with us, That he that for the preservation of his Reputation shall venture to disobey God, is the greatest Coward in the World; he is more fearful of Disgrace and Ignominy in the World, than any pious Man is of violating the Law of natural Reason, of offending God; of incurring eternal Punishment.

Therefore in Case a Challenge be sent or offered me, I am, in Conscience toward God, to deny it, whatever the Consequence may be; to offer a full Satis-

tion for any Injury, real or supposed, done by me, which hath first provoked the Challenger; and as prudently as I can to signify that it is not the Fear of dying, but a Regard to Duty, which restrains me from this forbidden Way of satisfying his Desire. But if all this will not satisfy him, but he will still force me either to deliver up my own Life, or try the Uncertainty of a Duel; the Case is then altered, and the Utmost that in this Extreme can be lawful, may be defined by the following Example. Two Persons of Quality meeting in a publick Place, the one passed an Affront upon the other: The other bore it patiently for that Time, but afterwards sent him a Challenge. He that gave the Affront sent a meek Return of Acknowledgment of his Fault, and Readiness to give any other Satisfaction, that should be thought on to wipe off the Injury: The other would not accept of any Medium. He that first offended hereupon keeps his Chamber, and for a long Time useth all Care not to meet his Adversary in any Place which would be seasonable for fighting; and still offers Satisfaction. At length it falls out that they meet in a Place where this could not be avoided: The Challenger sets upon him; the other draws in his own Defence, and wounds him lightly. Having done so, he desires again that this may end the Quarrel, or offers any other Satisfaction. The Challenger will not consent, but assaults him again, and is killed; and so the Tragedy concluded with Loss of the chief Actor's Life. That the Survivor did any Thing unlawful in this, except giving the first Affront, cannot be affirmed; no Man being bound to spare that other Man's Life, which he cannot spare without parting with his own. This Case, taken with all the Circumstances, is the only one wherein one of the two Duellers may be innocent. And we shall be apt to deceive ourselves, if we seek to find

out other Cases, and think to justify them in like Manner.

Other Things reducible to the Prohibition of Murder are, 1st, Oppression of the Poor, and not giving Relief to those that are in extreme Distress; according to that of the Son of Sirach: *The poor Man's Bread is his Life, and he that deprives him of it is a Murderer.* 2^{dly}, The Beginnings of this Sin in the Heart, not yet breaking forth into Action, as Malice, Hatred, meditating of Revenge, wishing Mischief, cursing, &c. 3^{dly}, War, the Consideration of which is full of great Difficulties. For though all unjust War be simply forbidden under this sixth Command of the Law, and it be evident enough that some Wars are unjust, (as that of Subjects seditiously raised against their Sovereign, that of one Prince or Nation invading another for the enlarging of Dominion) and though indeed there be but few Wars but sin against this Commandment, and in those few that do not, yet there be many Actors in them, who have no lawful Calling to take Part in the Trade of killing Men; yet still it is apparent that some Wars are lawful; as those which have had God's express Command, and those which are for the repressing of Seditions and Rebellions, and those between Nation and Nation, for the just Defence of themselves, and the repelling of Violence.

What *Christ* hath added to the Letter of this *Mosaic* Law thus explained, is clearly contained in these Words, *But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his Brother without a Cause, &c.* to the End of that very Verse. Wherein there are three Things forbidden by *Christ*. 1st, Causeless, or immoderate Anger, going no farther than the Breast. 2^{dly}, The breaking out of this Anger into the Tongue, but somewhat moderately; expressed by *Whosoever shall say Racha.* 3^{dly}, A more violent railing, or assaulting him with

with that Sword of the Tongue which Anger hath unsheathed; denoted in these Words, *Whoever shall say Thou Fool.*

By the first of these is meant that Anger which is either without any, or upon light Cause; or, being upon the justest and weightiest Cause, exceeds the Degree and Proportion due to it; and this again in either kind aggravated by the Duration of it. For the *Greek Word* here used is a Denotation of every one of these.

And this leads us to enquire whether any Anger be just or no, in respect of the Cause? and if so, what? Where, by way of Solution, we may observe, that St. *Paul's* Advice, of being angry and not sinning, though it refer peculiarly to the not continuing or lasting of Wrath, doth yet imply, that some Wrath may be lawful in respect of the Cause; for otherwise the Noncontinuance of it would not justify it from Sin. Now the most justifiable Causes of Anger are, *1st*, When it proceeds from Sorrow that God is provoked: *2dly*, When it is conceived for Virtue's sake; to see that neglected, despised, and the Rules of it violated; *3dly*, When for other Mens sakes; still without Reflection on our selves, or any Interest of ours; and each of these not in light trivial Matters neither, but in Matters of Weight. And so the causeless Anger is that which rises upon slight, or no Causes, or those wherein our own Interests are concerned; which though they may be Causes, are not justifiable Causes of Anger in us.

To mortify or subdue this causeless Anger, which is thus clearly forbidden, the following Means are necessary: *1st*, A Conviction of the Danger and Sin of it; not flattering our selves that either 'tis no Sin, or such as with our ordinary Frailties shall have its Pardon of course: But that it is such as lieth here under a heavy Penalty, particularly denounced against it by Christ; and which is directly opposite to those Graces of Humility, Meekness,

Patience, Peaceableness, bearing with one another, and forgiving one another, which are required most strictly by Christ of all Followers of him. *2dly*, A Consideration of the Unreasonableness of that Sin; which is both very unjust, being causeless or immoderate, and also very much against what I would have done to me, either by my Brother, or by God himself, whom I so oft displease. *3dly*, The labouring against that bitter Root of Pride in my Heart, of which this is so necessary and infallible an Attendant. *4thly*, The Reflection upon myself, if it were possible, in Time of that Passion, or else immediately after, when I come to myself again, and considering how hateful a Thing it is; how like a Tyger, a Bear, or any the fiercest Beast rather than a Man, it makes me; what a deforming of me it is, putting me out of all that Posture of Civility, that in Time of Sobriety I chuse rather to appear in; and what a painful Agony it occasioned when I was under it. *5thly*, The considering how at such Time we are out of our own Power, and so apt to fall into more Oaths, Acts of Fury, Indiscretions, revealing of Secrets, and other disadvantageous Deeds and Expressions, in a few Minutes, than a whole Age of Repentance will repair again. *6thly*, A sober View or Resolution, never to permit myself to fall into so inconvenient and dangerous a Sin; that when I find it coming upon me, I may restrain it, by remembering that this was that which I thought fit to vow against. *7thly*, A watching over myself continually, that I be not taken unawares. *8thly*, An abstaining carefully from the least Indulgence to any Beginnings of it; it being easier to keep from the first Degree of it, than yielding to that, to restrain the farther and higher Degrees. *9thly*, The avoiding Temptations and Provocations as much as I can, and so the Company of those who are subject to that Sin, or the Employ-

Employments and Conversations which encline me to it. 10^{thly}, Labouring with God in Prayer, for Grace to mortify this in me. 11^{thly}, Diverting it in Time of Temptation, with some particular Ejaculations to God, to suppress at that Time any such exorbitant Affection in me. Many other conducive Means every one will be able to suggest to himself. And thus much of causeless or immoderate Anger in the Breast.

The second Thing here forbidden by our Lord, is the *saying to our Brother, Racha*; that is, the breaking out of Anger into reproachful Speeches; such as the calling him empty, despicable Fellow. For the Word *Racha* is an Hebrew Word, which signifies vain or empty. This, though not the highest Kind of Railing, is yet greater than the former, and therefore is here expressed by the Punishment apporportioned to it, greater than the former, in these Words, *He shall be in Danger of the Council*, as the former Thing threatened was the *Judgment*.

The third Thing forbidden here, is the saying, *Thou Fool*, or the breaking out of Wrath into the most virulent Railings, all Sorts of which are here intimated by this one Word; and this being a greater Sin or Aggravation of causeless Anger than the former, is here denoted by a third Kind of Punishment; which, in our Translation is rendered Hell Fire. But the Nature of these Punishments we shall describe immediately after having removed one Scruple, which may seem in the Way.

It may be enquired, Whether all kind of calling *Racha* or Fool, that is, all Manner of reproachful Speaking, of a greater or lesser Degree, be a Sin punishable in a Christian? In answer to which we may note, that there is a Distinction observable in the Words themselves; it is not all using of those or the like Words, which here is set down under that sad

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Character, but that which is the Effect and Improvement of causeless immoderate Anger; for they are here put as higher Degrees of that. And therefore those Speeches that proceed from any Thing else, particularly when they are spoken by those to whom the Office and Duty of chastising others belongs, as Masters, Teachers, Superiors in any Kind, and perhaps Equals too, and by them are done to a good Purpose, at a seasonable Time, and upon great and weighty Causes, without seeking any Thing to themselves, either the venting of inordinate Passion, or the Ambition and Vanity of seeming severer or better than those whom they thus reproach; these all this while are not subject to this Censure or Danger. And of this Nature we may see in the New Testament several Expressions: As in the Epistle of *James* we have, *O vain Man*, that is literally, *Racha*, Jam. 2: 20. So also, *Ye Fools and Blind*, was spoken by *Christ*, Matt. 23. 17, 19. Luke 24. 25. and *O foolish Galatians*, — *are ye so foolish*, by the Apostle *Paul*, Gal. 3. 3. and 15. Which is directly the other Expression, *Thou Fool*, but here used out of Love, not from causeless inordinate Passion, and so not liable to the Censure in this Text. But then there is little Doubt but that all Detraction, Censoriousness, Back-biting, Whispering, (that so ordinary Entertainment of the World, the speaking all the Evil we know, or perhaps know not, of other Men,) is a very great Sin here condemned by our Saviour, and upon his Caution timely to be turned out of our Communication; it being also constantly against the Rule of *doing as I would be done to*; no Man living being pleased to be so used, as the Detractor useth others.

We should now consider the Punishments hinted at by *Christ*, to represent the Sufferings of those in another World who

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shall be guilty of the Sins here spoken against; and first that expressed in this Phrase, *Shall be in Danger of the Judgment*. Now the Meaning of this is, that the wrathful Man in another World shall be subject to Punishment, as the Homicide here, that is, that Wrathfulness being so contrary to that Meekness, Patience, and Humility, required now by Christ; and being, as *Solomon* intimates, *Prov. 21. 24.* an Effect of Pride and Haughtiness, is to be counted of as an unchristian Sin; which, unless it be mortified here by the Grace of Christ, will cost us dear in another World; though not so dear as the second and third Sin mentioned in this Verse. The Punishment in that Court of Judicature, which is here called the Judgment, was the Sword, or Beheading; which, though it be heavy enough, is not yet so great as the two other which are after named.

In the second Phrase, where he that calls his Brother *Racha*, is threaten'd with *the Council*, we are to understand by the Word Council, the *Sanhedrim*, or the supreme and great Senate, where the ordinary Punishment was Stoning. And so the Meaning is, that this is a greater Sin, and to expect a greater Punishment than the former.

The third Kind of Punishment, though it were not in any legal Court of Judicature, was yet well enough known among the *Jews*; not under the Name of Hell-Fire, (as we render it by a Mistake, because those Torments in Hell are in other Places described by these,) but of the *Valley of Hinnom*. The Meaning of which is this. Without the City of *Jerusalem*, in the *Valley of Hinnom*, there was a Place where the *Jews* antiently, in Imitation of the *Phanicians*, used a most barbarous Kind of Rites, in which they burnt Children alive, putting them in hollow brazen Vessels, and so by little and little scalding them to death: Where, because

the Children could not chuse but howl hideously, they had Timbrels perpetually sounding to drown that Cry; and therefore it was called *Tophet*, from a Word signifying Timbrel, and is described under that Name by the Prophets of the Old Testament, *Isa. 30. 33.* This Punishment taking Denomination from the Place, that *Valley of Hinnom* is called here in *Greek* by a Word little differing in Sound from the *Hebrew*; and that Word in the New Testament, and ordinarily in sacred Writers, *Greek* and *Latin*, is set to signify Hell-Fire: Because this was the best Image, or Expression, of those Torments conceived there, that their Knowledge or Experience could represent to them. And so it is here fitly made use of to express the greatest Sin in this Kind, by the greatest Punishment that they could understand. For indeed above the Sword and stoning, there was no Punishment in Use in the *Jewish* Courts of Judicature; (the Burning among them being not that of burning alive, but the thrusting of an Iron red hot into their Bowels, which made a quick Dispatch of them :) And therefore to ascend to the Description of a third superlative Degree of Sin, our Saviour thinks fit to use that Mention of the Punishments of the *Valley of Hinnom*. — This Interpretation of our Saviour's Words may prevent a Doubt, which would have risen otherwise, namely, Whether the last only of these Sins, and not the two former, make a Christian liable to Hell-Fire? It is more safe and natural, therefore, to understand this last Punishment of that Torture of the *Valley of Hinnom* than any other; and that it is used to express a third and greater Degree of Punishment in another World, answerable to that third Degree of Sin; and that nothing else is to be collected from it.

Before our Saviour proceeds to any other Commandment, he seemingly buildeth somewhat else on the preceding Foundation,

tion, in the four next Verses. *Therefore if thou bring thy Gift to the Altar, &c.* Here we must enquire, 1st, How that belongs to the preceding Matter? And 2^{dly}, what is the Duty there prescribed?

For the Dependence of it on the former, we shall easily discern it, if we remember that old Saying, *That Repentance is the only Plank to rescue him that is cast away in the Shipwreck*. Our Saviour had mentioned the Danger of rash Anger and reproachful Speeches. And because thro' human Infirmary he supposes it possible, that Disciples, or Christians, may thus miscarry, he therefore adds the Necessity of immediate Repentance and Satisfaction after it.

As to the Duty there prescribed, it is this; A being *reconciled with the Brother*, and an *agreeing with the Adversary*; that is, using all Means to make my Peace with him whom I have injured. For the Word *be reconciled*, signifies not here, *to be pacified towards him*; (for he is not here supposed to have injured me; if he had, the Anger would not be causeless;) but *to pacify him*, to regain his Favour, confessing my rash Anger and intemperate Language, and offering any Way of Satisfaction, that he may be moved to forgive me, and be reconciled to me; which till he do, I am his Debtor, and he has Power to attach me, as it were, and to bring me *before the Judge*, and he to *deliver me to the Bailiff or Sergeant*, and he to *cast me into Prison*: The Meaning of all which is, That this Sin of mine, unretracted by Repentance, will lie very heavy upon my Score; and without Satisfaction to the injured Person, will not be capable of Mercy or Pardon from Christ: Which Danger is set to enforce the Duty. — The second Part of the Duty is, that the making this our Peace, is to be preferred before many other Things, which pass for more specious Works among us; as particularly before voluntary Oblations, which are

here meant by the *Gift brought to the Altar*. Not that the Performance of this Duty is to be preferred, (being a Duty to my Neighbour,) before Piety, or the Duties of true Religion toward God; but before the Observation of outward Worship, such as Sacrifices and Oblations; according to the Text, *Mercy before Sacrifice*. And we find that those Offerings that are brought to God with a Heart full of Wrath and Hatred, will never be acceptable to him. Our Prayer, exprest by *lifting up of holy and clean Hands*, must be without Wrath; or else, like the *Fast*, and the *long Prayers when the Hands are full of Blood*, 'twill be but a vain Oblation in God's Account, like Cain's, when he resolved to kill his Brother.

Other Things which we may learn from these Words of our Saviour, are as follow. *First*, That the Time immediately before the performing of any holy Duty, such as Prayer, Fasting, or receiving the Sacrament, is the fittest and properest Time to call our selves to Account for all the Trespases and Injuries we are guilty of toward God and Men. *If thou bring thy Gift to the Altar, and there remembrest*; intimating that to be a proper Season of remembring. 2^{dly}, That though the not having made my Peace with those whom I have offended, make me unfit for any such Christian Performance; (and so require me to defer this, till that be done;) yet can it not give me any Excuse to leave the Christian Performance undone, but rather hasten my Performance of the other, that I may perform this also. He that is not yet reconciled, must not carry away his Gift, but *leave it at the Altar*, and *go and be reconciled*; and then *come back and offer his Gift*. He that is not in Charity, and so unfit to receive the Sacrament, must not think it fit or lawful for him to omit that receiving, on that Pretence; for if he do, 'twill be a double Guilt; but must hasten to recover himself

to such a Capacity, that he may with *clean Hands and Heart*, come to God's Table, whensoever he is thus called to it. *3dly*, That a penitent reconciled Sinner may have as good Confidence in his Approaches to God, as any: *Then come and offer thy Gift*. *4thly*, That the putting off, or deferring of such Businesses as these of Reconciliation and Satisfaction, is very dangerous, and the Danger of it past reversing, when it cometh upon us. *5thly*, That there is no Way to prevent this, but in Time of Life and Health instantly to do it, because the next Hour may possibly be too late. *Agree with thine Adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the Way with him*. *6thly*, That the Punishment that expects such Sinners is endless and indeterminate; these Words, *till thou hast paid*, being not a Limitation of Time, after which thou shalt come out, but a Proposal of a sad Payment, which will never be finished, and discharged.

Proceed we to the next Period of our Lord's Sermon, which begins in like Manner, with a Commandment of the old Law, *Thou shalt not commit Adultery*; and hath the same Introduction to it, which was to the former, *Ye have heard that it was said by them of old Time*; which, by what was before noted, we may conclude should be, *To them of old Time*, or to the ancient *Jews*. Without proposing any more Scruples therefore in this Matter, we come immediately to what is forbidden here in that old Commandment.

Now as in the former Precept God by *Moses* restrained all the accursed Issues of one Kind of Sensuality, that of Anger; so in this he forbids those of another Kind, namely, of Lust. And naming the chief Branch of this Kind, that of Adultery, or lying carnally with a married Woman, he forbids also all other Acts of Uncleaness which are not conjugal. Thus have some of the *Jews* themselves interpreted the Word which is used in the Decalogue;

and so in the Scriptures and other good Authors, and in common Use, Adultery and Fornication are taken promiscuously to signify all Manner of Uncleaness, of what Kind soever, or in what Manner soever committed: Of which, though some Kinds seem to have been permitted the *Jews*, yet this Permission is not to be conceived to extend any farther than the Benefit of legal Impunity; not that they were lawful in themselves, or free from Filthiness. And that some other Kinds of them which tended not to the multiplying of that People, as Polygamy did, were severely punished among them, we may see in their Law, *Deut. 22*. But more severely were they punished by God himself, *Numb. 25*. So that under the Letter of that old Commandment, are contained not only the known Sins of Adultery and Fornication, but all those other Kinds of Filthiness, mentioned by the Apostle in four Characters, that seem to contain all Sorts of it under them. And elsewhere the same Apostle speaks of *Uncleaness, Fornication, Lasciviousness*; and again of *Adultery, Fornication, Lasciviousness, and Idolatry*: Which last Word, in that and other Places, seems a Word meant on Purpose to contain all such Kind of unclean Sins under it, because they were so ordinary in the idolatrous Mysteries of the Heathens; most of their Rites, and the Secrets of their Religion, being the Practice of these filthy Sins. And besides these grosser Sins, there are many Particulars reducible to this Commandment of the Law; as all Desires of these Sins consented to, although they break not out into Act; all dwelling or insisting on such Thoughts, and fancying of such Uncleaness with Delight; the feeding our Lust with luxurious Diet, inflaming Wines, or other such Fuel and Accentiues of it: From every one of which we should abstain.

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As to what *Christ* hath added to this old Prohibition, we have it in these Words, that *Whosoever looketh on a Woman, to lust after her, hath committed Adultery with her already in his Heart.* The Meaning of which is, that he that so looks, signifies his Heart to be adulterous, tho' himself be not, through want of Opportunity; and therefore that he shall by *Christ's* Law be as censurable, as the Adulterer under the Law of *Moses*.

The full Importance of this Phrase, *To look on a Woman to lust*, is not only, *To look to that End that I may lust*, as some are willing to interpret it, but either *To look so long till I lust*, or else *To satisfy my Lust*, so far as to feed my Eye, to gaze, to dwell on the Beauty of other Women. As in the Law the fastning the Eyes on an Idol, considering the Beauty of it, is, saith *Maimonides*, forbidden, and not only the Worship of it. We may give this in the Language of the Fathers, who have thus interpreted it. *He that stands and looks earnestly: He that makes it his Business to look earnestly upon gallant Bodies and beautiful Faces; that bunts after them, and feeds his mind with the Spectacle; that nails his Eyes to handsome Faces.* And again, *Not he that desires that he may commit Folly, but looks, that he may desire.* And again, *God hath given thee Eyes, that seeing the Creature, thou may'st glorify him and admire him: And the employing them any other Ways than thus, is an Abuse.* An Example of this we have in the two wicked Elders, who being denied the farther enjoying of their Lusts, command to uncover *Susannab's* Face, that they may be filled with her Beauty. *Gaze not on a Maid*, says the Author of *Ecclesiasticus*, (where the Greek reads it, *look not on her, as if thou wert a learning her*;) lest thou be ensnared by her Complexion. So again, he mentions, gazing upon another Man's Wife, and a curious earnest be-

holding his Maid; (for so the Word there rendered being *over-busy with her* seems rather to signify, and is used by the Fathers to express the very Thing we now speak of.) As therefore there was an Immoderation and Fault in Anger, so in Looking. If, saith *Chrysostom*, *thou wilt look and be delighted, look upon thine own Wife, and love her continually; but if thou lookest after other Beauties, thou dost both wrong her, by letting thy Eyes rove elsewhere, and thou wrongest her whom thou lookest on by meddling with her illegally: For tho' thou touchest her not with thy Hand, yet with thy Eyes thou dost.* To this *St. Peter* refers, when he speaks of *Eyes full of Adultery*; there being an adulterous Look, as well as an adulterous Embrace; the former forbidden by *Christ*, as well as the latter by *Moses*.

But then if it be a Fault thus to behold, it will also be so in the Woman that is thus beheld, if she take a Pleasure in it, and deck and set herself out to that End that she may be thus looked upon. *Saint Chrysostom* says, that it is a Kind of Adultery in that Woman, who thus not only exposes and prostitutes herself to the Eyes of Men, but so dresses and sets herself out, and calls to her the Eyes of all Men. If she wound not others, says the Father, she shall yet be punished; for she hath mist the Potion, and prepared the Poison, though she hath not given to drink. Nay, she hath done that too, though none be found that will drink of it. It seems there is a Piece of Christian Chastity required of Women in this kind, that is not generally thought of.

The two other Verses in this Period, of the Eye and Hand offending, are put for the preventing of an Objection, after this Manner: Upon the giving of that severe Prohibition, Men will be apt to object; "O, but 'tis hard not to love that which is beautiful, and not to behold that which is loved." To this foreseen Objection he answers

answers before-hand; 'Tis hard and unpleasant indeed, but more unpleasant sure to live eternally in Hell. 'Twere better to pluck the very Eye out of the Head, to cut off the Hand, even that which were useful and honourable, than to be cast into Hell. Much more is it our Duty to obey, when we are not required to cut off, or pull out those Members, but only to turn away the Eye from the alluring Object, and to keep the Hand from immodest Touches, and Dalliances. *This, saith Chrysostom, is a most mild and soft Precept. It would have been much more hard, if he had given Command to converse with, and look curiously on Women, and then to abstain from farther Commixions of Uncleanneſs with them.*

The Mention of the Hand, which hath nothing to do with the Business of looking, is by Way of Analogy, or Reduction to the former Precept, and implies, That that former Prohibition of Looking is to be extended to all other Things of like Nature; all *libidinous Touches*, and the like. And whosoever abstains from the grosser Act, and yet indulgeth himself in such Pleasures as these, with any but his own Wife, sins also against this Law of *Christ*.

We now hasten to the third Precept mentioned; which is about *Divorce*: And first, to enquire, *What was the State of this Business under the Law.*

The ten Commandments mention nothing of it, and therefore the Proemial Form is changed; being not as before, *Ye have heard that it hath been said to them of old*; but only, *It hath been said*; which notes that there is somewhat in *Moses's* Writings about it, though not in the ten Commandments. Now the Passage in *Moses* runs to this Purpose, That *he that hath married a Wife, and likes her not, for some Uncleanneſs which he hath found in her, is permitted to give her a Bill of Divorce, and send her out of his House;*

and in that Case she may marry again; and though her Second do so too, or die, yet the former Husband is not permitted to take her again for his Wife. To which that *Christ* referr'd, and not to any Interpretation of the *Pharisees*, appeareth from the Place where the *Pharisees* cite *Moses* for a Testimony to authorize their Opinion; and *Christ* denies not that Authority, but tells them, that *for the Hardneſs of their Hearts it was given them*; and reduces them to the first Institution of Marriage, as that which though it brought not with it then the Obligation of a Command, yet shewed what was always best, and most acceptable to God. And this last and most acceptable Part, is what *Christ* by his new Law commands distinctly, though it were not required of the *Jews* before in that more imperfect State of Obedience, because of the *Hardneſs of their Hearts*; that is, because they were such unruly stubborn People, that if they should have been restrained from the putting away a Wife whom they liked not, they would have been likely to have killed those hated Wives, that so they might freely have married again. Which Reason is intimated in that Speech by Way of Reply to *Christ's* Law, where the very Disciples of *Christ* express their Opinion that *it were better never to marry at all*, than thus to be bound to a Wife; and *Christ* answers them, not by denying such Inconvenience possibly to follow, but by asserting the Necessity of Marriage to some Men, which must make them content to bear with some Inconveniencies. And though that which is said by *Moses* in Point of Divorce be called a Precept by *Christ*, yet it is but a Sufferance, a Precept of Permission, or a not holding them up to that high Pitch of the first Institution of Marriage: Not a Commanding, or so much as advising them to put away their Wives, in other Cases besides that of Fornication; nor indeed wholly freeing the

the Practice from some Imputation. 'Twas a tolerating or not forbidding them to do so for some Time, till the Season of more perfect Commands should come; and withal a commanding, that when a *Jew* contrary to the first Institution of Marriages should *put away his Wife*, or refuse to live with her, he should give her then a *Bill of Divorce in her Hand*. And this State of the Matter under the Old Testament, for that Time of their imperfect Dispensation was somewhat agreeable to the Peculiarity of God's *Æconomy* among that People; for the multiplying of whom, it is certain that Polygamy, or the having more Wives than one, was allowed them by God, and practised by the holy Men of that Nation; and that Allowance so continued till the coming of *Christ*, who, it seems here, reduced all to the first Institution of Marriage, that the Man and the Wife *shall be one Flesh*: Under which Phrase, as it seems by *St. Paul*, is contained and intimated the Woman's *having Power of the Husband's Body*, as before the Man had over the Woman's. This Design of multiplying that People exceedingly, might therefore till then have some Influence on the Matter of Divorces; because supposing the Husband to have such a vehement Dislike to the Wife, that he would not be brought to live conjugally with her, it would from thence follow through the Prohibition of the Woman's marrying more Husbands, that unless it were lawful for the Husband to give her a Bill of Divorce in this Case, the hated Wife would be kept from ever having Children by any, as long as that Husband lived. Whereupon it is commanded, that in this Case, when the Husband thus vehemently dislikes the Wife, he *shall give her a Bill of Divorce*: Which Law is indeed particularly in Favour of the unfortunate Wife, and gives her Power to be married, to any other except to that former Husband, and to

the Priest; and so is promotive to that great End of multiplying that People, which would much be hindred if every hated Wife should be denied this Liberty to marry again, and propagate by some other Man.

Now *Christ*, in his Law, repealeth the whole Commandment concerning Divorce, and imposeth a stricter Yoke on his Disciples. For coming now to give more Grace than the Law brought with it to the *Jews*, he thinks not fit to yield so much to any Consideration, particularly to the Hardness of Men's Hearts, as to allow Christians that Liberty so contrary to the first Institution of Wedlock; but raiseth them higher, to that Pitch, which, when it was not commanded, was yet most excellent, and principally approved by God, and all good Men; and which now becomes necessary, by being commanded by *Christ*. And therefore he clearly affirms of all such Divorces, that *whosoever thus putteth away his Wife*, as the *Jews* frequently did, *causeth her to commit Adultery, and he that marrieth her, committeth Adultery*; and if, after such Divorcement, *he himself marry again, he committeth Adultery*. The Whole of which, in brief, is this: That the Bond of Wedlock now under *Christ* is so indissoluble, that 'tis not the Husbands Dislike which can excuse him for *putting away his Wife*; nor his giving her a *Bill of Divorce*, which can make it lawful for her to marry any other, nor for any other to marry her; she being, for all this Bill, still indissolubly another Man's Wife.

Yet there is clearly one Case here named, in which Divorce may be now lawful under *Christ*; we mean, the Case of Fornication. If the Wife prove false to the Husband's Bed, and take in any other Man, 'twill then be lawful by *Christ's* Law for the Husband to give her a Bill of divorce, that is legally to sue it out, and so *put her away*. The Reason being

being because of the great Inconveniences, and Mischiefs, that such Falseness brings into the Family; as Children of another's Body, to inherit with, or perhaps before, his own. Which Sort of Reason it is, that this Matter of Divorce, now under *Christ*, is chiefly built on; and not, as might be imagined, that of the Conjugal Contract. For that being mutual, would as well make it lawful for the Wife to put away the Husband, as the Husband the Wife; which is no where permitted either in the Old or New Testament. This Liberty, therefore, is peculiar to the Husband against the Wife, and not common to the Wife against her Husband, because those Family-Inconveniences do not follow the Falseness of the Husband, as they do that of the Wife. To which may be also added this other Reason; Because the Wife hath by Promise of Obedience made herself a kind of Subject, and own'd him a Lord, and so hath none of that Authority over him, which he, by being Lord, hath over her.

We come now to the fourth Period of these Improvements, which contains a Prohibition very necessary to be instilled into all, especially young Men, we mean that of *Swearing*: In explaining which, as we have hitherto done, we shall follow *Christ's* Method in delivering, and first give the Meaning of the old Commandment; which, by the Style of the Preface, *Ye have heard that it hath been said to them of old Time*, appears to be taken out of the Decalogue.

The first Part of this Precept, *Thou shalt not forswear thyself*, is clearly the third Commandment; but the latter Part, *But shalt perform to the Lord thine Oaths*, is taken out of other Places of the Law, to explain the Meaning of the former, and to express it to be, as literally it sounds against Perjury, and particularly against the Non-performance of promissory Oaths.

That the third Commandment in *Exodus*, *Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain*, is no more in the primary Intention of the Phrase, than *Thou shalt not forswear thyself*, is very evident, if either *Christ* may judge, who here saith so, or if the Importance of the Words in the Original be observed. For to take or lift up the Name of God, is an *Hebrew* Form, or Phrase, signifying to swear; and the Word *vain* and *false* is all one, as the *Hebrew* Writers generally acknowledge, and the Context, among other Places in Scripture, manifestly proves: For the very Word that is rendered *vain*, in the third Commandment, is used in the ninth Commandment, for *False-witness*. Thus in the *Psalms*, the Phrase of *lifting up the Soul unto Vanity*, is expressed in the next Words by that of *swearing deceitfully*. By all which it is clear, that to take God's Name in vain, is to forswear one's self. And consequently, that to that Sin of Perjury is appointed a most terrible Portion in God's future, slow, but sure Retributions; as we learn from the Phrase, *The Lord will not hold him guiltless*. And this in the Opinions of all Men is so great, that even among the Heathens the Torments of Hell were thought peculiarly to belong to perjured Persons; and the very Word which signifies an Oath, is by them turned into the Name of that Place which avenges the Sins of this Life. Nay, and such must expect the remarkable Strokes of God's Hand even in this World; Ruin of their Estates oftentimes, but more often, secret Strokes of his Hand, and Blasts of his Mouth. That this is the Importance of that peculiar Character in the Close of that Commandment, *The Lord will not hold him guiltless*, appears from a parallel Place of Scripture, *Zach. 5. 4.* 'Tis expressed by the Emblem of a flying Roll, that entereth into the House of the Thief, and into the House of him that sweareth falsely

falsely by God's Name: and it shall remain in the midst of his House, and shall consume it, with the Timber thereof, and the Stones thereof. This remaining and consuming the whole House with the Timber and Stones, is no single Curse, but that which extends to the Blasting and Extirpation of whole Families; and the *flying Roll* is an Intimation of the Indiscernableness, Swift-ness, Fierceness, and Unavoidableness of this Judgment.

This then we take to be the Sense of the third Commandment: For perhaps swearing, simply taken, is not reducible there- to. For besides that the express Words of *Moses* plainly permit it, *Thou shalt swear by his Name*; the Fathers say plain- ly, that to swear under *Moses* was lawful. But without Doubt, all idle, foolish, wan- ton, Using of God's Name, and above all the blaspheming and prophaning of it, was there forbidden.

But *Christ* superadded to this old Com- mandment a total universal Prohibition of swearing itself, making that as unlawful now, as Perjury was before. And that we may discern this Matter the more clearly and distinctly, we must remark two Circumstances in our Saviour's Speech: 1st, That Phrase, *but let your Communica- tion be yea yea; nay nay*: From whence one universal Rule may be taken, namely, that to swear in ordinary Communication, or Discourse, is utterly unlawful. 2^{dly}, We must apply our Saviour's Prohibition to the particular Matter of *Moses's* Law forementioned, and that was peculiarly of promissory, not assertory Oaths; and then adding to that the Importance of the Word *swear*, as it differs from Adjura- tion, or being sworn, we shall have a se- cond Rule, which is, that all voluntary, but especially promissory Oaths, are ut- terly unlawful now for a Christian.

By voluntary Oaths we mean those that have no other Impellent but ourselves: For of these we may conclude, that if they

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be not either for the Glory of God, as *St. Paul's* Oaths, which were to stand up- on Record to Posterity, or for the Good of our Neighbour, or some such publick Consideration, they are utterly unlawful. And we mention promissory Oaths in par- ticular, because those are most clearly for- bidden, both by the Relation these Words have to the Precedent, *Thou shalt perform thy Oaths*, and by the Precept of *St. James*, in that Matter, *Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay*; that is, let your Promises and Performances be all one; the first yea referring to the Promise, the second to the Performance. And this he there mentions as a Means to make all promissory Oaths unnecessary: For he that is so just in per- forming his Word, there will be no need of his Oath; and he that useth Oaths in this unnecessary Manner, may be in Dan- ger to *fall into lying, or false speaking*; which is the meaning of those following Words, which we there render, *lest you fall into Condemnation*.

As to the Particulars that follow in our Lord's Prohibition, *Neither by Heaven, for it is God's Throne, &c.* the Meaning of them is clearly this, That those lesser Oaths, taken in by some in Civility to God, (whom they would not invoke in small Matters, but yet would use this Liberty of swearing by inferior Things) are now ut- terly unlawful; a Christian must not use even any of those. And the Reason given is this, Because every one of these are Creatures of God, (whose whole Being consists in their Reference to him;) and therefore not to be defamed by unneces- sary Oaths.

The positive Precept in the Close, *But let your Communication be yea yea, nay nay*, signifies that in common Discourse we may use an Affirmation, or one *Yea*, and if the Occasion require an Asseveration, we may add another *Yea*; and so in a Negation we may use a Phrase of some Vehemence to confirm it when needful, such as *Nay Nay*,
K k k

Nay. And this will serve as a good Means to prevent the Use of swearing, by assigning to that Purpose some such Asseveration as may answer the Purpose as well; and therefore *Christ* not only forbids any more than this, but in a Manner directs to the Use of this, as that which will help us to perform his Precept.

All this is back'd by our Lord with a Reason: *For whatever, says he, is more than this, cometh of evil.* Meaning, no Doubt, either that it cometh from the evil One *Satan*, who makes Men unapt to believe without Oaths, that so he may make the free Use of them the more necessary; or from that great Kind of Evil among Men, the breaking of Promises, from whence this Custom of adding Oaths proceeds. By which is also intimated, that Oaths are here by *Christ* forbidden, not as Things in themselves evil, but as Things which are not to be used but in Affairs of special Moment; a Reverence being due to them, on Account of which they are not to be made too cheap by us.

The Foundation of the next Period, as of all the preceding, is laid in the Words of the Law, *An Eye for an Eye, a Tooth for a Tooth.* But we see again by the Variation of the Preface from that which was prefixed to the Commands of the Decalogue, that it is not of that Number; and yet is the Phrase also varied from that which was prefixed to the Precept of Divorce: There it was only, *It hath been said*; but here, *Ye have heard that it hath been said.* Let us guess at the Reason of this Variation.

Perhaps it may signify, that as this Precept is less than a Commandment of the Law, there being no positive Command that every one should thus require an Eye of him who had put out his; so it is more than a bare Immunity from earthly Punishment to him that should so require, which was all that was allowed in that of Divorce. The Truth is, it was by the

Law of Nature and *Moses* freely permitted, that he who had lost any Member of his Body, might, by Way of Revenge, or Retaliation, legally or judicially require the like Member to be taken from him, who had thus injured him: Though among the *Jews*, and perhaps among the *Gentiles* also, private Men were not to do this of their own Heads; but might by legal Process, go to the Judges, and require this Due from them.

What *Christ* hath appointed in this Matter, is set down in these Words, *But I say unto you, that you resist not Evil.* Where the Word which we render *Evil*, signifies not a *Thing* but a *Person*; the injurious Man, or him that hath done the Injury: And the Word rendered *resist* denotes not that which our *English* commonly signifies, but peculiarly to retaliate, *to return Evil for Evil*; by which Interpretation it is directly answerable to what went before, *An Eye for an Eye*, and is a denying to Christians that Liberty which before was allowed the *Jews*, namely of Revenge, Retaliation, or returning those Mischiefs to others, which we have received from them. And that this is the true Interpretation, appears from another plain Text of Scripture, which seems to be a direct Commentary of this, *Recompense to no Man Evil for Evil.—Avenge not yourselves, but rather give Place unto Wrath; for it is written, Vengeance is mine, I will repay it saith the Lord.*

But it may be demanded, *How far this Precept of not revenging extends? Whether to publick Magistrates, or only to private Persons one toward another?* To which we shall answer by these several Degrees.

First, It doth not interpose in the Magistrate's Office, so as to forbid him to punish by Way of Retaliation, if the Laws of the Land so direct him; for his Office being to preserve the Kingdom in Peace, *Christ* forbids not the Use of any lawful Means to that End, not particularly of this,

Soldiers, when they came to his Baptism, where he forbids them not that Calling as unlawful; by *Christ's* commending the Centurion's Faith who was then a Soldier; by *St. Paul* using a Band of Soldiers against the Treachery of the *Jews*; and by *Peter's* baptizing of *Cornelius*, without his giving over his military Employment. Now in what Respect War may be lawful, will appear, if we observe the Causes of it.

First, If it be for the suppressing of a Sedition or Rebellion at Home; it being lawful for the Magistrate to preserve the Peace of the Land, and to punish and suppress the Disturbers of it. In which Case it is impossible any such War should be lawful on both Sides; there being but one supreme Power in any Kingdom, and to that belonging the Power of the Sword. *Secondly*, Betwixt one Kingdom and another, a War may be lawful, in Case one Kingdom doth attempt the doing any eminent Injury to another, which by War may possibly be averted from those, whom the Magistrate's Office binds him to protect. But this must be an eminent Injury, and that which is more hurtful than War, or taking up of Arms; and that again, when there is no Arbitration, or other Means of debating such Controversies, or averting such Injuries, to be had. And even then to be proceeded on with these Cautions; *To hurt no peaceable Man, as near as may be; To shed as little Blood as is possible; Not to protract it, out of Desire of Revenge, or Gain; Not to use Cruelty on Captives, or those that yield themselves and desire Quarter, nor Women, Children, and Husbandmen; To give over War when any reasonable Terms of Peace may be had; To take away nothing from the Conquered, but the Power of hurting.* In these Cases, and with these Cautions, as it is lawful to the higher Powers to use Arms, so is it also to their Subjects that have Commission from them; it being not ima-

ginable that any Magistrate should by his own personal Strength protect his Subjects, without the Assistance of others.

But is it lawful for a private Man, for the repelling of any Injury from himself, to kill another? Or if it be not, how can War against those who are out of our Power, and over whom we have no Jurisdiction, be accounted lawful, since it is certainly more sinful to kill many than one?

To the first Part of this Question we answer, That a private Man may not, by the Law of *Christ*, take away another's Life, for the saving his own Goods, or the repelling any such Kind of Injury from himself; because Life is more than Goods. But if a Man's own Life be attempted also, and there be no probable Means to save it, but by taking away the Life of the Attempter, it may then be lawful to do it; *Christ* having interposed nothing to the contray. Tho' perhaps he who to save another's Life, or who rather than take it away, should venture and lose his own, might be thought to do better, and more honourably, in imitating *Christ*, who laid down his Life for his Enemies. This being granted, we say in Answer to the second Part of the Question, That the same Rule cannot be extended to the making of War unlawful. *1st*, Because the supreme Power, who is supposed to manage the War, hath the Sword put into his Hand by God, which the private Man hath not, and that not only to punish Subjects, but also to protect them. *2dly*, Because it is Duty so to do, which he may not, without Sin against them, and Failure in the Discharge of his Trust, by any Means neglect: Whereas the private Man having Power of his own Goods, may recede from that natural Right of his, and deny himself, to follow *Christ*; and for his Life itself, may better thus part with it, by leaving it to God's Tuition, than the Magistrate can another Man's, being entrusted by God to defend it, and by Oath bound

bound to perform that Part of his Duty. And for the Number of those, whom a War endangers to kill, that will be counterbalanced with the Number of those whom it is intended to preserve; whose Peace and quiet Living, if it may be gotten, is more valuable to them, than Life itself deprived of that.

Without enquiring whether any other kinds of War than the two above mentioned may be lawful, (supposing that if there be any such, they may be reduced to one of those general Heads,) we proceed to the Consideration of unlawful Wars, of which we shall also mention two Sorts, as follows.

First, When one Nation fighteth with another for no other Reason, but because that other is not of the same Religion, this is certainly unlawful. For God hath not given any Nation this Jurisdiction over another; and 'tis against the Nature of Religion to be planted by Violence, or consequently by the Sword. The true Religion is, indeed, the most precious Thing in the World, and to be promoted and preserved by all lawful, proper, proportionable Means. But then War being of all Things most improper either to defend or plant it, and it being acknowledged unlawful for *Peter* to use the Sword for the Defence of *Christ* himself; 'tis plain that to fight merely for Religion, must needs be very unlawful. Religion hath still been spread and propagated by suffering, and not by resisting: And indeed as it is not in the Power of Force to constrain my Conscience, or change my Judgment, or keep me from the Profession of what I believe, certainly Arms, or Resistance, must be very improper for that Purpose.

The other kind of unlawful Wars, which we shall mention, is, all manner of invasive War, for the enlarging of Territories, for the revenging of an Affront, for the weakening of those whom we see prosperous, or for any other Cause, unless

to get Reparation for some eminent Injury done to our Nation, which the Nation cannot reasonably bear, nor yet hope to have repaired any other Way.

As to any private Man, probably no more may be required to make it lawful for him to bear Arms, than a Commission from the supreme Power under which he lives. And therefore as in Obedience to such, it is possible for a private Man lawfully to take Arms, even when the Governors do it unlawfully; so he that takes up Arms only for Hire, or Hope of Honour, under one who is not his Magistrate, may, though the Cause be just for which the General fights, commit Sin in fighting under him.

Thus much of War. As for what farther may be collected, it will be best seen by observing what *Christ* adds on the Back of this Prohibition. *But whosoever shall smite thee on thy Right Cheek, turn the other also; and if any Man shall sue thee at Law, and take away thy Coat, let him have thy Cloke also: And if any Man shall compel thee to go a Mile, go with him twain.* From which Additions we may observe two Things in common. *1st*, The Occasion of them; *2dly*, The general Nature of them; wherein they all agree.

The Occasion of them was *Christ's* Fore-sight of an Objection, which upon Account of the preceding Prohibition, Men would be apt to make, thus: "If when one doth me an Injury, I may not revenge it on him myself, or require a legal Revenge upon him, then by this Easiness he will be taught to multiply those Injuries. He will venture to smite me on the other Cheek, when he sees me take that so patiently; To take away my Cloke also, if I am so tame as to let him carry away my Coat without any Payment; To make me go a Stage of two Miles with him next Time, if I take the first Oppression so patiently." To this foreseen Objection, our Saviour answers by commanding us to perform

form the former Duty, and put this dreaded Hazard to the Venture; intimating that this is not sure to be the Reward and Consequence of such Patience; or, to suppose the utmost, if it should be certainly so, yet we Christians must rather submit to this also, than give the Reins to our Revenge on that Consideration. We must venture that Consequence with *Christ*, who hath commanded us this Patience, and be armed for the worst that can befall us in his Service. From whence we may see, what an Obligation lies upon us to the performing of those Acts which are accounted so ridiculous among Men. Not that we are presently *to turn our left Cheek to him that strikes us on the Right; to give the Cloke to him that takes the Coat; but to perform the Precept of not revenging, and not to be tempted from it by any foreseen Inconvenience.* And if we cannot perform our Obedience without it, we are rather to let *him take the Cloke also*, than to seek Revenge for such former Trespases. Which will be nothing unreasonable, if we consider, that *Christ* can preserve us from farther Injuries, if he think good, as well without, as with our Assistance; and indeed that Patience is often made by him a more prosperous Means of Security, than Self-revenge would be; it being *Christ's* tried Rule *to overcome Evil with Good.* And at worst, if we should chance to suffer any Thing by obeying him, we know he will be able to repair it in another World.

The general Nature of these appendant Precepts, wherein they all agree, is this; That they regard tolerable and supportable Injuries, both in respect of what is done already, and what may be conse-

quent to our bearing them. For thus the Loss of the Coat, or Cloke also, is a moderate Injury; the *smiting on the Cheek*, or *Cheeks*, a very inconsiderable Pain, and only valued for the Disgrace annexed to it; and the *going a Mile*, or *two Miles*, a very tolerable Injury to the Body, and a very easy * Post, being compared with the ordinary Stages. And from thence appears, 1st, The Reasonableness of *Christ's* Commands, and their Agreeableness to our Strength; in that he provides us such *easy Yokes and light Burthens*, even when we think he useth us most hardly: 2^{dly}, The Indulgence which he allows us in Matters of greater Concernment; where the Damage or Trespas is not so supportable. He there intimates a Liberty to use some Means to save or redress ourselves; though not to work Revenge on the Enemy for what is past, by exacting any Punishment on his Person.

From the first of these Remarks, we may infer, that for light Injuries done to our Bodies, which leave no Wound behind them, nor bring any considerable Pain with them, we are not to seek any Way of private, no not so much as of legal Revenge, even though the Injury were of such a Kind, that the putting it up, would be a Reproach in the Account of the World, and withal a possible Means to bring more upon us of the same Nature. This is our Christian Duty, which we cannot omit without Sin; and which for us to perform, or for *Christ* to command, is so far from unreasonable, that the contrary, if we observe the Experience of it, is much more unreasonable; the seeking of Revenge commonly subjecting us to greater Inconveniencies; either to more

* The Persian Post or Stage, from which the Jews took theirs, was a Parasange, or thirty Furlongs, of which the Mile here, was but a little above a fourth Part, that is, seven or eight Furlongs at most. Agathias lib. ii. p. 55. 'Twas the Custom of the Persian Tyrants to press Men, as among us Teams of Horses, and force them to carry their Burthens for a Stage, or Parasange, and then to rest, others succeeding them in Turns; and from them the Jews had the same Custom. See Mat. xxvii. 13. Mark xv. 21. Luke xxiii. 26.

dangerous Blows, if we become our own Champions, and avenge ourselves; or to more considerable Trouble and Charges, if we seek it from a Court of Judicature.

The second Remark, which regards the Indulgence of *Christ* in greater Matters, offers us a fair Occasion to say somewhat of that great Question, *Whether a Christian may go to Law? and for what Reasons?* Which we shall answer.

Going to Law is not simply unlawful, because *Christ*, finding Courts of Judicature, for Matter of *Mine* and *Thine*, in the World, did not take that Power into his own Hands, or out of those Hands where he found it. *Who made me a Judge?* said he. In this whole Sermon of strict Precepts upon the Mount, he gives no Command in this Matter any farther than what is contained in these Words, *He that would implead thee, and take away thy Coat, let him have thy Cloke also.* The Utmost of which can amount no farther against going to Law than this. 1st, That it is such a Thing that it may be abused to the most unjust Oppression, such as taking away the Coat from one's Back; and when so used, 'tis surely unlawful. 2^{dly}, That we must not go to Law with any by Way of Retaliation: For the Precept of *Let him have thy Coat also*, cannot justly be extended any farther than the Context will authorize the extending it, and that is only thus far; *That rather than retribute to him Evil for Evil, or retaliate, I must even let him take my Coat, and not go to Law with him.* I must thus be quiet, rather than bear him any Malice, or do any thing that shall inflame me, or raise in me a Desire of Revenge against him. For any of these will make that unlawful to me which in itself was not so. 3^{dly}, That we must not go to Law only out of a Foresight, that the bearing of one Injury patiently may possibly or probably bring a greater upon us; but trust God with the preserving us for the future, who will be

more likely to bless and reward our Patience and Meekness with Tranquility and Prosperity in this Life, than any contrary Vice of Contentiousness or Impatience. 4^{thly}, That we must not go to Law to recover a Coat, when we have a Cloke left; that is, for a small inconsiderable Possession, which is not necessary to us, and the recovering of which will not be proportionably gainful to the Charge or Trouble of going to Law for it.

The foregoing Particulars contain the utmost that the Words of *Christ* can be justly extended to: All which notwithstanding, these other Cases still remain, which come not under that Interdict in its largest Extent. 1st, That he who cannot by any Arbitration get his own, nor yet conveniently live without it, may make use of the settled Judicature of the Land where God hath placed him; supposing that he fall not into any of the Faults before specified, and which possibly may be incident to the managing of the justest Action. 2^{dly}, That he who being tenderly affected in Conscience, desires Assurance that he enjoys nothing but what is just for him to enjoy, may lawfully, in Matter of any Doubt concerning Property, use the Law to make that Decision for him; supposing again that this be sincerely his Intention, and that he resolve quietly to stand to what the Law shall adjudge. 3^{dly}, That he who by this Means defends a Widow or Orphan, or any other injured Person, may very christianly use it. 4^{thly}, That he who may thus preserve himself in a Sufficiency to provide for his Family, and without it probably cannot, unless he either crave other Men's Alms, or expect Relief from God by extraordinary Means, may use this Means to do so. 5^{thly}, That he who by this Means may be enabled to relieve the Poor, which otherwise he could not do so liberally, and doth it sincerely in order to that End; and when he obtains his

his own, evidences that Sincerity by his Performances, is still free from any Restraint arising from that Precept from *Christ*. Whereas, on the other Side, he that contends for Trifles, goes to Law only that he may lose nothing of his Right, or not only to get legal Reparations for his Losses, but also to give Satisfaction to his revengeful Appetite, can no Way be justified or excused in such a Suit. So also the suing of him who is not able to pay, the punishing of him by Prison, or the like Restraint on him, that brings in no Advantage to us, is unlawful and unchristian.

But there seems to be an Objection against going to Law in any Case, producible from a Passage in *St. Paul's* first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, 1 Cor. 6. 1-8. for the answering of which, we should observe, that the Apostle's Scope there is only to reprehend going to Law before Heathen Tribunals, which when any Men are guilty of it, must signify either that there is no Christian among them fit to be a Judge betwixt Contenders, or else that they would rather chuse an Heathen's Arbitration, than that Christian's; either of which being culpable, that which ariseth from them must needs be so too, but nothing else upon those Grounds. This is agreeable to what *Christ* had before said: *If thy Brother trespass against thee, and will not make thee Amends on thy repeated Admonitions, thou shalt tell it to the Church*. And if he will not stand to the Judgment of the Church, *Christ* then goes farther, *Let him be to thee as a Heathen Man, and a Publican*; meaning not only that he is fit for Excommunication, mentioned in the next Verse, but also that thou hast Liberty to implead him in any Gentile Tribunal, as thou wouldst and mayst a Heathen or Publican, which are here taken for equivalent Terms.

But the Apostle, it will be said, speaks

without Reserve, when he says to the *Corinthians*, *There is utterly a Fault among you, because you go to Law one with another*? To which we answer, that the Utmost which those Words infer is only this, That those particular Suits at Law, that were then among the *Corinthians*, were all unlawful, (which we may gather from the Apostle's telling them, that they *did injure and defraud one another*? but 'tis not concludible from thence, that all other Men's Suits are so, because possibly not of the same Nature as theirs were. And for this Assertion there is good Ground in the Original, where the Word which we render *Fault* is not any of those usual Words which are without Doubt Denotations of Sin, but another which signifies at *doing less than we might*, and so may perhaps only conclude the Thing which he speaks of to be more than comparatively evil; that is, not so good as patient bearing of Injuries and Losses ought to be esteemed. And this seems to be enforced by the Words immediately following in the End of the same Verse, *Why do you not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded*? Which will infer, that Patience of Injuries is a greater Virtue, a more heroical Excellence, and a higher Pitch of Christian Philosophy and Contempt of the World, than going to Law implies, and especially than that particular Kind of going to Law, of which he accuseth them: But it doth not follow that going to Law is from that Place made in all Cases utterly unlawful. Just as losing my own Life when I am assaulted by another, rather than I will take away his, is, as we before shewed, a high Piece of Imitation of *Christ*, who *laid down his Life for his Enemies*: But notwithstanding this, the killing of the Invader in that Case, when I cannot otherwise save my own Life, is acknowledged to be no Sin, because not forbidden by Nature or *Christ*, whose Prohibition it is, that makes any Thing a Sin:

Sin : For where there is no Law, says the Apostle, there is no Transgression.

Having discoursed thus largely on War, and going to Law, we may the more briefly consider what is to be learnt from the third Particular, which *Christ* thought fit to superadd to the Matter of retaliating, in these Words, *Whoever shall compel thee to go a Mile, go with him twain.* The Sense of which is, That the same Rule holds for my Liberty, that did for my Body and Estate, and that therefore every Diminution of it must not enrage me either to a private or legal Revenge on the Invader.

In a Word, the Sum of all these Additions, is, That small supportable Injuries of any Kind, we Christians must bear, without hurting again, or so much as prosecuting the Injurious. And that in weightier and more considerable Matters, though we may use Means to defend ourselves, and to get legal Reparations for our Losses; yet even in those the giving any Way to revengeful Desires, or wishing to give another any Pain, or to work him any Damage, that brings no real Gain, or Ease, or Advantage to us, is still utterly unlawful.

As to what follows in the Close of this Period, *Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.* The Substance of it is a Command of universal, unlimited Liberty, according to our Power, to all that are in need; and a Direction to one special Kind of Mercy, the lending without Exaction of Use, to those that are in present Want, and may, by such present Supplies, be taught a Way of thriving in the World, and getting out of those Difficulties of Fortune. In which Case the lending for a Time, and after that Time the requiring our own again, may do some Men perhaps more good, by obliging them to Industry, and Providence,

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and Fidelity, than the giving to some others might have done.

What Connection there is betwixt this Precept of Liberality, and that of Non-revenge immediately preceding, we shall easily see, if we consider, That *forgiving and giving*, the two special Works of our Charity toward Men, should always go together; one never doing so well, as when the other is joined with it. Revenge will blast our Liberality; and the covetous illiberal Heart will defame the most perfect Patience. Besides, the Practice of Liberality will help us to think it reasonable not to meditate Revenge, and withal demonstrate our Patience of Injuries, to be no pusillanimous cowardly Act, but only an Act of Obedience unto *Christ*, in doing as he hath done; for both Patience and Liberality, are Christian Duties; our Charity obliging us to the one, as well as to the other.

The Ground-work of the next and last Period of these Improvements, is the Repetition of an Old Law concerning *loving Neighbours and hating Enemies*. For the Neighbour, or Fellow Jew, the Law of *Moses* hath commanded to *love him as one's self*, and not to avenge, or bear any Grudge against him: From which, though in Fact it were no Exclusion of the like to Men of other Countries, yet it is very true that the *Jews* took Occasion to deny all Kindness, and all Exercise of the common Offices of Humanity to all others, unless they became Profelytes to them. This they did without any real Authority of their Law; which therefore *Christ*, by the Parable of the good Samaritan, shews to belong to the loving of others beside their own Countrymen, and the extending the Word Neighbour to all those who are of the same common Stock with us, and are Men as well as ourselves. Though the Truth is, That God by prescribing the *Jews* peculiar Meats, and for-
bidding

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bidding others that were familiarly used by the Nations, did consequently interdict them any special Familiarity of Converse with the Nations, by Way of Caution, lest they should be corrupted by them, who were at that Time so extremely idolatrous and filthy in their Practices: Which Rule consequently was to be accounted temporary, and to last no longer than the Reason of it. But then for the hating of Enemies, it is not to be thought that there was any Precept given them, of hating either all but their own Countrymen, or even all their very Enemies. Thus much only towards it we find in the Law, that though the *Jews* were commanded to do Courtesies to their Enemies of their own Country, as to *rescue the Enemy's Ox out of the Ditch*, and the like; yet they were forbid to enter into any Friendship, Affinity, or League, with the seven Nations who possessed the Land of *Canaan*, or to shew any Mercy to them. But this must not be extended to the commanding all manner of Mortal Hatred against them; it is to be understood only within certain Limits: They were to offer them Conditions of Peace, and to permit them to redeem their Lives, if they desired it by Servitude: And though upon not accepting these Conditions of Peace, they were to have no pity on them, but to destroy them utterly, every one that breathed; yet this belonged only to those seven Nations, lest, if any of them were preserved, they should seduce them to their abominable Filthinesses; whereas the Proceeding was not so severe against other Enemy-cities further off, from whom there was not the like Danger. And farther, it doth not appear, that this belonged to any but of that Age, in Consideration of the Danger of Seduction to their Sins; for *Solomon* doth not so, but only *levies Tribute of Bond-service* upon them. After the same Manner were they to deal with the *Ama-*

lekites, namely, *to have War with them for ever*; and with some Difference, with the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*. In all which, considering who commanded it, nothing can be observed contrary to the Law of Nature or Humanity: For if Magistrates on Earth have Power over Malefactors, the same sure must be yielded to God over Nations and Governors of them, and he may put them to Death by what Means he pleases. This Execution he was pleased to commit to the People of the *Jews*, after a long Time of Patience, when *those Nations had filled up the Measure of their Rebellion*. So that this Permission of *hating Enemies*, cannot be accounted of as a common general Command, (for it held not against any but these forenamed Nations;) but as a special, particular Sentence of God's, to beat that Time executed on them. And tho' the *Jews*, by mistaking these Texts, did generally suppose it lawful to kill or spoil any that were Strangers from the Religion of the true God; yet by the Limitation of God's Command for such Execution to these forenamed, and that with this Reason, because they had *fill'd up the Measure of their Iniquities*, (which none but God could judge of,) 'tis evident that this was an Error in the *Jews*, and that the rather, because at this Time when *Christ* spake, they were subject to the *Romans*, and had no Power of the Sword in their Hands: In which Case, those former Commands of War with the idolatrous Nations became utterly useless, and the Law of Nature was to prevail, which commands Love and Charity to all Men.

But we have no better Way now to judge what the Law of Nature had done in this Matter, than by the Writings and Sayings of the wisest natural Men; the Sum of which is this: *That all Men are to be loved and obliged by us; That no Man is to be hurt or disobliged, but he who hath first injured us*; in which Case the great

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Philosopher thinks it as *reproveable a Thing to love an Enemy*, as to *bate a Friend*. But withal, the moderateſt, and wiſeſt, and moſt elevated Minds, though they would not command or oblige all Men to love Enemies, do yet commend it as honourable ſo to do, and give many excellent Reaſons for it, and conclude, that the *wiſe and good Man hath no Enemy*. So that from all this, the whole Matter is, that the *Jews* taking ſome Advantage of theſe fore-mentioned Commands of *Moses*, and miſtaking them, did think it lawful to hate others of different Religions, which included all other Nations; but in this they did both againſt the Law of *Moses*, as hath been ſhewed, and againſt the Law of Nature; by which hating or hurting is avowed only in Caſe of Injuries done, and even then alſo the contrary is commended. And ſo that which *Chriſt* hath here to do, is partly to recal the *Jews* to the Law of Nature, and to command that which that Law commended, and partly to advance and ſet it higher than the Law of the *Jews* had required of them before.

The Law of *Chriſt* in this Matter is ſet down in the five laſt Verſes of the Chapter; *But I ſay unto you, Love your Enemies*, &c. to the End. The Sum of which is, that other Men's Faults or Sins againſt us, nay againſt God himſelf, give not us any Diſpenſation for the Non-payment of that great Debt of our Nature, *Love to all our Kind*. 'Tis true indeed, the Paſſions and Affections that our Nature is ſubject to, do incline us to Revenge againſt our Enemies; or if we can conquer that, yet we cannot chuſe but make a Diſtinction between Friends and Foes, and at leaſt have a great Coldneſs and Indifference to thoſe who have deſerved ill at our Hands. But *Chriſt* is come to mortify thoſe Affections of Rage and Revenge; and to lead us higher than Nature would bring us, even to Words and Actions of Kindneſs

and Benignity, to thoſe that have expreſſed the contrary of theſe towards us.

Suppoſing then that our Affections and Behaviour toward our Enemies be not like theirs to us, unkind and injurious; it appears from what has been ſaid, that even this is not ſufficient for a Chriſtian, who is to tranſcribe that Copy, which *Chriſt*, by his own dealing with us when we were Enemies, did ſet us. We muſt not only negatively, not hate, or curſe, or purſue with Injuries; but poſitively love, and bleſs, and do good to, and pray for, our greateſt Enemies.

Loving an Enemy denotes an Affection of Charity, and Kindneſs, and Benignity towards him: The wiſhing him all the Good in the World, but that eſpecially which he moſt wanteth, the Good of his Soul; the pitying and compaſſionating him; and that the more for being mine Enemy; becauſe that implies a Sin in him, which is of all Things the moſt proper Matter of Compaſſion.

Bleſſing him ſignifies Kindneſs and Friendlineſs of Language; giving them all friendly and courteous Words, who have nothing but Railing and evil-Speaking for us; commending in them whatever is capable of our Praises, though they do nothing but deſame and backbite us.

By *doing good to them* we muſt underſtand all outward Actions of Charity. Such are Alms, if they be in want; Food, Drink, and Cloaths, when they are hungry, thirſty, and naked; Comfort, if in Diſtreſſes; Counſel, if in any Difficulty; reſcuing their Goods, if we ſee them in Danger; admoniſhing them in a friendly Manner, and ſuch as may be moſt likely to prevail with them, when we ſee them falling into any Sin; reproving and correcting fatherly, when we ſee them fallen: In a Word, contributing to the Good of their Bodies, Eſtates, Families, Reputations, but eſpecially their Souls;

and all this without any Tincture of Revenge, or Rage, mixing with it.

Praying for them means a desiring of God for them whatsoever they want; as, Grace, for Amendment of Life; Pardon of Sin, with an Expression of my free pardoning of them; and, in a Word, all other Blessings, temporal and spiritual, which they stand in need of.

To do all this is indeed a Matter of some Difficulty; but many Considerations there are, which tend to facilitate the Performance of it. Three of them we shall here name, as we find them in our Saviour's Words.

The *First* is the Example of God, who sheweth Mercy to Sinners, who are his Enemies; and in the outward Dispensation of temporal Blessings, giveth as liberal a Portion many times to the Wicked as to the Good; and for the common Advantages of Life, Sun and Rain, dispenseth them generally in an Equality to all. And then for us to do the like, is a godlike Thing; the greatest Dignity that our Nature is capable of.

The *second* Help is the Consideration of that Reward which God hath decreed for such who do this; a Reward proportioned to our Actions; Retribution of Good to us, tho' we are Evil, and of Mercy and Happiness, tho' we are Sinners and Enemies. Whosoever doth but think of that, and how much the Joys of Heaven for Eternity are beyond the Pleasure of a little Revenge for the present, will never think fit to make such an unequal Exchange, and to lose so rich a Reward for so poor a Pleasure.

The *third* Help is the Consideration of what is done by all others, even the vilest and wickedest Men in the World. For such were the *Publicans* accounted; and yet they could think themselves obliged to love their Friends, and they satisfied that Obligation; they could use Civilities, and courteous Salutations, to their Neigh-

bours. And if we, who are bound to exceed the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, the strictest Sect among the *Jews*, shall be but in the same Rank with *Publicans*, the vilest and most abominable of all Men, this will certainly be a great Reproach to us Christians.

Other Motives to this Duty we shall find, if we consider, That by this Means we shall conquer our unruly Passions, which is a most glorious Piece of Victory: That by this we shall preserve ourselves in a great Calmness and Quiet of Mind: which Thoughts of Revenge wholly deprive us of: That this is of all others the most probable Way of overcoming our Enemies; Revenge being a Means of exasperating and inflaming them, Charity of Melting them; which whosoever does, first gets a Friend for an Enemy, and secondly hath the Honour of Claim to that Reward which is due to them, *who convert Sinners from the Error of their Ways*: That this a way of excelling all other Men in the World; none but Christians thinking themselves obliged to do this: That this is a special Way to Christian Perfection, and is so called in the Close of this Chapter: *Be ye perfect, as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect*. Instead of which, St. Luke reads, *Luke vi. 36. Be ye merciful, as your Father is merciful*; intimating this Mercy, or Benignity to Enemies, to be the highest Degree of Christian Perfection.

DISSERTATION IV.

Of Almsgiving, Prayer, and Fasting.

THE general Aim or Design of the next Part of our Saviour's Sermon, which begins the sixth Chapter of St. *Matthew*, is the regulating of three Christian Duties, *Almsgiving, Prayer, and Fasting*: Three so necessary and so considerable Offices of a Christian; that learned Divines have concluded them to be the three special

special Christian Sacrifices, or Acts of divine Worship; the first out of our Estates; the second of our Souls; the third from our Bodies; which being the three principal Parts of a Man, every one of them is obliged to its Tribute of Acknowledgment to the Creator. For this Reason, we may presume these Duties worthy of our distinct Survey; and to this Purpose we pitch upon that first, which we see first placed, that of *Almsgiving*, which we shall reduce to these two Heads. 1st, A Duty supposed. 2^{dly}, A Caution interposed for the Regulation of this Duty. And the same Method we shall observe in speaking of Prayer and Fasting.

By the Duty supposed, we mean that the Duty of *Almsgiving* here mentioned, is not so much here commanded, as presumed to be a Duty which both the Law of Nature, and of *Moses*, required of all Men, Heathens and *Jews*, before; and therefore that needed not to be commanded by *Christ*, but only to be thus honourably mentioned by him, as a Duty that he meant not to evacuate, but confirm; so far that he that would not observe it should be unworthy the Title of a Christian, nay of a *Jew* or an Heathen; all Laws so strictly exacting it of him.

This so necessary Duty, which is only touched on or named here, is the same Thing, and expressed by the same Word, that Mercifulness is in the fifth Beatitude; but then it seems here restrained to that one Kind of Mercifulness which consists in giving; and that peculiarly of corporeal Relief to them that want it: And therefore it will not be pertinent in this Place to speak of any Branch of Mercifulness, but of that which we ordinary call *Giving of Alms*. Now of that we may observe two Things, as proper for our Direction therein; the first for the Substance of the Duty, the second for the most convenient Manner of performing it.

For the Substance of the Duty we may

observe, that we are bound by all Laws of Nature, of *Moses*, and of *Christ*, as God hath enabled us, to relieve those that are in Want; the Hungry, the Naked, the Fatherless, the Widow, and others destitute of worldly Succour; the doing of which is called by St. *James*, *pure Religion and undefiled*, James i. 27.

For the most convenient Manner of performing this Duty, we may observe from St. *Paul*, that every rich, or thriving Man, every one that either hath a constant Revenue, or a profitable Trade, should lay by him in Store as God prospereth him, for the Use of the Poor; dedicating yearly, or monthly, or weekly, such or such a Proportion for this Purpose, and separating it from the Rest of the Heap, that it may be ready for such Uses, as the Providence of God shall offer to us. This Way of setting apart before-hand, will be very useful both for the resisting of covetous Thoughts, which will be apt still to interfere, when Objects of Charity offer themselves; and also for the having Provision ready at Hand, to give when we would be willing to give, which otherwise perhaps would sometimes be wanting. And the doing it thus periodically, will make the Sum parted with so insensible, that we shall not miss out of our Estates, which is thus consecrated.

The exact Proportion, or Quotum, cannot indeed be prescribed, the Scripture having defined nothing in it. On the contrary, by commending Liberality and voluntary Giving, is rather intimated, that there is no set Proportion to be defined, but that it is to be left to every Man's own Breast, how to proportion his Free-will-Offering. For tho' the Place last quoted, according to the Original, seems to require all to be set apart for this Purpose that comes in by Way of Gain from God's prospering Hand, (the Words importing, that every one should treasure up whatsoever he hath gained, or been prosper-

ed;

ed; not as we render it, *as God hath prospered him*; yet it appears that that was in a peculiar Case at that time, for the relieving the poor Christians at *Jerusalem*; who were so many, and had so few to relieve them then, that all that could be spared was little enough for the Turn. And therefore that can no more make a Rule for all other Times, unless when there is the like Occasion and Conjunction of Circumstances, than the having all Things common then, and bringing them all to the Apostle's Feet, will be exemplary to us. But for our better Direction in this Matter, we may observe these following Gradations.

First, That the *Jews*, the People of God, were bound by the Law to set apart a *Tenth of all their Increase every third Year for the Use of the Poor*. Every Year the Tithe was paid to the Priest; but that being done, every third Year they were to tithe again, for the Poor: Which was in Effect a thirtieth Part yearly of their Increase; for to that Proportion, a tenth Part every third Year, being distributed into three Parts, and each of those three assigned to each Year, will amount.

Secondly, That there were other Commands given to those *Jews*, concerning the Poor; as of permitting them to lease in the Field; lending them without Use; restoring the Pledge before Night; and other the like. And all this a *Jew* was bound to: He sinned against the Law, if he did it not. This was his *Righteousness*, that Degree of Mercy which the Law required of him; instead of which the *Greek* Translators use a Word signifying *Alms* or *Piety*, the same which is in this Place of *Christ's* Sermon.

Thirdly, Besides this Righteousness of the *Jew*, or that Proportion required to his being a righteous *Jew*, there was another higher Degree among them, called *Mercy*, or *Goodness*, or *Bounty*, or *Charity*; which, say their Interpreters, is

more than simple Righteousness; it is an *Excess, or abundance of Righteousness*. Thus shall you see those two Words many Times put together, not as equivalent, but one as a higher Degree than the other. *Break off thy Sins by Righteousness, and thine Iniquities by shewing Mercy to the Poor*; where the Mercy is set last, as being highest. So in another Place, *What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do Justice, and love Mercy?* And when the Comparison is made by the Apostle, between a *righteous Man* and a *good Man*; the *good Man*, is this merciful-minded Person, who far exceedeth the other. By which we see, that he that would be a good, a pious, a merciful *Jew*, was obliged to exceed those Terms which by the Law the *Jew* was bound to, and must allow to pious Uses much more than the thirtieth Part of his Increase every Year. And this Law and Direction, being by God himself given to his People the *Jews*, may deserve so far to be considered by us, as it is an Evidence of God's Opinion, or Judgment then to that his own People.

But then *Fourthly*, though this be not a Law now binding us, as not given to us; yet being a Law of Charity and Mercy to our poor Neighbour, which, for the Substance of it, is an eternal Law of Nature, there will be small Reason for a Christian to think himself disengaged from that Quotum or Portion, which even the *Jews*, who were considered as in a State of Imperfection, were obliged to; save only that this is now left to our own Freedom which was before commanded: And 'twere Shame that a Christian, thus left to his own Freedom, should come short of what a *Jew* was brought to by Constraint.

Fifthly, on the contrary Side, the more perfect Law of *Christ*, and the greater Degrees of Grace and Light brought into the World by him, requiring higher Perfection now, than before by the Law was required,

required, may very justly be deemed to require a greater Proportion of us now in Works of Mercy, than of them was then expected.

From whence it will be consequent, *Sixtly*, that as our *Righteousness must exceed their Righteousness*, so our Mercy should exceed their Mercy. To be a righteous Christian, therefore, 'tis necessary to set apart much more than a yearly Thirtieth of ones Revenue, or Increase: And to be a merciful or pious Christian, much more again than that, is necessary.

Seventhly, and *lastly*, The Christian Law in this Matter, doth not so consist in an indivisible Point, as that any set Proportion can be defined, lower than which would be the Sin of Avarice, and higher than which the Sin of Prodigality: but is allowed its Latitude, within which it may move higher, or lower, without Sin: Yet still so as it may on one Side be so low, that it will be an unchristian Love of Money; and on the other Side so high, that it may be an unwarrantable Prodigality: Which two Extremes being by the Help of the former Directions avoided, the Rule will be, That the more liberal we are to them that want, the more acceptable we shall be in the Sight of God; and the more liberally rewarded: According to that of the Apostle, 2 Cor. ix. 6. *He that soweth bountifully shall reap bountifully*; by which is meant not only God's abundant Retributions of Glory in another World, but even his Payments of temporal Plenty here, to those who have made this Christian Use of the Talent committed to their Trust.

It would certainly be a prevailing Motive to all, even the most worldly-minded Men, to *cast their Bread thus upon the Waters*, if it would return to them again in this Life with Increase; Liberality being a Thing pleasant and delightful to Flesh and Blood, even in the most covetous-minded Man; and there being no-

thing imaginable to deter any from the Practice of *so lovely a Duty*, but the Fear of diminishing their Store, or bringing themselves to Want by that Means. For this Cause we shall pursue the last Assertion a little farther, and prove, that there is no Reason to doubt of this Truth, that Mercifulness, and Christian Liberality, is the surest Way to Plenty and Contentment in this Life. So far is it from being a Means of impoverishing any, that it is constantly, when exercised as it ought, a Means of enriching them. And that this may not seem a Fancy, or mere Speculation, we should take notice, that there is not any one temporal Thing, for which there are so many evident Promises in the Scripture as this. Of which for a Ground of Faith we shall name some.

When God prescribed a Form of Prayer to be used by him that *had made an End tything all the Tythe of his Increase the third Year*, that is, who had paid the Poor their Patrimony, he gave the Man that had so done, Liberty and Privilege of Claim to all Kind of earthly Blessings: *Then thou shalt say before the Lord thy God, I have given to the Stranger, to the Fatherless, to the Widow, &c.* And thereupon, *Look down from Heaven and bless thy People Israel, and the Land which thou hast given us, a Land flowing with Milk and Honey*, Deut. 26. 11, 13, 15. The Mention of the Milk and Honey, and Affluence, is an Interpretation what that Blessing is, which is there prayed for so confidently; namely, temporal Plenty here: And God's prescribing this Form of Prayer, is Argument enough that God will grant it to every one that having performed this Condition, doth humbly in Prayer require the Performance of such Promise. Only by the Way, these two Things must go together inseparably, Performance of the Condition, and then Prayer to God. According to that of the blind Man in the Gospel, that who-

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soever is a *Worshipper of God, and doth his Will, him he beareth.*

Other Places fit to be joined with this of the Law, we may take as follows. In the Psalms of *David* we have, *Blessed is he that considereth the Poor and Needy:* And what kind of Blessing is this, appears by the Context, *The Lord will deliver him, preserve him, keep him alive, bless him on the Earth, &c.* But above others, one very remarkable Place that Book affords: *I have been young,* says the Royal Prophet, *and now am old, yet saw I never the Righteous forsaken, nor his Seed begging Bread,* Psal. 41. 1. What is meant by the Righteous there, will be evident, if we consult two other Verses of the same Psalm. *The Righteous sheweth Mercy, and giveth;* and *The Righteous is ever merciful, and lendeth.* His Liberality is supposed such, and so continual, that one would think it enough to exhaust his Patrimony, and bring him, at least his Posterity, to Want and Beggary; and yet in all *David's* Observation, he hath found by Experience, so far as to make an Aphorism of it, that none were ever brought to Want by that Means; but, as it follows for Confirmation of this Truth, *His Seed is blessed:* His Posterity are prosperous, as if their Father had digged through the Mine into Hell, where the Poets thought Riches dwelt, to fetch out Treasure for them. Indeed the Rule does not necessarily hold so far, that no other Means can make a merciful Man poor; for perhaps Negligence, Suretiship, or some other Sin lived in, and bringing a Curse upon him, may do it, and Mercifulness may not prove an Antidote sufficient to secure him against all other Poisons: But thus far it doth in *David's* Observation hold; That Mercifulness itself never brings any Man to Want, whatever else may; but, on the contrary, that it is an ordinary Means to help to more Wealth, to enrich the Posterity, and to bestow temporal Blessings on them:

A favourable Influence this hath upon all that belongs to him. And this, which *David* mentions as an Aphorism of his own Observation, we might extend to all Ages, and challenge any Historian of past, or Observator of present Times, to give one Instance, out of his own Knowledge, of any Christian Alms-giver that ever brought himself or his Posterity to Want by that Means.

To these Quotations from the Psalms, we shall add a few Places of Testimony also out of the Proverbs of *Solomon*. *There is that scattereth,* saith he, *and yet increaseth;* Prov. 11. 24. Meaning, that one Sort of Scatterers there is, who increase by scattering; and there is no Cause of Doubt but that the merciful Man is this Kind of Scatterer; which farther appears by the Opposition in the rest of the Verse: *There is that withholdeth more than is meet, and it tendeth to Poverty.* It is indeed a strange Thing, that Scattering should be a Means of increasing; and withholding of Poverty: But when 'tis considered how all temporal Plenty is of God's disposing; how by his Blessing, and the *opening of his Hand, all Things are filled with Plenteousness;* and by the withdrawing of his auspicious Influence, all Things become unprosperous; there will be small Difficulty in believing God's Promise for such Matters as these. Besides, the following Verses make this farther clear. *The liberal Soul shall be made fat; and he that watereth shall be watered himself also.* And selling of Corn being an Act of Liberality, it is said of him that *selleth it,* in Opposition to him that *withholdeth it,* that *Blessing shall be upon his Head.* Again, *The Righteous,* (that is, the Liberal again, as opposite to him that *trusteth in Riches*) *shall flourish as a Branch;* he shall be very prosperous. And though it follow *that the Righteous shall be recompensed on Earth;* (meaning, that they shall meet with Afflictions and Punishments

ments here,) yet is that common State of good Men reconcileable with temporal Blessings here. And this we learn from our Lord himself, who when he promises his Followers *an hundred Fold more in this Life*, joins Persecutions, the Christian's Portion, along with it.

By all these Testimonies from the Word of God, both in the New and Old Testament, we may conclude this Doctrine to be as clear as any in the Scripture; and that the Promise of temporal Plenty to the Liberal is so distinct and infallible, that it can be no less than very gross Ignorance of plain Scripture not to observe it, and arrant Infidelity not to believe it. And this perhaps is the Meaning of those Words of our Saviour, *Luke vi. 35. Love your Enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again; or as the Greek signifies, distrusting nothing; that is, making no Doubt, but that God will repay thee, though he to whom thou givest, do not; at least never fearing that God will suffer thee to be the poorer for Want of that, which in Obedience to him, and Dependance on his Promises, is thus liberally laid out by thee. Agreeable to which is that apostolical Saying of Barnabas in his Epistle; Make no Doubt to give, neither murmur when thou hast given; give to every one that asketh thee; Where not doubting before giving, and not murmuring after it, is a Paraphrase of the Passage in St. Luke, which we render, not distrusting. Indeed it is an unreasonable as well as an unchristian Sin, not to practise a Duty, which is in its own Nature so amiable, and so agreeable to our Humour and Disposition, as we are Men. To him that believes, and so rests secure of this one Particular, that he shall not be the poorer, for what he parts with on these Terms, there is not the least Objection or Temptation imaginable against it, though even the covetous Man himself were allowed to be the Objector.*

No. LVIII.

We come now to the second Particular mentioned in our Division of this Doctrine of Alms; namely, the *Caution interposed*, that *we do not Alms to be seen of Men*; nor use any Means in the doing of them, to *have Glory of Men*, and to be praised or commended by them. This is an Infirmity very ordinarily insinuating itself in our best Actions, to blast and defame them in the Eyes of God; every Man being apt to desire to be better thought of by Man for the Performance of this Duty, especially if he exceed others in it.

Obj. *But were we not commanded before, that our Light should shine before Men? Now what is that but to do our good Works so, that Men may see them?*

To this we answer, 1st, By observing that the Performance of Duties to God may be either publick or private; the one in the Congregation, the other in the Closet. The former ought to be as publick as it may, that so it may be more exemplary, and tend more to the glorifying of God; and to that the shining of our Light belongs: The Second, as *private* as it may, to approve ourselves the more to God, and to demonstrate that it is only our Love and Obedience to him, and not our Desire of the Praise of Men, that moves us to do what we do. And to this second Sort of Performances this Caution here appertains. And though this be more illustriously observable in the two following Duties of Prayer and Fasting, yet will it hold in some Measure here also; the Church being designed for giving, as well as for those other Duties, and every Christian antiently being wont to bring somewhat to the *Corban* every Time he came to Church; a Remainder of which Custom we have still, in the Offertory at the Sacrament.

Secondly, There is great Difference betwixt *doing our good Works so, that Men may see them; and doing them to be seen of Men*: And again, between *doing them so before*

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before Men, that they may see, and glorify our Father in Heaven; and that we may have Glory of Men. The former, if it have not the latter to blast it, is only a charitable Care, that my good Actions may be exemplary to others; the Second, that they may be matter of Reputation to myself: The former respects only God's Glory, and not mine own; the Second my own vain Credit here, and not the Praise, or Glory of God. The First is a most Christian Act, an Expression of great Love to God, and Desire to propagate his Kingdom; of great Love to my Brother, and Desire to make all others as good as myself, by setting them such Copies on purpose to transcribe: The Second is as Evidence of great Passion and Self-love, and Impatience of having our Reward put off to so long a Date, as the Reversion in another World. And consequently these two are very different, and accordingly are very differently rewarded. The First, with a great Degree of Glory, for the Glory we have brought to God's Name: The Second is so odious in the Sight of God, that even our Alms-giving, or best Actions, are eaten through by this Means, and find no Reward in another World: The little Reputation gotten here, and affected by us, must serve our Turns, as the only Reward we are to hope for; which shews the Unhappiness and Folly of this Sin of Vain-glory, as it robs us of all the Reward that our most esteemable free-will Offerings, our highest Works of Mercy, can hope for from God.

That this Vain-glory is a Sin we have no Room to question, as it is a Deflexion to the Creature. And if it be the principal Motive of our Actions, it is a grievous Sin, irreconcilable with Charity, or the Favour of God; for it proves that the Praise of Men rules in us, and not the Love of God. But if the Love of God be the Principle, or prime Mover of our Actions, and this other of the Desire to

be seen of Men, do only steal in, as a secondary Interest of our own; then, though it be a Sin still, and such an one, as may deprive us of all future Reward of that good Work to which it is adherent, yet through God's Mercy in *Christ*, and his equitable Interpretation of our Infirmities, it will not prevail so far, as to separate between God and us eternally, or to cast us out of his Favour. This may be concluded by Analogy from that hard Place of *St. Paul*, where he speaks of *trying Men's Works by Fire*, &c. 1 Cor. iii. 12, 13, 14, 15. or at least it is explained by that Place, and used as an Example, whereby that which is there said, may be illustrated. The Apostle reasons thus: The *Foundation* being once laid, (that is, *Jesus Christ* being set the Principle of all our Actions;) the Superstructures on this Foundation are either of pure substantial Metal, which will bear the Test, or Judgment of God; or else of a baser Sort, which will not hold out the Trial, but will perish in the Fire: And such are these Alms-givings of ours, which have this Desire of Vain-glory mixed with them. The former of these Works, as Gold, abide the Trial, and are rewarded: The latter, like Wood, perish in the Fire and are burnt. They cannot be accounted to him who does them for Reward; and so all those good Deeds of his come to nothing, there being this Mukt or Punishment upon him for his Fault: But yet the Foundation remaining still firm, namely the Faith and Love of God in his Heart, *He himself shall be saved, or escape*; yet so as by, or *through the Fire*. As one that being in the midst of a Fire, hath his very Clothes burnt from his Back, and escapes only with his Life; so these tainted Works of his are lost, but himself escapes, naked and bare, to be, as it were, one of the Door-keepers in the House or Kingdom of God. But the Favour which he finds, who is thus guilty of this blasting Sin, will give

give him but little Encouragement, to indulge to it, when he knows, that it is the chief in his Heart, and the Principle of his Actions; it is then an Act of Infidelity, and little Mercy is to be expected for it. And even when it comes in but as a Secondary, and appendent to his good Deeds done out of a right Principle, 'tis yet then a Means to deprive him of all the Reward or Benefit of his best Actions, and brings him to a very low Estate here, and a comparatively mean one hereafter. All which he that will adventure for a little Praise of Men, that mere Blast of Wind, is surely very ill advised.

This being so unhappy a Sin, and so hardly gotten out of us, 'tis proper we should consider what Means are necessary to prevent our falling into it. And here we shall mention, 1st, A Consideration of the Price it costs us; *Ye have no Reward of your Father which is in Heaven*; or, which is just the same, *Ye have your Reward here, and so none behind in another World.* 2^{dly}, A Resolution beforehand, never to make our good Deeds more publick, than the Circumstances, necessarily attending the present Occasion, extort from us. If we do every good Deed in the Season and Place that God represents the Object to us, let him alone to provide for his own Glory, that is to rise from it: We need not in that Respect to use any Artifice to publish it, under Pretence of making our *Light shine before Men*. We must not *blow a Trumpet*, or use any Means proportionable to that, though in a lower Degree, to call Men's Eyes towards us: Nor do what we do, by Choice, in the *Market Place*, or *Street*, or any other Place of publick Meeting and Concourse. But 3^{dly}, rather on the other Side, if we find that Humour of Vanity getting in upon us, we must labour for the greatest Secrecy imaginable; for that is meant by the Phrase of *not letting*

the Left-Hand know what the Right-Hand doeth. And this by the Way gives also a very useful Advertisement for our Direction in our dispensing of Alms. Not to do them so much to the common Beggar in the Street, (who is here by Accident literally excluded, and for the most Part is a disorderly Walker, and not the fittest Object of such Charity;) but to the poor Labourer in Secret, the House-keeper who comes not abroad, and yet needs Relief, to support the Burthen of a numerous Family, and who withal cannot be any Temptation to our vain-glorious Humour. 4^{thly}, The fourth Means is a Contemplation of the Reward that attends our Contempt of the Praise of Men; a *thousand times more*, even in Kind, than that which the vain Man attains to; being praised of God openly before Men and Angels, in a full Choir all looking upon us, and applauding; and not only being praised, but rewarded also.

We have thus gone through the First of the three Things, treated of in this Part of our Lord's Sermon; and proceed now to the Second, in all which we shall observe the same general Parts as before; namely, A *Duty supposed*, and a double *Caution interposed*. The Duty supposed is *Prayer*; that great and prime Branch of the Worship of God, required of all who acknowledge him to be God; and most reasonable for all, who acknowledge the World to be ruled by his Providence, and themselves to have any need of his Grace or Pardon; and by all who hope for any Reward from him in another World.

As to the Kinds of Prayer, we may observe, *First*, that there is Prayer of the Heart, and of the Tongue. Prayer of the *Heart*, when the Soul sighs out its Desire to God; and of the *Tongue* added to that, when we put up our Requests in an audible Manner, which is then *vocal Prayer*. 2^{dly}, There is either publick or

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private Prayer. *Publick Prayer* is of two Sorts; either in the Church, or in the Family.

First, In the Church, or Place of meeting together, for all that will join with us. And this is very useful and necessary, for the following Reasons. *1st*, For the publick Testimony of our Piety, *2^{dly}*, For the stirring up and inflaming of others. *3^{dly}*, For the making of those common publick Requests, wherein all that meet are concerned; as when we pray for all Men, for the whole Church, for the Rulers and Magistrates of that Community wherein we live, for Pardon of Sins, for the Gift of Grace, for Preservation from Danger, and for any other Thing, that, as Fellow-Members of a Church or State, we may equally stand in need of. *4^{thly}*, For the more effectual prevailing with God; the Union of so many Hearts being most likely to succeed, and the Presence of some Godly having Power to bring down Mercies on those others, whose Prayers for themselves have no Promise to be heard; especially if the whole be performed by a Person whose Office it is to draw nigh unto God, and to be the Ambassador and Messenger between God and Man.

2^{dly}, There is publick Prayer in the Family, which is a lesser Congregation; the Master or Father of it being to supply the Place of the Priest, and to ask those Things which are discerned to be most needful for all there present. Then for private Prayer in the same Family, that may be of two Sorts again; either of Husband and Wife together, who being as it were one Flesh, have many Relations common to one another, which are yet distinct and peculiar from all others; or of every Man and Woman singly, retired from all others, in the Closet, or any other Place proper for that Purpose.

The Parts of Prayer are set down by St. Paul, in these Words: *Supplications,*

Prayers, Intercessions, giving of Thanks.

The *first* seemeth to refer to Confession and Acknowledgment of Sin, and beseeching Pardon: A necessary daily Duty both in Publick and Private, for ourselves and others; but in Private to be performed more distinctly and particularly by Way of Enumeration of the Kinds and aggravating Circumstances of our Sin. The *second* is the petitioning or requesting of all Things necessary for our Bodies or Souls, in all our Capacities; either as single, or as married Persons; as Members of Families, of Kingdoms, of Christendom, or of Mankind itself. The *third* is the interceding or mediating for others; offering up Prayers for Friends, for Enemies, for all Men, especially for our lawful Governors, *Kings, and all that be in Authority*, spiritual and civil. The *fourth* is the returning our Acknowledgments to God for all Benefits received by us, or others; being bound by the Rule of Gratitude to be mindful of what we have received; by the Rule of Piety, to acknowledge God's Hand in bestowing them; by the Rule of Charity, to be sensible of whatever Good any Part of Mankind hath been Partaker, from that great Spring of Goodness, as well as ourselves; and by all these, to express our Acknowledgment in all our Prayers and Addresses to Heaven.

This great Duty, consisting of these so many Parts, must be performed frequently by every Christian, without slackening or intermitting of it; but how frequently, there is no Precept in this Place or any other Scripture; which argues, that though the Substance of the Duty be under particular Precept, yet the Frequency is left, after the Manner of other Free-will Offerings, to every Man's own Conscience and Prudence, as Occasions and Circumstances shall direct. Yet, from the Commands and Examples of Scripture, some special Directions we may take with us. As *1st*, That one Day

Day in seven is to be set apart for this Purpose: For though the Sabbath is not to be all spent in the Performance of this one Duty; yet this Duty ought on that Day to be carefully performed both in the Church, the Family, and in Private; and that with more Solemnity than ordinary. 2dly, That other Times taken Notice of by the Church, (either by Way of Commemoration of particular Passages in the Story of *Christ*, or by Way of Commemoration of some notable Benefits received, or on Occasion of particular Urgencies,) be by us solemnly observed also, according to the Rule both of the antient Church, and of the present particular Church wherein we live in like Manner as the *Jews* observed their Days appointed them by Law. 3dly, That no Man omit to perform this Duty, at least Morning and Evening, every Day; this being solemnly required of the People of God, who are directed by the Law of Piety to begin and close all with Prayer. This the very Heathens could judge necessary; and surely it is the least that can be meant by that Precept of the Apostle, of *praying without ceasing, or continually*. But then 4thly, The Examples of holy Men in Scripture do add to this Number, some more, some less. *David* in one Place specifies the Addition of a third Time of Prayer: *At Morning, and at Evening, and at Noon, will I pray and cry aloud, and he shall hear my Voice*, Psal. 55. 17. Others again observed the *ninth Hour*, that is, three of the Clock in the Afternoon; as *Peter* and *John*, Acts 3. 1. And this is also an *Hour of Prayer*; and by their *going up to the Temple*, it is plain that publick Prayers were used at that Time: Which being added to the former, is a fourth Time. And there is also Proof that the *third Hour*, that is Nine in the Morning, was an Hour of Prayer also; and then that is a fifth Time: And the Evening Prayer being

answerable to the Morning, and so used at Six in the Evening, as the other at Six in the Morning, the Custom of godly Men hath been to shut up the Evening with a Prayer at Nine of the Night; and so that is a sixth Time. To which *David* seems to add a seventh, when he says, *Seven Times a Day do I praise thee*, Psal. 119. 164. where *praising* being the fourth Part of Prayer, may be a Denotation of the whole Duty; though the Truth is, the Phrase *seven Times* may possibly be taken not strictly to signify that Number, but as a Form of Speech to denote Frequency.

These Directions put together, and compared with the Leisure that every Man hath from the Duties of his Calling, with the invaluable Benefits of Prayer, with the Power of Importunity, as acknowledged by *Christ*, and with the Reasonableness of giving God a liberal Portion out of our Time, as well as our Estates; will be very helpful to any one that would judge discreetly what is to be done in this Business: And then still we must remember this Maxim, That what is well done, and well circumstantiated, being for the Substance a Duty commanded; the more of it is performed, it will be more acceptable to God.

We have now past through the second Period of this Chapter, the weighty Duty of Prayer, let us advance to the third concerning *Fasting*, which reacheth thro' the next three Verses, and is introduced with the Word *moreover*, which was not used in the second of these Periods: Which Word denotes this Duty not to be so frequently taken Notice of as the former, but that it is also a Duty necessary to be superadded to the Practice of the other two, if we will be Disciples of *Christ*; it being a Part of the Worship of God also, especially when it cometh in Conjunction with them.

Fasting,

Fasting, the Duty here spoken of, means not the solemn prescribed Fasts of the *Jews*, such as the great Day of Expiation, (called the *Sabbath which God hath chosen*;) nor those three which were added to that under the Time of the second *Temple*; (for those were not to be concealed or dissembled;) but Days of private Fasting, which every one prescribed themselves, as Free-will-offerings; some once, some twice, some oftner every Week; denying themselves their ordinary Food, commonly not eating till the going down of the Sun, and then moderately also. Which Exercise as *Christ* disliketh not, but rather approveth it by his Mention here, so he desires to free and secure it from the vain-glorious Design of pharisaical Hypocrites in the using of it. But before we can be well capable of hearing, and assenting to our Duty in this Particular of Fasting, it will be necessary, by Way of Preparative, to know our Duty in Respect of Sobriety; or what eating and drinking, abstracted from the Superaddition of this Duty of Fasting, is lawful for Christians. For as he who is not advanced so far in the School of Nature as to observe Rules of Justice, will scarce be a fit Auditor of the Doctrine of Alms-giving premised; so certainly he that hath not submitted himself to the Rules of Sobriety, will be hardly brought to hear of Fasting. Besides, the unjust Man's Alms will avail him little; and as little the Drunkard's or Glutton's Fasts. And therefore it will not be amiss a while, before we proceed, to take in the Consideration of this Duty of Sobriety.

Whatsoever may be said of Temperance in eating and drinking under the Old-Testament, among the *Jews*, 'tis manifest that this Temperance is now strictly commanded Christians in the New-Testament; and that under the Threat of Damnation, to him who frequently, willingly, and indulgently offendeth herein.

Thus 'tis said of Drunkards, that they shall not *inherit the Kingdom of God*, 1 Cor. 6. 10. Where the Word is not to be restrained to those who drink to Bestiality, to the depriving themselves of the Use of their Reason, but, belongs to all who drink Wine, or strong Drink, intemperately, though through their Strength of Brain they be not at present intoxicated by it. So among the Works of the Flesh, *which they that do shall not inherit the Kingdom of Heaven*, there is Mention of *Revellings*, or Excess in eating. So in another Place *Surfeiting*, or Excess in eating, and *Drunkennes*, or Excess in drinking, are forbidden together. And on the other Side Sobriety is commanded. And it is mentioned as a special Design and End of the appearing of *Christ*, that we should be instructed to walk *soberly, and righteously, and godly, in this present World*: The second of those three referring to our Duty to our Neighbour; the third to our Duty toward God, and the first, that of Sobriety, to our Duty toward ourselves; nothing tending more to the Preservation of ourselves than Sobriety, and nothing being hurtful, and more disagreeable with that Charity which we owe to ourselves, than Intemperance: And so in those three is the whole Duty of Man comprized.

The Sorts of Excess in eating and drinking, to which Sobriety is opposed, are two. One is in the Quantity, when we eat or drink to the overcharging of the Body: And the Sobriety contrary to that, is the eating or drinking no more than agrees with the Health and good Temper of it, though we allow ourselves Pleasure in the Choice of Meats. The other Excess is in the Quality or Delicacy of Meats or Drinks, and a studied Care and Pursuit of such as are most delightful: And the Sobriety contrary to this, is when we content ourselves with that Meat and Drink which is necessary or useful to the

the Health and Strength of our Bodies, and neglect or despise all other Delicacies. The former of these Excesses is so forbidden, that he who useth it, is *excluded from the Kingdom of God*, 1 Cor. vi. 10. Gal. v. 21. And consequently the contrary Sobriety is strictly commanded under that heavy Penalty. And though the second kind of Excess is not so forbidden, nor the contrary Sobriety not so commanded, as that Exclusion from the Kingdom of Heaven should be the absolute Portion of him, who useth it; yet because two Considerations there are, which make this Excess in the Quality or Delicacy to be disagreeable to the Evangelical Rule of Life, we ought to conclude, that this kind of Sobriety is commanded also, and that the contrary Habit to it deserves to be deemed a Sin.

These two Considerations are, *1st*, The Hope of eternal Life, and the endless spiritual Joys which are proposed to us in the New Testament; and which, if they be ever suffered to enter into our Hearts, will produce a Dis-esteem and mean Opinion, and in Time a Contempt and Scorn, of all carnal Delights and Pleasures; will bring us to an *using* the pleasant as well as the profitable Part of *the World*, as if we used it not; to a Neglect of any Choice or Superfluity; an abstaining purposely from all unnecessary Pleasure. The second Consideration is the Duty of Charity and Liberality to our poor Brethren, required of us, and recommended to us, in the Gospel: In which he that fares deliciously, and takes care, not only for the preserving of his Health and Strength, but also for the pleasing and entertaining of his Palate, will surely be less able to discharge his Duty; that extraordinary Pleasure bringing a superfluous Expence along with it. These two Considerations make it very hardly separable from Sin, for any Man to allow himself this second kind of Excess; though no particular

Sentence can be pronounced on him that is guilty of it, for the following Reasons. Because there is not in the New Testament any particular immediate Command against it: Because the Virtue of Sobriety, especially in this second Sort, consists not in any one indivisible Point, so that it may positively be said, that he who eateth this kind of Meat sinneth not, and he who eateth any more delicious, doth sin: Because there is no Rule by which to define delicious Meats; that being most delicious to one, which is less so to another: And, lastly, because to a temperate healthy Man, the plainest and ordinariest Meats may be most delightful and pleasing. For these and the like Reasons we cannot condemn any Man in this Matter, nor tell him the abstaining from Delicacies is by any Precept required of him: But yet, we would beg leave to mention these seven Things. *1st*, That 'tis a vile and unchristian Thing to set the Heart upon such mean carnal Delights, as Meats and Drinks. *2dly*, That what we can conveniently spare from ourselves, we should reserve for those that do, or may want it. *3dly*, That there is an Excess in the Quality, as well as in the Quantity of Meats and Drinks, though we may not certainly tell where it lies. *4thly*, That a Christian will do better to deny himself lawful Pleasures, than to practise all that are not unlawful. *5thly*, That the end of eating and drinking is the Preservation of Health and Strength, and not the delighting of the Palate. *6thly*, That though a healthy Man's Appetite commonly demands those Things that are fittest for him, and consequently in that Case the satisfying it may not be amiss; yet the Appetite is oft intemperate in its Demands; or it is tempted many times by some Object, either really present, or being represented by the Fancy; and in either of these Cases, the Motion of the Appetite is no Argument of the Meetness of satisfying it.

it. 7^{thly}, That Fasting, or Abstinence wholly, is a plain Christian Duty, and to be used sometimes. By these Rules may any prudent and sincere Christian direct himself in this Matter, if in the Fear of God he be careful that he offend not against this necessary Duty of Temperance.

Having thus passed through the Doctrine of Sobriety, we may be in some Measure qualified for that of *Fasting*, which occasioned this Discourse of the other. And because we affirmed this to be a Duty supposed in a Christian, and acceptable to God under the Gospel; 'tis proper we should first consider the Grounds or Reasons of that Affirmation: And these are as follow. — 1st, Because it is here, in the same Manner, joined with the two former, Alms-giving and Prayer, which are unquestionably such Duties. 2^{dly}, Because it is here promised a Reward by *Christ*, if it be not blasted by Vain-glory. 3^{dly}, Because 'tis foreseen by *Christ* to be that, which we are apt to expect Praise for among Men. 4^{thly}, Because *Christ* in other Places approves, if not commands, the Use of it; only affirms the Season for his *Disciples* to fast, to be then not so agreeable, *because the Bridegroom was with them; but that when the Bridegroom should be taken away, that is, after the Death and Departure of Christ, then should they fast in those Days.* 5^{thly}, Because *Christ* bringeth in the Pharisee boasting, that he fasts twice in the Week, and lays no manner of Censure on him for so fasting, but only for his Pride in boasting of it: And 'tis St. *Chrysostom's* Direction, that we should *only avoid the Pharisee's Pride, but not neglect his Performances*; as on the other Side, *for sake the Publican's Sins, and retain his Humility.* 6^{thly}, Because it was prevalent with God, being joined with Prayer, to the working of Miracles, and for the obtaining the Presence of the Holy Ghost in a special Manner. And it was used by the

Apostles before the Ordination of Ministers. 7^{thly}, Because the Performance of this, is thought by St. *Paul* a sufficient Occasion for a temporary parting of Man and Wife, which otherwise he would not advise; which signifies this to be an Employment of Weight among Christians. 8^{thly}, Because it is mentioned by St. *Luke* as a part of the Worship of God, joined with Prayer, in the Story of *Anna*, of whom 'tis said, that *she departed not from the Temple, but served God with Prayers and Fastings, Night and Day.* 9^{thly}, Because the Vision of *Cornelius*, which brought him to Christianity, is mentioned to have been at a Time of his Fasting and Praying. 10^{thly}, Because of the many good Ends and Uses, to which Fasting is proper; and in respect of which, it looks yet more like a Christian Virtue, than it doth when considered as a bare Abstinence from a Meal.

There is one Objection against all which hath been here said in this Matter, and it is this: *That there is not any Command or Precept of Fasting in the New Testament: And for the Old Testament, though there be a Command for the Observation of the great Day of Expiation every Year; yet that was only obligatory to the Jews; besides that it was a publick Fast, and not pertinent to this Place, which speaks of private Fasts; and even if it should be thought to concern us, yet being but once in the Year, it would be considerable: From all which it may seem to follow, that Fasting is not now acceptable to God.*

To this whole Objection the Answer is, That there is no Necessity of a Precept of Fasting, to assure us that it will be acceptable to God. There was no Precept for voluntary Oblations under the Law, and yet they are accepted. And many Evidences may be produced, to prove the Use of Fasting to be acceptable to God, though not commanded. But farther, Though there be no explicit Command of Fasting

Fasting in the New Testament, yet from the Nature and Constitution of the Gospel it may be collected, that there are in some Cases certain tacit Commands of it. As, when all Degrees of Uncleaness, all satisfying the Desires of the Flesh, are forbidden, save only in lawful Matrimony; in the same Place, to him that finds himself unable thus to live in conjugal Chastity, the using of Means, which may help to it, are tacitely commanded by God; and so consequently Fasting, which may be the only Means left to such a Person. And then as to the Disciples, who could not cast out a Devil which would not depart by *Prayer and Fasting*, it is accounted Infidelity by *Christ*, not to use that Means. The same may be said, in Case the Magistrate, under whom we live, prescribes the Observation of a Fast; or whenever any Man seeth it necessary, and that he shall be hindered from the performing of some other Duty, unless he fast that Day. *Lastly*, A Man may discern himself able, without any Detriment to his Health, or Danger of shortning his Life, to use frequent Fasting, and by that Means much advance his spiritual Ends; and then surely the Commands of Praying, and Mercifulness, will be also tacite Commands of Fasting. So that though there be not any particular explicit Precept, obliging every Man whatsoever, under Pain of Sin, to fast simply, thus or thus often; yet tacite Commands there may be, to them that are by any of these Circumstances fitted for it. And even those that for the present are not bound by any of these, it will be fit they should consider Fasting as a Duty which they may be concerned in. At least, they should remember, that they are Christians, who aspire to an angelical Life, and invisible Joys; and should therefore deny themselves the sensual Pleasures of eating, and drinking, so far as to the Preservation of

Life and Health, and to their Duty to themselves, may be agreeable.

Thus have we passed through these three great Christian Duties, which by their so near Confederacy here, and by what we have said of them, appear to be so linked together, that it is very reasonable we should set apart some Time for the joint Practice of them all together: For though it may be fit to give Alms when we pray not, or fast not; and to pray when we neither give Alms, nor fast; yet certainly Fasts, wherein some Expence is saved, should be joined with Almsgiving, distributing to the Poor that which is thus spared; and also with Prayer. God give us Hearts thus to practise it!

DISSERTATION V.

Of the Love of Wealth, and worldly Care.

THIS Dissertation is confined to two Things, the latter of which is naturally appendant to the former; and of these we shall treat in the present Discourse. In the former part our Lord endeavours to mortify in us all *inordinate Desire or Love of Wealth*; in the latter, he aims at moderating our *worldly Care, or secular Providence*.

The Verses against an *inordinate Desire of Wealth*, the First of these two Particulars, are as follows: *Lay not up for yourselves Treasures upon Earth, where Moth and Rust doth corrupt, and where Thieves break through and steal. But lay up for yourselves Treasures in Heaven, where neither Moth nor Rust doth corrupt, and where Thieves do not break through nor steal. For where your Treasure is, there will your Heart be also. The Light of the Body is the Eye: If therefore thine Eye be single, thy whole Body shall be full of Light;*

but if thine Eye be evil, thy whole Body shall be full of Darknefs. If therefore the Light that is in thee be Darknefs, how great is that Darknefs! No Man can serve two Masters: For either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.

In order to come at a full Understanding of this Passage, we must remember that *Treasure* is a metaphorical Word, used to signify that which Men love, and desire most importunately, and set their Hearts upon; and so the Prohibition of *laying up our Treasure on Earth*, is in Effect the forbidding to love, or desire, or set the Heart upon, any earthly Riches as a Possession; but only to use them so, as may most improve our future Account, by liberally dispensing of them, as it were to raise a Bank, which may enrich us forever in another World. For the enforcing of which Prohibition and Exhortation, our Lord mentions two Things.

First, The Vanity and Uncertainty of worldly Riches; which evidences how unfit they are for our Hearts to be set upon. One Kind of them, that which consists in costly Vestments, the Moth, a poor despicable Creature, can and doth destroy and make useless. Another Kind, our Corn, and other the like Fruits of the Earth, (of which the Fool so applauded himself, that he *had Store for many Years*;) Eating, whether of Men, or Vermin, bringeth to nought. For so the Word, which is rendered *Rust* in our Bibles, properly signifies. And therefore if we retain the Word *Rust*, it must be taken as it belongs to Corn in the Field, for that which more commonly is called *Smut*; when by some Wind, or the like, the Grain is smitten, or blasted, and made good for nothing. And then for Money, or any other kind of Treasure, be it never so closely and safely lock'd up, Thieves can, and frequently do, *break through and*

steal it from us. And it is observable, that Moths, and the like, are bred in the Things themselves which they destroy; and so those kind of Possessions are subject to these Destroyings, when no outward Violence approaches them. And it is a weighty Evidence of the Vanity and Uncertainty of Riches, that many Times vast Estates, and Possessions, do insensibly, no Man knows how, crumble and moulder to nought; rich Men, without any visible Expences, come to mere Beggary, and all the Care in the World cannot keep them from it, but rather betrays them farther; the greater their Love of Money is, the swifter their Ruin follows them.

Secondly, The *insatiating Power* of Riches, when we come once so to love them, as to resolve to have them at all Hazards; and to that Purpose when we serve, or wait upon them, which way soever they lead us. Our Hearts are then so wholly set upon them, that we cannot at all serve God, or endeavour to approve ourselves to him. This our Saviour proves by the Contrariety of the Commands of these two Masters, God and *Mammon*: For if their Commands might be subordinate one to the other, they might both have their answerable Obedience; God in the first Place, and *Mammon*, or worldly Wealth, in the Subordination. But God's Commands being contrary to those Courses which are necessary to the getting of Riches, he that will grow rich at all Events, must give over all Hope and Pretension of being God's Servant.

These Commands of God, that are so irreconcilable with the Service of *Mammon*, or a vehement Desire of Wealth; are *1st*, his Commands of doing Justice, as that excludes all Violence, Fraud, Oppression, and the like. *2dly*, That Command of the Justice of the Tongue, in performing of promises; though to the greatest Hindrance and Damage in the World.

World. 3dly, His Command of absolute Contentment, in what State soever we are set by him. 4thly, That Command of selling, and giving to the Poor; by which we are bound, if we cannot relieve an indigent Brother in Distress, but by selling somewhat of our own, then to do that, tho' it be seemingly most contrary to prospering, or thriving in the World. 5thly, That Command of Freedom and Ingenuity of Spirit; of Unconcernedness in these worldly, inferior, transitory Things; of Self-resignation, and Dependence on God's Providence for our daily Bread; instead of all the anxious Fidelity of the Worldling. To which we may add, 6thly, That Precept of earnest Desire, and contending for Peace; and 7thly, Those of Meekness, Patience, praying for Enemies, and the like; all which are Bars to an inordinate Pursuit of Riches.

But that we may see how all those are so irreconcilable with *Mammon's* Commands, let us consider the following Particulars, by Way of Opposition to the former.—*Mammon* prescribeth Violence to every Man; it puts us on oppressing the poor righteous Man, and indeed any one that stands in our Way, to our espoused Gain.—*Mammon* commands not only despising of our Faith in the Performance of disadvantageous Promises, but also false accusing, blasting, defaming, of any who are likely to keep, or get any Preferment or Possession, that we have a Mind to: As in the Example of *Jezebel* toward *Naboth* it appears, when her Husband had a longing after *Naboth's* Vineyard.—*Mammon* commands a perpetual Unsatisfiedness; a Kind of dropical Thirst, if we may be allowed the Expression, which is infused still more and more at the encreasing of our Plenty.—*Mammon* will not be our Friend, but on Condition that we be more importunate in getting Wealth, more passionate in making Court to him, after this Increase,

that we were before: Whence generally we may observe, that the more Possessions Men attain to, still the more covetous they grow.—*Mammon* hath all Manner of slavish Tremblings; cowardly, disingenuous Fears, for his Subject's Task; a dismal Thoughtfulness at every Apprehension of Danger; a perpetual hovering over his Wealth; and a venturing on any, the most unlawful, unchristian Practice, whenever the great Law of Self-preservation, as he falsely calls it, suggests it to him.—*Mammon* again sets Man upon the most malicious Acts of Revenge. The covetous Man hath still so many Enemies in his black Book, so many Quarrels to answer, Injuries to repay, Trespases to revenge, that his whole Life is a Kind of Hell to him: And not knowing how to be quit with every one of them, he is fain to treasure up Quarrels many Years together, and study nothing but the Payment of such Debts.

Other Contrarieties might be mentioned between the Commands of God and *Mammon*. God commands to keep the Heart with all Diligence, *Mammon* to keep the Wealth. God commands Sorrow for Sin; *Mammon* Sorrow for Losses. God commands Confession of Christ; and all Christian Truth; and never more than when it is most opposed, and like to bring most Danger to the Confessor. *Mammon* commands Prudence, Wariness, a Time-serving: Caution never to hazard any thing for Truth's Sake. Hence we read that the Righteous is as bold as a Lion, while the *Mammonist*, with his Wealth and Heaps before him, dares not stir, without an Assurance that it shall cost him nothing. These and an hundred more Contrarieties evidence the Truth of our Saviour's general Speech. That no Man can serve two Masters; and as it is brought home to this Conclusion, You cannot serve God and Mammon.

But besides this, there is a positive Exhortation

hortation in those Verses to Charity, and Liberality; which is meant by *laying up our Treasure in Heaven*; that is, so laying out our Wealth, as that it may bring us in everlasting Returns. For thus Christ explains the Phrase by the like in another Place; Matt. xix. 21. *Give to the Poor, and thou shalt have Treasure in Heaven*; and, Luke xvi. 9. *Make you Friends of the Unrighteous, or transitory Mammon, that when you fail, they may receive you into everlasting Habitations*. And besides other Benefits of our Liberality, this will be one, That when we thus *lay up* our Wealth, by giving it to God, and his poor Children, our Hearts, which duly follows that Treasure, will have no Temptation to fasten on the Earth, but on Heaven, where our Treasure dwells, where our Hopes are laid up, where our Joy is to be expected.

We need not insist any longer on the general Sense of our Lord in this Passage, it being perfectly obvious and plain: But there are two Verses in the midst of the rest, that are a little obscure, and seem not of a Piece with the Context. They run thus: *The Light of the Body is the Eye: If therefore the Eye be single, thy whole Body shall be full of Light; but if thy Eye be evil, thy whole Body shall be full of Darknes. If therefore the Light that is in thee be Darknes, how great is that Darknes?* These Words, we say, as they are commonly interpreted concerning the Goodness or Illness of Intentions, are not very pertinent to the Business in Hand, which is Liberality and the Love of Money: For which Reason, in order to find out the natural and genuine Interpretation of them, and to shew that they are really pertinent to the present Matter, we must make these four Enquiries. 1st, What is meant by a *single* and an *evil Eye*; 2^{dly}, What by *Light* and *Darknes*; 3^{dly}, What by the Similitude here used; And then,

4^{thly}, How all belongs to the Point in Hand.

1. The Word *single*, signifieth in the New Testament, *Liberal*; the *single Eye*, Liberality, Bounty, Distribution of our Wealth to the Poor. So the Apostle speaks of him *that giveth in Singleness*, or, as our Margin readeth, *liberally*, Rom. xii. 8. Again, *The Riches of your Singleness*, or, as we read, *Liberality*, 2 Cor. viii. 2. Thus we have, *All Singleness*; in the Original, where we read *All Bountifulness*; and *Singleness of Distribution*, where we read *Liberality of Distribution*, or *liberal Distribution*; and *giveth to all Men singly*, where we read *liberally*. Contrary to this, the *evil Eye* signifies Envy, Covetousness, Unsatisfiedness, Niggardliness, and all the Contraries of Liberality. So in the Parable, Matt. xx. 16. the Lord of the Vineyard says to the murmuring Labourer, *Is thine Eye evil, because I am good?* That is, Art thou unsatisfied therefore, because I have been more liberal to another? Thou hast thy due, why art thou discontent, or unsatisfied? In short, it is observable, that Envy is generally set as the Opposite to all Liberality; and God by the Fathers is said to be without Envy, meaning that he is most liberal and bountiful. And the Word which is here rendered *Evil*, is equivalent to an Hebrew Word, which signifies the greatest Degree of Uncharitableness: To which the Word *Eye* is added proverbially, perhaps because that Part hath most to do in Covetousness, which is called the *Lust of the Eye*.

2. By *Light* in this Place, we understand Christianity, or the State of the Gospel. *We are of the Light*, and therefore should *walk like the Children of the Light*. And *Darknes*, contrary to this Light, signifies unchristian Affections or Actions.

3. Now as in the Body of a Man the Eye

Eye is the Director, that shews it what it should do; and if it be as it ought, directeth it the right Way; but if not, leadeth it into most dangerous Errors: So in the Man, the Heart, if it be liberally affected, having *laid up its Treasure in Heaven*, and fastened itself on it, will direct the Man to all manner of good Actions; but if it be covetous, unsatisfied, worldly, illiberal, it brings forth all manner of unchristian heathenish Actions. And then *if the Light that is in thee be Darkness*, (if the Heart in thee be heathenish and illiberal,) *how great is that Darkness?* What an unchristian Condition art thou in?

4. From this Exposition of the Metaphors, and their Use, it is plain enough already, that these Verses belong perfectly to the Business. The Sum of them is this: *1st*, That Liberality and Charity in the Heart is a special Part of Christianity, which hath a strong Influence toward the Production of all Christian Virtues; and it is a main Argument and Evidence of a Christian, when a Man hath this Grace in him. *2dly*, That Uncharitableness, Envy, or Covetousness, is a Sin of very ill Effect and Consequence, that betrays a Man to many other unchristian Sins; fills him full of Iniquity, (for the *Love of Money is the Root of all Evil*) and is a sad Symptom, where ever we find it, of a great deal of Ill besides. All which comes in very pertinently on Occasion of those Words, *Where the Treasure is, there will the Heart be also*; and is a Ground for that appendant Affirmation, *You cannot serve God and Mammon*.

Having thus fully cleared this Difficulty, and passed through the first of the two Things contained in the Remainder of this Chapter, that which belongs to the mortifying *all Desire and Love of Wealth*; we proceed to the other Thing, *the moderating of worldly Care and Providence*, as taught in the following Words: *Take no Thought for your Life.*—Therefore I say un-

to you, Take no Thought, &c. Which Precept we look upon as an Improvement of the tenth Commandment of the Decalogue, and prove it thus.

The negative Part of that Precept of the Law, is directly the Prohibition of all covetous Thoughts and Desires of other Men's Possessions; express'd after the Manner of the *Hebrews*, by Enumeration of Particulars, the House, the Wife, the Servant, &c. Now this Prohibition immediately contains a positive Command of Contentedness with our present Estate, whatever it is, without any Desires of Change, without any murmuring, repining, or disquieting of others. And so thus much is contained in the old Commandment. Which being granted, nothing can be plainer, than that a greater and superior Degree of the same Thing is commanded in this Precept of *not taking Thought for the Morrow*: For that Prohibition doth not only restrain our Appetites from roving to that which is other Mens; from disquieting and disturbing of others, and deriving, or labouring to deprive, another Man of that which is his Property, and may by his Loss, accure to me; but it enjoins also the not disturbing, or disquieting myself, the turning all worldly Thoughts out of my Breast, tho' they have no Relation to the Property of another; and not only those Thoughts which are terminated in another's Loss or Damage.

That we may have a perfect Idea of our Saviour's Intention in this Point, the treating of which takes up all the Verses from the twenty-fifth to the End of this Chapter, 'tis proper we should enlarge on two Things. *1st*, The Precept itself, or Doctrine of worldly Thoughtfulness. *2dly*, The Enforcements of it; shewing how reasonable it is to be observed and practised, though it seem a strange Doctrine.

Too

To begin with the first, and shew what Care and Solitude it is, that is here forbidden: The Character of it is set down in these three several Phrases: *Take no Thought for your Life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your Body, what you shall put on. Take no Thought, saying, What shall we eat or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be clothed. Take no Thought for the Morrow.* From all which it appears, that the Thing here forbidden, is the full Sense of the Greek Word, here rendered *taking Thought*: Which being derived by Grammarians from a Phrase which signifies in English to divide the Mind, seemeth to signify a *Dubiousness of Mind, or Anxiety*; and that Dubiousness to imply a Want, or at least a Defect of Faith; a not believing, as we ought, that God who gives us Life and Bodies, will allow us Means to sustain the one, and array the other. St. Luke expresses the same Thing, by a Word, which we render *doubtful Mind*, or careful Suspence; but which properly signifies a *hanging betwixt two*, a not knowing how to resolve whether God will do this for us, or no. Or perhaps 'tis a figurative Speech, from a Word signifying a *Watch-Tower*, or high Place, whither Men ascend to see what is coming; which is an Argument of great Fear and Care in them. Now that we may have a clear Notion of the Christian Doctrine in this Matter, from the Words thus stated, 'tis proper to set down distinctly these few Propositions.

First, That this is an infallible Truth, that God will for the future provide for every Servant of his, Food and Raiment, a Competence of the Necessaries of Life. This Truth may appear by the Promises to this Purpose in the Scripture; two of which the Margins of our Bibles in this Place refer to. *Cast thy Burthen on the Lord, and he shall sustain thee. Casting all Care on the Lord, for he careth for you.*

To which we may add *Christ's* own Promise, That if we ask we shall have; that is, if we ask not amiss, saith St. James; which surely we do not, if we ask but what he taught us to ask, *This Day our daily Bread, or, Day by Day those Things that are necessary for the Remainder of our Life.* And many other Promises we may observe to the same Purpose; particularly one in this very Place, where it is brought in by Way of Expostulation, *Shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little Faith!* Matt. 6. 30. Intimating strongly a Promise that he shall, and requiring Belief of this Promise at our Hands.

Secondly, That Want of Faith in this Promise, is a Species of the Sin of Infidelity, so severely charged here upon them that believe it not.

Thirdly, That any anxious Solitude for the future, is an Argument of this Distrust, this not daring to rely on God's Providence and Promise; and so an unchristian Sin.

But it will be objected, *That every Man is commanded by the Apostle, To provide for his own, especially those of his own House or Kindred? And if he doth not, he is in the same Place, defined to have denied the Faith, and to be worse than an Infidel?* From whence it should seem, that the *Want of Thoughtfulness, and secular Providence, will rather be Infidelity, than the Practice of it.*

To this we answer, That there is no Need to lay such Weight upon that one Place of St. Paul to Timothy, even though we had Reason to think it contrary to this present Doctrine of our Saviour: For if it were thus, it would be more reasonable to bring St. Paul to our Saviour by some commodious Interpretation, than to evacuate the Force of all our Saviour's Discourse on this Matter, by this one Place of St. Paul. But because there is some Mistake in the general Interpretation of St. Paul's Doctrine here, we shall therefore

fore endeavour to give a clear View of this Place, in a brief Paraphrase.

Let those Widows who are Widows indeed, (that is, who have neither Husbands nor Children to relieve them,) be respected and relieved by the Church. If any Widow having no Husband, hath yet Children, or Grand-Children, let them, (that is, those Children or Grand-Children,) learn first to shew Piety, or Kindness, to their own House, to their Parents, and so repay or requite them for their paternal Care. But the Widow that is perfectly such, (that is, who hath no Children to relieve her,) she doth in that Solitude and Widowhood, hope on God, and continue in Supplications and Prayers Night and Day. But she that lives luxuriously is dead, while she lives. And do you give such Rules as these, that they may be blameless. But if any Man or Woman do not provide for, or relieve those that belong to them, especially those that are of their Family, (as the widow'd Mother or Grandmother must undoubtedly be,) he or she hath denied the Faith, and is worse than an Infidel. Let none be chosen to be a Widow, who is less than sixty Years old, having been the Wife of one Man, &c.

Here we see that this whole Discourse is to shew what Kind of Person might be fit to be chosen to be a Widow in the Church, or one to be maintained out of the Church's Stock; and among the rest of the Qualities required of her, this is one, that she must be one who hath no Child able to maintain her, to provide for her; or, as the Word signifies more generally, *to take Care of her*, as a Father of a Child, or as a Child here of a forlorn destitute Parent. And that differs much from the Notion which worldly minded Persons affix to this Place, thinking themselves obliged to provide Estates and Riches for their Families; whereas the Words cannot be extended to command any more than this, That every Master or

Mistress of a Family, must take care of, and relieve their Parents, and those of their Family, or who remain in their House. And this hath no Relation to that Thoughtfulness, or secular Forecasting, to which in the Objection this Text was applied. The Truth is, the Place refers to the Duty of the Rich, not to let the Church be burthened with relieving their poor Kindred, especially their Parents, who have a Right to live in their House, and a Propriety to be maintained by them. And so it belongs not in the least to the saving of Wealth for them, but the spending it on them when we have it, and not laying it on the Charge of the Church to keep those whom it is our proper Duty to support; and that will sufficiently weaken the objected Argument.

But supposing this secular forecasting and providing for Necessaries of Life, to be the Thing here spoken of, (as it apparently is not;) then to take away all Scruple, and to reconcile Christ's Prohibition with this Precept of St. Paul's, it will be necessary to add a fourth Proposition: *That for present Supplies a Christian not only may, but must, use those lawful and proper Means that are ordinarily in his Power to use, to the attaining that End.* And this is so far from distrusting of God, or not depending and believing on him, that indeed it is a special Act of this Faith; the doing of what he requires us to do, and without our doing of which he hath not promised to supply us.

That no Person may be at a loss to know what are those Means required on our Parts, subservient to God's Providence in feeding and clothing us, we may observe this general Rule; *That all Means perfectly lawful, which are proper to that End, and are no way prohibited by God, are thus required of us, and all unlawful ones are not.* But then particularly

First,

First, Labour and Diligence in one's Calling, is a lawful Means. As in spiritual, so in temporal Things, if we labour or work, God will co-operate. In the War with *Amalek*, when *Israel* fights, God will fight with them. Poverty is the *Amalek*; our honest Labour is our fighting against it. And therefore the idle Person is called, *A disorderly Walker*, 2 Thess. 3. 6, 7, 11, which Word being military, signifies one out of his Rank, one that is not in File to fight against the Enemy: But when we are employed against the Enemy, God our Captain hath sworn that he will have War, that he will fight against that Enemy, with us, forever; and that with a secret Hand, assisting him that is thus busied, and prospering him insensibly that is thus employed. *The Hand of the Diligent*, says the Wise Man, *maketh rich*, Prov. 10. 4. and on the other Side, *He that will not labour*, saith the Apostle, *let him not eat*, 2 Thess. 3. 10. Which is there a Piece of Apostolical Discipline as it were to besiege Idleness, and starve it up: And an Image on Earth of what is done in Heaven; it being the Rule of God's ordinary Providence, that they who neglect the Means, shall not obtain the End. This Promise being conditional, as well as others, not to the idle, prophane Fiduciary; but to the faithful Labourer. The absolute Stoical Dependence on Fate, may starve for want of Industry, die for want of Physick, and be damned for want of Repentance; and all this not through too much, but too little Faith; the not taking the Means along with him, which were predestined by God to bring him to a better End.

A second Sort of Means required of us by God, is Prayer to him for our daily Bread; the Condition without which there is no one Thing, which we have Promise to receive from him, *Ask and ye shall have*; but not otherwise. The Worship

of God is joined with the doing of his Will, to make us capable of God's hearing.

A third Means is *honest Thrift*; the not spending upon our Lusts, or our Vanities, those good Things of this World, that our Labour and Prayers have by God's Blessing brought in to us. For the Prodigal may starve as well as the Sluggard; he that squanders away his Bread, as well as he that doth not earn it. God hath not undertaken for any Sin, that it shall not ruin us: His Protection is like that of the Law, for them only that travel in the Day, and in the Road; not for the disorderly Walkers in any Kind, that have any By-path, or Night-work, to exhaust that Treasure, which his Providence hath bestowed, or is ready to bestow. And the same that we say of Luxury, may be said also of other Harpies and Vultures, which leave Men oft-times as bare as the Highway Robbers: Particularly that fly Sin of close Adultery, which eats out so many Estates: The other of Strife and Contention; the Pestilence that walketh in Darkness, and devours the Wealth as well as the Soul. There are no Reparations to be expected from God for such Losses.

One Means more there is, to which God's Promise of temporal Plenty being annexed, we may well add it to the former; and that is, *fourthly*, the Exercise of Acts of Justice and Mercy; *Bring you all the Tithes*, saith God by *Malachi*, Mal. iii. 10. *into my Storehouse, and prove me now herewith, if I will not open the Windows of Heaven, and pour you out a Blessing*. To which Purpose the Jews had a Proverbial Speech; *Pay Tithes on purpose that thou mayest be rich*. And there are many Places of Scripture to the same Purpose, which before were mentioned in the Discourse on *Liberality*; and Threatnings on the contrary, that the

with-holding more than is meet shall tend to Want.

To these may perhaps be added another Means, having also the Promises of long and prosperous Life annexed to it, That of Meekness and Obedience. Of those who possess this Virtue, the Law saith, *Their Days shall be long in the Land*, flowing with Milk and Honey; and the Gospel, that they *shall possess the Earth*. Thus also it is affirmed of Godliness in general, that it *hath the Promises of this Life*; that is, of so much of the Prosperity of this World, as shall be Matter of Contentment to them. — Now these being by God designed as fit and proper Means to the qualifying us for the Performance of his Promise, and the Condition required on our Parts; it will be but the believing of a Lye for any Man to neglect these several Means required on his Part, and yet to claim or challenge the End promised on God's Part: In the same Manner and Degree as it is for the impenitent Sinner, remaining such, to believe and challenge the Pardon of his Sins and Salvation.

But besides these Means which are thus truly subservient to God's Providence, there are other Things that are mistaken for such Means, but are not; and these are as follow. *1st*, Secular Wisdom, Policy, and Contrivance: For though this may seem sometimes to obtain that End, yet there is no Promise made to it; and it many Times not only faileth of the Design, but bringeth a most remarkable Curse upon it. *2dly*, Hoarding up all that comes; pinching the Back and Belly to fill the Bag. *3dly*, Going to Law, and being contentious. *4thly*, Tenacity, in not giving or lending to those that truly want. *5thly*, Immoderate Care and Sollicitude; loving and courting of the World. *6thly*, Deceit and Injustice; and especially Sacrilege and Perjury. *7thly*, Distrust of God's Promise: For

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surely never any Man got any Thing of God by not trusting him. He that will not take his Word, must find out some other Pay-master. *8thly*, Oppression, Violence, spoiling of others, though they may seem a sure present Course to bring in Wealth: For the Threat of the Prophet belong to such, Isa. xxxiii. 1. *Woe unto thee that spoilest; when thou ceasest to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled*. Men are seldom suffered to taste any of the Fruits of those Sins, lest they or others should fall in Love with them.

From this View of lawful and unlawful Means, as subservient to God's Providence; we may deduce two more Propositions, and add them to the four already mentioned in this Discourse. The *first* is, *That he who useth these true Means appointed by God, and discards the false ones suggested by the World, by Satan, or by his own irregular Appetites, is more sure of not wanting for the future, is better provided for a comfortable old Age, and a thriving Prosperity, than he could possibly be by all the worldly Arts that ever were practised*. He that gives over all anxious Thought for himself, enters into God's Tuition, and then shall surely be never the poorer for not caring. *2dly*, *That the using of unlawful, though never so specious or seemingly necessary Means, to the getting or preserving of worldly Wealth, or the Necessities of Life, is a direct Species of Infidelity, most clearly forbidden in the Phrase of taking no Thought*: This being the distrusting of God and his authorized Means, and flying to the Witch with Saul, or rather to the Devil, to help us to what we want: 'Tis the dividing our Minds, or hanging betwixt two; or rather indeed the *forsaking* of one, and *cleaving* to the other: 'Tis a disclaiming God, and his Providence, and trusting to our selves and our own Artifices. And this surely will be granted to be the greatest Fury, the greatest Perturbation, and

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Anxiety

Anxiety of Mind imaginable; which thus drives us out of our Reason and our Christianity, to those Courses which are most contrary to both.

The Sum, therefore, of our whole Discourse on this Matter, is this: *That for the good Things of the World, God having promised to give them to his Servants, and his Promise being conditional, requiring at our Hands the Use of Means to obtain the Thing promised, it is our Duty to use those Means, and then so fully to trust God for the performing his Promise, as never to have an anxious or dubious Thought about it; never to fly to any unlawful Means, to provide for our selves.* And by this Way of stating the Matter, we find our Saviour's Speech here fully reconciled with St. Paul's Command of Providence, whatsoever that might be thought to signify, and also with Christ's teaching us to pray for temporal Blessings.

But we expect to have it asked, *Whether God doth not sometimes leave Men destitute of Food and Raiment? And how then it can be Infidelity to be anxious in that Point? Or how can God's Promise of caring for us be then said to be performed?*

To this whole Objection we answer by the following Particulars, 1st, That it is not common for Men to be left destitute of Food and Raiment: And though sometimes these cannot be had, but by begging of them, yet God having in his Providence designed the rich Man to be Steward of the Poor, the wealthy Man's Barn to be the poor Man's Store-house; it follows that no Man is left destitute who is afforded this Means. 2^{dly}, There being so many other Means required of us, to be instrumental to God's Providence, it will hardly be found that any Man is left thus destitute, who hath not first been wanting to himself; and so the whole Matter will be imputable to his Default, and not to God's. 3^{dly}, If the Utmost be supposed which is imaginable,

That any Person be left so far destitute, as to come to starve; yet may the Promise of God remain true and firm; for that Promise obligeth him not to eternize the Life of any: Which being supposed, that a Man should die by Famine, is as reasonable and reconcileable with this Promise, as that he should die by Sword, or by Pestilence; and that Death will be as supportable as many other Diseases and Deaths; as of the Stone, Strangury, Dysentery, and the like. 4^{thly}, Suppose God do thus leave us, yet our Anxiety or Solitude, our using of unlawful Means, can never be able to relieve or secure us. Whatsoever we can in this Case call to our Relief, God can curse and blast also, and make it as unable to help us, as the Reed of Egypt: And though sometimes God permits unlawful Means to offer us Help, when lawful fail us, to make Trial of us, whether we will use them, and distrust God; yet is it far more common for those who have fled to all Manner of dishonest Means of increasing Wealth, to come to absolute Beggary and Distress, than for those who trust in God to be reduced to such Extremities. 5^{thly}, Why may it not be thought and found true upon every Man's Self-examination, that such Destitution whenever it befalls a Child of God, is a Punishment of some Sin, which God in Mercy sees fit to punish here, and not in another World. As particularly that of Littleness of Faith in this Matter. Thus Peter's sinking was a Punishment of his Fear, and doubting, and little Faith; which some good Men are very subject to. And wheresoever this Diffidence is found, it may expect to be punished, as being itself a Sin, and containing in it many other Sins. For Instance, It contains the Sin of Disobedience to Christ's Command here, of *taking no Thought*: The Sin of Infidelity, in not trusting, and so denying in Actions at least God's Veracity, the Attribute wherein he chiefly glories:

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The Sin of Wordlymindness, in placing our Care and Affection on such base and inferior Objects, bowing the immortal Soul to a Thing so much below it, and robbing God of his Due, that peculiar Creature of his, the Heart, so naturally his, and moreover so importunately begg'd for by him: Not to mention many other Sins, which constantly follow this Solitude, where 'tis once entertained, not as a transient Passion, but a chronic Disease: Though these Sins are not constantly the same, but proportioned to the State of our Distemper; such as Indevotion, Impatience, Unmercifulness, Cowardice, Worldly Sorrow, speaking evil, and the like.

Having thus largely explained the Prohibition, we shall add in one Word, What is the contrary Christian Duty that is here commanded by *Christ*: And this appears to be two-fold, consisting in *praising God* for our present Wealth, and *trusting him* for the future.—The *first* of these is performed, By acknowledging the Receipt of his Favour; By using it and rejoicing in it; By ministring, or communicating to them that have not; and if any thing still remain, By keeping it as instrumental to God's Providence for the future, and laying up what God gives us to lay up—The latter is performed, By believing his Promise; By obeying his Directions in the Use of his authorized Means, and none else; and by referring the Success chearfully to him, and praying to him for it without doubting.

Thus we have done with the Precept or Doctrine, of *taking no Thought*; which now appears to be fitly annexed to the former Matter of *not serving Mammon*; 1st, As an Answer to the Mammonist's Reason, or the Motive to his serving of Mammon, *That he may not be destitute on the Morrow*: 2^{dly}, As an Improvement of that former Exhortation; to which it may be seasonably superadded; but would

never have entered, or have been admitted, without that Preparative. May this Doctrine sink down in every Heart! To which End, for our farther Assistance, we proceed to the second Thing proposed from our Saviour's Words here, the *Enforcements of this Duty*, shewing how reasonable it is to be observed by a Christian.

A first Enforcement is the Consideration of what God hath done to us already; he hath given us Life itself, which is much more, and a far greater Act of Power and Mercy, than to give Food for the continuing of that Life. He hath given us the very Body we take such Care of; and that is much more again, than the Raiment that must clothe it. And those he hath given without any Aid of ours, without our Use of Means, direct or indirect, and therefore, no doubt, can provide sufficiently for the sustaining of both. And for his Willingness to do it, if we trust and rely on him, those very former Mercies of his are Pledges of it. God, saith a Father, *by giving becomes our Debtor*. Every Mercy from so good a Father, comes forth Twins; a Gift and a Bond both together; a present Payment, and a future Pawn; a Sum paid down, and an Annuity made over; the having bestowed Favours, being his greatest Obligation to continue them. When we can begin with the Psalmist, *It is he that made us*, then we may confidently go on, *We are his People, and his Sheep*; and then, *O go your Ways into his Gates with Thanksgiving!* not only for past Mercies, but Confidence of future also, *for his Mercy is everlasting*, Psal. 100.

A second Enforcement is taken from the Example of God's Providence towards other Creatures: For Food, from the Fowls of the Air; for Raiment, from the Lillies of the Field. For Food, in that those Birds without any Trade of Husbandry, of sowing or reaping,

ing, are by the Providence of God sufficiently sustained; so that of many Birds it is observed, that they are fattest still in coldest and sharpest Weather. Nay, that sort of Birds that St. *Luke* mentions, the Raven, is a Creature, that, if *Job* or the *Psalmist* may be believed, hath more of the Providence of God illustrious in it, than any other: Naturalists have observed of that Creature, that it exposeth the young ones as soon as they are hatcht, leaves them meatless and fatherless to struggle with Hunger as soon as they are gotten into the World; and yet, whether by Dew from Heaven, rained into their Mouths, when they gape, and as the *Psalmist* expresses it, *call upon God*, or whether by Flies flying into their Mouths, or Worms bred in their Nest, as some think, or by what other Means soever, it is certain, *That God feedeth them*. This Example signifies, and, being used by our Saviour, proves, That God can and will do the same to us, in a much higher Degree; and accordingly our Saviour shuts it up with an Expostulation, *Are you not much better than they?* Man is a much more considerable Creature than those Birds; Man is the Monarch of all them: And therefore as the *Israelites* said to *David*, 2 Sam. xviii. 3. *The Life of my Lord the King is worth ten thousand of ours*; so may we speak of a Man in Comparison of these Birds. Certainly then we share a far greater Part of God's Providence, than they; and so are more sure to be competently provided for, though no Thoughtfulness of ours contribute to it. But then this must be taken with some Caution along with it; not that we should neither sow, nor reap, because the Fowls of the Air do neither; but that we should take no anxious Thoughts, as they neither sow nor reap; that it is as unreasonable for a Christian to distrust God's Providence, and to bury his Soul in an anxious Care for earthly Things, though

the very Necessaries of Life, as for the Raven to be set to Husbandry. Had Men acquired but as much Religion, as much Trust and Reliance on God, by all the preaching of the Gospel, by all the Cultivation of so many hundred Years, as Nature teacheth the young Ravens as soon as they are hatch'd, just to gape towards Heaven, and so in a plain natural, inarticulate Way, to *call on God*; the *Mammonist's* Idol would then soon be driven out of the World, and a chearful comfortable Dependence on Heaven received instead of it. We should then practise an obedient Submission to God's Direction, in using those Means that he directeth us to, and then resign up all into his Hands to dispose of, with an *If I perish, I perish*: We should say, *I will wait upon the Lord, who hideth his Face, and I will look for him*; and *though he kill me, yet I will trust in him*. Thus much for the Example concerning Food. The other Example, concerning *Raiment*, taken from the *Lillies of the Field*, lies thus: God in his forming of the World, hath bestowed a strange Proportion of natural Beauty and Ornament upon the Lillies, that grow in every Field or Garden; though these are of a very short Duration, and being inanimate do contribute nothing to their own Beauty, but most evidently the whole Work is wrought by God only; and all our Care and Solitude, all the temporal Advantages of Gold, and the like precious artificial Ornaments, cannot equal or compare with that natural Beauty which God hath endued them with. Which Consideration, as it may well lessen our Desire of the Gallantry of Cloaths, and mortify that Pride which they need in us; so may it give us a fiducial Reliance on God for all Things of this Nature; who surely can clothe us, as well as those, and will certainly provide for us such Raiment as is convenient for us, by our Use of ordinary Means, without our
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anxious Care and Solitude for the future.

The *third* Enforcement of this Duty, is an Argument taken from our own Experience in Things of somewhat a like Nature: For the Stature * of one's Body, or the * Age of one's Life, every one of us knoweth and confesseth, that our Care and Solitude can do nothing to make any considerable Addition to it. Now certainly the lengthening of the Life for a few Days or Hours, is not so great a Matter as Life itself; nor the Tallness or Stature of the Body, as the Body itself; and therefore it being so confessedly the Work of God only to dispose of these lesser Things, our Stature and Age, how much more reasonable is it to believe that the same God, without any anxious Solitude of ours, can and will conserve our Life and Body, by giving us those Things which are necessary to their Conservation?

The *fourth* Enforcement is taken from the contrary Practice of the Gentiles. The Heathens indeed, who either acknowledge no God at all, or deny his Providence over particular Things, do use this Kind of Solitude: They seek vehemently and importunately, for *all these Things*, that is, for Food, and Drink, and Clothing for the Remainder of their Lives; or for such a Proportion of Wealth, as will be able thus to furnish them till their Lives End: And this may be allowed, or pardoned them, who have no better Principles to build on; but it would be a Shame for Christians to have gotten no higher, by the Acknowledgment of the true God, and his particular Providence and Care over all Creatures, especially over us Men, for whose Use all other Creatures were created. The Doctrine of Christianity, teacheth us Faith or Dependence on *Christ* for all, and strives to mortify all Love of the Gains and Plea-

tures of this World in us, and to work in us an Indifference and Unconcernedness of Mind for all outward Things; which Perfections it was hardly possible that any Heathen could ever arrive to, for Want of such Instructions: And shall we, with all these Advantages, continue but on a Level with those Heathens?

The *fifth* Enforcement is set down in these Words; *For your heavenly Father knoweth that you have Need of all these Things*. Those Things that are necessary for us, (and others we ought not to seek after,) God knows we have Need of, as well as ourselves: And that God is our Father, and cannot be so unkind to us, as not to be willing to bestow them on us: And that Father is an heavenly Father, and consequently is perfectly able to bestow them.

The *sixth* Enforcement is this: That there is a far more easy, more Christian, and more compendious Way to all these Necessaries of Life, than our Solitude or anxious Care; namely, the setting our Minds upon our higher Interests, the minding and intending of those Joys in another Life, and that Way of Christian Obedience which will lead us to them: Which if we do, God hath promised to give us these Necessaries of Life, as an Appendage or Addition over and above; *Piety having the Promise of this Life, as well as of another*.

The *seventh* Enforcement runs thus: *The Time to come, for which we desire to lay in before-hand*, will, when it cometh, be able to take Care and make Provision for itself: 'Tis needless, therefore, to lay a double Burden on that Part of our Life, which is present, to provide for itself, and that other also. The *Manna* that came down from Heaven to the *Israelites*, fell every Day; and therefore there was no Need of laying up in Store, and reserving

* The same Word signifieth both; but is thought in this Place to denote the former only.

any Part of the present Portion; for as for the Time to come, they were sure to be as plentifully provided, as for the present they were: And so the Providence of God, that hath brought us in a present Store, will be able and ready to do the like for us through the Remainder of our Lives, for every Day when it comes. Therefore all that we shall acquire by this Solitude before-hand, is only to accumulate Trouble and Disquiet upon ourselves; for we add to that due Labour and Industry, which we owe to God, as subservient to his Providence, so much more also, as we think sufficient to secure us for the future: And what is this but to multiply Toil upon ourselves, above the Proportion that God hath designed to us? Whereas the Trouble that belongs to every Day for the maintaining of itself, is *sufficient for that Day*, without our Artifices to increase it: And indeed it necessarily requires too much Time of Diversion from the Duties of Piety to vile inferior Offices.

The Duty being thus largely enforced, and our Hearts by so many Engines raised from this Earth of ours, to that principal Care of celestial Joys, it may now be thought reasonable to hearken to *Christ* in a Prohibition which was never given to Men before, and resolve to *take no Thought for the Morrow*. And this hard Saying will be softened, this Circumcision of the Heart, this Amputation of all those superfluous burthenfome Cares of the Worldling, will be found supportable to the Christian, when he has reflected on the preceding Particulars.

DISSERTATION VI.

Of judging others, Doing as we would be done to, &c.

IN the seventh Chapter of *Matthew*, which concludes the Sermon on the

Mount, we have one particular Christian Precept, proper to be added to those already treated of; and four general Precepts; each of which we shall say something to in this Dissertation.

The particular Precept is contained in the five first Verses; to which some add the sixth Verse, as containing an appendant Caution. The Form of it is negative, That we should *not judge other Men*; and that for this Reason, That we *be not judged*.

Our Lord's Precept here, is an Improvement of the ninth Commandment, which, under the Phrase of *Bearing False witness against our Neighbour*, forbids all Kind of Detraction and evil-speaking, all imposing on others by false Reasoning, or by false Accounts of Facts, and in a Word, all Abuses of the Tongue, by which we are liable either to deceive, or defame, any Person whatsoever. This Interpretation of that Commandment will, we believe, be tolerably good, if we except from it only those Falshoods, which, tho' they are truly such, are yet so far from being designed to the Hurt of any, that they are perhaps truly gainful to all that are concerned in them. For Instance, when a raging furious Person pursues another to kill him, and asks a By-stander which Way he went; and that By-stander, knowing what he will do, if he either say nothing, or do not directly mis-guide him, shall thereupon, to save one from the Sin of Killing, and the other from being killed, say that which is not true; we cannot tell how to reduce this, or the like, to the Prohibition in the ninth Commandment, because this Untruth is no Way a Sin against our Neighbour, either the Pursuer or the Pursued, or any Way hurtful to either of them, but on Purpose designed to their greatest Good. Whatever is amiss in a Falshood of this Nature, must be reduced to some other Prohibition; either as a Variation from the great Attribute

bute of God, who is Truth itself; or as a Breach of that Contract, which is betwixt all Men, that our Words shall be agreeable to Truth. These Exceptions being made, whatever else may be reduced to the Definition above, will be the Things forbidden in this Commandment: But when we have carried this to the highest, it will easily appear, that the Prohibition of judging our Brother, is yet a higher Pitch than what is thus forbidden in, or can readily be reduced to, this Commandment, as we shall grant when we see what this Judging is.

By *Judging*, we mean all Censures of other Men, either rash or severe. *Rash Censures* are such as are not grounded in any manifest Evidence of the Fact, but proceed from a jealous and censorious Humour, a being still forward to conclude and collect more Evil of other Men than appears to us. As *1st*, When by some indifferent Action done by a Fellow-Christian, we surmise some other evil Thing not far distant from that, and which may possibly be signified by it, but is not so necessarily. Or *2dly*, When another Man's Action being capable of two Interpretations; the one fastning Evil upon it, the other not; we take it on the evil Side, and censure him for that Action, for which, perhaps, God the Searcher of Hearts will never judge him. Or *3dly*, When any other Man having done a Thing apparently evil, we from thence infer a greater Guilt in him, than to that Action necessarily belongs: As supposing the Action capable of Extenuation by Circumstances, we maliciously deprive it of those Extenuations, and pass the Judgment, which would properly belong to it absolutely considered. Or *4thly*, When upon the Commission of one or more single Actions, not sufficient to build up an Habit, we argue a Malignity in the Agent, and censure him as guilty of that Habit or that Malignity. This is certain-

ly very rash Judgment; and commonly proceedeth, whatsoever it is, from Pride, Ambition, and Vain-glory; or from Envy, Malice, Uncharitableness, and Self-love; and it falls under the Judgment due to the suspicious Whisperer, and Busy-body; quite contrary to that Charity, that *hopeth all Things, believeth all Things, thinketh none evil*; to that Humility that thinketh *better of others than ourselves*; that Peaceableness which *Christ* commendeth to us; that Kindness and Pitifulness in *bearing one another's Burthens*, and so lessening them, and not making them heavier by our Censures.

The Limitation or Explication of this Precept added in the sixth Verse, is to this Effect; That this Precept of not judging, is not so unlimited, that it should be unlawful for me to censure or think evil of any Man: As in case he be an openly prophane Person, expressed here by a *Dog* or *Swine*; one of which was a Creature so accursed, that the Price of him was not to be consecrated; the other so unclean, that the Flesh of it was forbidden to be eaten by the *Jewish* Law; and both of them Emblems of an habitual impenitent Sinner. The *Dog* again intimates such as bark and rave at all good Exhortations; contradicting and blaspheming: The *Swine* those, that though they blaspheme not, yet by the Impurity of their Lives shew the secret Contempt of their Heart. This sacred Exhortation of not judging or censuring, is such as they are not to expect any Benefit from: This Act of Christian Charity is too sacred a Thing to be cast away on such Swine and Dogs, who are first incapable of it, and then will make such ill Use of it: For if instead of judging the Offender, you go about to exhort with never so much Mildness, they will condemn your Exhortations, and repay them with Reproaches instead of Thanks.

But may a Man never pass Judgment on another,

another, unless he be such a notorious Offender? We answer, Yes, under these Restrictions. 1st, If that which we judge in him, be notorious, and Evidence of Fact make it subject to no Mistake of ours. 2^{dly}, If we extend that Censure no farther than that Fact, or no farther than may from that Fact be necessarily inferred. 3^{dly}, If we express our Judgment or Censure in Words, no farther than may agree with the Rules of Charity: Which Charity may be either To him, in telling him one's self, and seasonably reproving him, or telling it some Body else, to that End that they may reprove him: To others, that they may be warned and armed, not to be deceived and ensnared by him; or, To the Community, that he may not by Concealment of some great Faults, get into any Place where he may be armed with Power to do more Mischiefs. In all which we must be very wary, that under this Cloke of Charity we do not carry along a malicious, or petulant Humour of our own, or even an Habit of defaming; and flatter ourselves that Charity is the only Mover all this while.

But indeed Assent or Belief follows, and is proportioned to, the Motives that induce it: For as Knowledge cannot chuse but follow demonstrative Premises; so Belief cannot chuse but follow those that appear most probable: If therefore we see that by a Man, by which we are led to conclude him disguised in Liquor, or guilty of any enormous Sin, we cannot offend in judging him; if our Conclusion be rightly inferred and offend not against the Rules of Discourse, and if we mix Mercy with Judgment, that is take the more favourable Part in judging: For no Man is bound not to know what he sees, or not to believe what seems to him strongly probable. Nay if a Man express his Judgment to him whom he thus judgeth, on Purpose to be satisfied of the

Truth of his Judgment, or, in case it shall prove true, to offer seasonable Admonition; it is still not only lawful, but commendable. And even to tell it another to either of these Purposes will be commendable also.

'Tis true, if we tell it another, without either of these Purposes, though it be not out of any malicious Intent, or flowing from any Grudge which we have to the Man, yet it may be a defamatory Design: For we may have that habitual Humour of Vain-glory, that for the illustrating and setting out ourselves in more Grandeur, we may think fit to blast and defame every one else; and then that will be Sin enough, though we have no particular Malice to the Person. But if it be not from any such Design neither, yet some of this may mingle with it in the Action. Or if neither of these, yet some other Evil may; as, that of whispering, Curiosity, meddling with other Men's Matters, a vain Desire of tattling, and telling of News; and if any of these interfere, it will yet be so far sinful as the Motive or Cause of it is.

We took Notice that after the one particular Precept, now treated of, there followed some general Precepts. We proceed to the first of these, which is concerning that great Business of Prayer, and contained in the five next Verses. This offering up of the Soul is considered now, not as a Duty of ours toward God, or an Act of Worship, but as an Engine or Artifice, to fetch down from Heaven the greatest Treasures that are there, even that of Grace itself, or the holy Spirit; as appeareth by the comparing this Place with another in *Luke*. The Sum of it is this, That Prayer is the Key of Entrance into our heavenly Father's House; that no Man shall ever fail of finding and receiving good Things, particularly Grace, the greatest Good, who *asks*, and *seeks*, and *knocks*; that is, who useth Importunity

nity in Prayer, as a Child to a Father, depending wholly on him. And here we have the Comfort of learning, that if we are once or twice repelled, yet by returning to him again, with Humility, and Dependance, and Confidence, and never giving over petitioning, we shall not fail at least of obtaining what is proper for us.

The next general Precept is that famous one, for which the Heathen Emperor is said to have revered Christ and Christianity, and which all the wisest Men of the Nation have admired for the best and highest Rule of Justice and Charity to our Neighbours. It is contained in these Words. *All Things whatsoever ye would that Men should do unto you, do you even so to them*: Which, saith our Blessed Lord, is the *Law and the Prophets*; that is, it is that on which all our Duty towards our Neighbour depends, and wherein the whole Law concerning him is fulfilled.

This Precept is an Improvement of the eighth Commandment, *Thou shalt not steal*; which primarily forbids all Kind of Robbery, Piracy, and Stealth; in a Word, all invading of any other Man's Possession, or Property, whatsoever specious Colour or Cause can be pretended for so doing. And to this Commandment is reducible also the Prohibition of all Oppression, and Injustice; of all withholding the Hire of the poor Labourer; of all borrowing, and not paying again. But the higher Pitches of this Kind are reserved for this higher Precept of Christ, of *doing as we would be done to*; which we shall perceive as we proceed in the opening thereof.

The Meaning of this Precept, is, in a Word, that I should love my Neighbour as my self; that I should not suffer my Self-love to interpose, or make me partial, in judging of my Duty to others; but thus to reflect whensoever I do any

Thing to my Brother; *Would I be well pleased to be so dealt with by any other? Or, if I might have mine own Choice, would not I desire to be otherwise used by other Men?* It goes yet farther, That whatsoever Usage we desire to meet with, at God's Hands, (which is certainly undeserved Mercy, and Pardon of Trespases,) the same we must perform to others: For this Phrase, *Whatsoever you would that Men should do to you*, by an *Hebraism* import, *Whatsoever you would have done unto you*, that is, by God as well as by Men; which is the Style that this Precept is commonly read in. And in this Sense it extends not only to all the Justice, but to all the Mercy, and all the Goodness, and all the Bounty in the World.

From this Collection and Interpretation, we may conclude that this great Rule of *doing as we would be done to*, is the Foundation of all Justice and Mercy toward Men. The latter of these we have insisted on already in the Beatitudes, and therefore shall not enter again on that Matter; but for the first, though that be supposed by Christ, in his Precepts of Mercifulness, and Alms-giving, and consequently in our handling of those Duties, yet have we not as yet spoken so distinctly of it, but that a more particular Account of it may be useful. This we shall endeavour to give by stating and resolving a few Difficulties.

First, *Whether we may make this Advantage of our Saviour's Rule, that whatever we shall resolve to bear contentedly from others, we may lawfully do to them; so that if we would resolve to be content with the Injuries which other Men can do us, we may then lawfully injure them?*

Ans. No Man in his right Mind can be supposed simply to be willing, that an Injury should be done to him; and therefore no Man is to do any Injury to another: And if any Man be of the Temper

here supposed, it is then to be concluded, that it is for some Advantage, or Gain, which he designs to himself thereby : As for Example, That by living by Rapine and Injustice, he hopes to get more than he fears to lose ; and then that treacherous Contentment is but an Artifice of eluding, not of obeying this Rule ; it is merely an Invention of sinning securely, and will be far from being accepted by God, or by any reasonable Man, for an Excuse of his Injustice. And therefore, *secondly*, the Interpretation of the Rule must be without any such Deceit, *That I do nothing to any Man, but what I, or any honest minded Man, would be content to have done to him, if it were put to his Choice or Option ; Or, to set it in another Light, I must never do that to another, which, if I were that other, I should think to be Injustice.*

In a Word, we must in no Manner seek to advance our own Gain by another's Loss ; for that is the Thing forbidden in the last Commandment of the Decalogue ; as it is explained in the New-Testament sometimes by *not defrauding* ; sometimes by *not desiring*, or *not lusting* ; sometimes by *not coveting* ; but especially by *loving thy Neighbour as thyself*. Which Precept is by some thought to be put, not as the great Precept to contain all the other under it, but as the particular Import of the last Commandment. From whence it follows, that it is not lawful so much as to design the gaining of any thing to my self by the Diminution or Loss of another ; for that is clearly to covet what is his contrary to the Duty of Contentment with my own ; and to *love myself*, and to do good *to my self*, by the *hurting* of him : It is that which is called in *Ecclesiasticus*, chap. 41. 19. *Deceit in giving and taking*, that is, in Bargaining.

This will take away all unjust Dealing in buying and selling ; all Extortion, Monopolies, forestalling, enhancing of Merchandizes ; all lying, falsifying, and

the like ; and it is very fit it should do so : But for honest lawful Gains, such as a Man may plentifully and comfortably live by, and such as all Men will be content that others should make by their Trades, as a proportionable Reward both for their present Pains and Charge, and for their Industry and Expences in acquiring such a Skill, and for the Hazard they are subject to ; it will not at all lessen these. For it is agreed among all Men, That every Man's Art, and his Pains, and the Charges and the Hazards he is put to, are rateable, and may be sold ; and that it is profitable to each single Man, and to Commonwealths, that some Men of Skill and Honesty should traffic, and provide those Things which are commonly wanted, and make a moderate Gain by the felling of them ; and the Rule which we are now upon, hath nothing contrary to that : For any Man would be content that he who brings Home to his Door those things which he wants, and which would cost him much more to provide for himself, should gain one Penny in twelve, or the like Proportion, which the Masters of every Trade know to be moderate on both sides. But if this Moderation be not observed, if the Gain be any thing considerably, either lesser or more than is allowed reasonable, then 'tis that the Rule is broken.

It should seem, indeed, at first Reflection, that the gaining too little will not break this Rule ; but 'tis possible we may be mistaken in this Matter. We should consider, that he, who sells too low, may offend against himself, and his own Family ; (and a Man is to love himself, and not his Neighbour only ;) but especially, that a Man may by selling at too low a Price, get away the Custom from, and consequently injure, all others of the same Trade with him : As for Example, if ten Men in a City may all of them live by their Merchandise, suppose

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by the gaining of one Penny in every twelve Pence which they lay out;) it will be impossible for one of these Men, by taking but one Half-penny in a Shilling, to get all the Custom from the other Nine, and so to sell ten times as much as would otherwise be his Share, and by that means to get far more by that underselling, than otherwise he could do; which though it be no Injury, but an Advantage, to the Buyers, is yet the defrauding of all those other Merchants in that City.

There is no doubt, however, but the most ordinary Way of offending is in the Excess. Indeed the Case which we have mentioned, can be looked on only as an Artifice tending to the same End by a different Way; as by gaining too little, to gain too much; by losing one Penny to get nine: But what we here mean by Excess, is a more direct Excess, in the gaining too much, or exceeding the Rule of Moderation, in what we sell, according to the usual Rate of Profit: To prevent which, this one Rule may serve our Turn: *Never to enbaunce the Price of any Commodity above the real Value of it.*

Here again, a Difficulty occurs, *How we may know the real Value of any thing?* To answer which, there is another known Rule, That every thing is valuable for as much as it may be sold. Which Rule we mistake, if we imagine it gives colour to any Extortion; for unless he that bought the Commodity can sell it at that Price again, which he was made to pay; or unless he that sold it him, could have sold it to other prudent Men at that Rate; or unless that be the Market Rate of the Commodity; the said Rule is not observed: For the Meaning of it was not, that any thing is Valuable, according as any one subtil Merchant can have sold it to any one weak or passionate Chapman, but according to what is the ordinary Rate of it, when it is sold.

But tho' a Tradesman, whose Calling is to furnish those that want, with such and such Commodities, is not to demand more than those moderate Gains; and tho' if he should demand more, it cannot be imagined that a Chapman will give more; yet if voluntarily the Buyer will, on his own free Motion, not only without any Art of the Seller to raise him to it, but even when the Seller tells him it is worth no more, and he is ready and willing to afford it thus; if he will then in Bounty, or upon any other private Consideration, give more, it will in that Case be perfectly lawful to take it.

That we may treat this Matter of Fraud in Trade in its full Extent, 'twill be proper to lay down for a Principle, That when a Tradesman sells to any one at a higher Rate than another Man will give the Buyer again, or than the Seller could have had of others; it was occasioned by one or more of the following Means: *First*, that the Buyer was unskilful and weak: Or *secondly*, That there was some undiscovered Fault or Weakness in the Commodity, which the Buyer discerned not: Or *thirdly*, That the Buyer had a special Liking or Fancy, a vehement Desire to that particular thing: Or *fourthly*, that it was more convenient and beneficial to him than to any Man else. Every one of these Circumstances will somewhat vary the Case, and perhaps it may be worth our pains to consider them all in order.

First, If the Weakness and Unskilfulness of the Buyer be made use of to get from him an higher Price; it is acknowledged by all, that this is cheating, or circumventing, and very near the guilt of Robbing on the Highway, which is but the making use of another Man's Weakness, to deprive him of his Goods. Nothing can be more directly contrary to the first fundamental Rule; for no Man

would be willing to be so over-reacht ; it being, beside the Injury, a most contemptible Thing to be out-witted, and nothing is counted more insupportable than such a Disgrace.

Secondly, If there were in the Buyer, some particular Deception proceeding from the Concealment of some Fault in the Commodity ; and if that Concealment were wrought by any Falsity of the Seller, in downright and wilful denying of such Fault ; it appears at first Thought of it, that there must needs be a very great Sin in such Concealment. But the Case may be so, that the Seller denied a Fault in his Goods, upon an Error in himself, that Fault being unknown to him ; and there can be no Guilt in such a Deception as this. But then, though that State of the Case may excuse the Seller from the first Guilt, that of a Lye, because he spoke as much as he knew, and went not against his Conscience ; yet it is clear that by this means he hath made an immoderate Gain, and the other hath lost, having not that for his Money which he thought he had bought, and which he might reasonably be allowed to think he had bought, because he might in prudence think the Seller knew : And therefore in such a Case as this, so much of the Price should be paid back again as came in through that involuntary Falsity ; and he that doth not think fit to make such Restitution, may well be presumed to have falsified willingly ; for he that hath once erred, should be sorry for his Error ; and he that is so, will be desirous to redeem it, even with some Loss, but will never think fit to be the richer for his Sin, which yet he must be, if he restore not. And if in either of these two Cases, the old Rule be objected, that the *Buyer must stand to Hazards*, and consequently must look to himself ; which would conclude that the Seller is safe in such Cases ; we answer, That this is a rule of human

Law, and accordingly that he may be safe from the Penalties of the national Law, which looks not any farther than the Out-side of the Action, and cannot possibly dive into the Secrets of Conscience ; but then he shall not therefore be safe from God, who looks to the Heart. And besides, If all other Laws should allow such Liberty, and free Men, not only in the Court, but from Obligation of Conscience, as far as concerns that Law, yet *Christ* may be allowed to improve Laws, even the Civil and Municipal *English* Laws, as well as those of Nature and *Moses*. And we should here suppose him to have done it, by this Rule of *doing as I would be done to*, which certainly comes home to these Cases ; no Man being supposed willing to be cheated by anothers Falsity, whether voluntary, or involuntary ; or if he be content to forgive it, when he knows 'twas involuntary, yet he will not be pleased that he should suffer, or pay for the other's Error. This same Answer may also be given to the common, if not universal custom of Men to do otherwise : For surely there is no prescribing against *Christ's* Rule. If former Laws might be heightened by *Christ*, and so former Permissions evacuated, then certainly former Customs, be they never so universal or popular, may well be superseded by so great a Law-giver, who among other things came to redeem us from this Error, and to shew us that abundance was not so precious a Thing, but that a little well gotten, was as great, nay a far greater Wealth, a richer Matter of Content in this Life, than all the vastest Treasures, or Revenues. And 'tis observable how powerfully *Christ* hath delivered this, as an Aphorism to persuade any prudent Man to abstain from Covetousness, *Luke 12. 15. The Life*, says he, *that any Man hath by his Possessions, consists not in having Superfluity*. He that hath enough, (and that may be had

had without gaining by another Man's Loss,) is as happy even for this World, if there were never another, as he that hath the greatest Abundance or Superfluity; for the very Nature of those Words tells us, that they signify something needless, and then what is it but burthen that we gain by it?

But again, *What if by the Buyer's not making any Question about the Fault of the Commodity, such Defects were concealed?*

We answer, Even then the Laws of Justice, as they are known to Men of common Understanding, would decry it as unjust in him that sells, in Case he knew that Defect in the Commodity to be such as he believed did really, or would in the Buyer's Opinion, if it were known, lessen the Value of it: For in this Case it would be clear, That Men meant to make Advantage of that Concealment, and receive somewhat for that which was really nothing, and by him known to be so, though for Covetousness he concealed it. We have a Case to this Purpose, that was put by a natural Man before *Christ's* Time, in the following Form. "There was a Famine, says he, in a City built on the Sea-side; whereupon the Inhabitants of another City, hearing of it, provided to send out a Fleet laden with Corn to relieve them; which consisting of ten or eleven Ships, and being all prepared, one Ship gets out a Day before the rest, and comes to the Haven, and straight sells the Burden of Corn, at what Rate was demanded. That being done, the whole Fleet comes in, and so fully furnishes the City, that it was sold at a common Price, perhaps but the third Part of the Rate for which the first Ship sold. The Case being argued in Behalf of the Owner of that Ship, and all the fairer Circumstances being considered, (as that they of the City never asked him whether there were more Ships a-coming, nor stayed to beat down the Price with him, but gave willingly

what he demanded;) the Resolution was at last, that this was an indirect Action, and that this Artifice of his was merely designed to gain from the Citizens that which he had no Right to, and which they would not have given, had they known that which he knew, and which none but he could tell them. *And what,* continues our Author, *did that Man get by this? Forsooth a little Money, and was counted a Knave; he encreased his Treasure, and lost his Reputation; and that is sufficient to fright any one from the like Practice."* Now certainly if *Christ's* Command may not prevail with us, as much as Sense of Honour among the Heathens; or if that be counted honourable now, which was infamous and reproachful then; if now it be a creditable Thing to circumvent, and cheat our Fellow-christian, to grow rich by Tricks and Artifices, when *Socrates* an honest Heathen would venture a Martyrdom in *Athens* to beat down these, and the like vitious Customs among his Countrymen, and resolve that such a Death was better than any Kind of Life; then surely Christianity is ill bestowed on us: We have little considered that *Christ* came to make us more like Doves, not more like Serpents; more just, not more cunning; more upright and sincere Despisers of the World, not more shrewd deceitful Adorers of it, than the *Jews* or *Heathens* had been before.

The *third* Case which we mentioned, supposes the Buyer to have a great Liking to the Commodity, a vehement Desire to buy it; and the Question is, *Whether we may not then make him pay dearer for it than otherwise it was worth?* In resolving of which, we would do well to consider, That his Fancy adds no real Worth to the Thing. 'Tis true, it may be more grateful to him, than otherwise it would be, and that is a Benefit to him: And if we have really the same Fancy to it, or some Degree of it, we may also value our

own

own Inclination; and upon these two Conditions, may demand, and receive, a valuable Price for it, rating our Fancy at so much as we really value it; wherein we must be very careful that we do not deceive ourselves, and pretend Fancy when we mean Covetousness. But if we cannot truly say this, if it be only that the Buyer is delighted with it, then it will be worth remembring, that Christian Charity, of which Christian Justice must be always thought to have some Mixture, requires us to do that Kindness to any Fellow Christian, which we can do without any Detriment to ourselves, and so *do good to all Men*, without hoping to receive any Advantage by so doing; which yet if the Buyer's Gratitude make him acknowledge, and repay with some other good Turn, the Seller may lawfully receive it.

The *last* Case is, If it be more convenient to him that buys, than to any Man else, and so more beneficial also, Whether then the Seller may not advance the Price.

Now there is no Doubt but Convenience is a valuable Thing, and that a Possession may be far more convenient to one, than to another; nor is there any Reason but that he, to whom it is more convenient, should value it higher than any other. And if it be rated by the Seller but according to this Proportion, so much dearer to him than to another, as it will be more beneficial to him, and this be made clear to him, and openly professed; if he upon that Reason of the real Benefit which the Convenience brings him, be truly content to give so much for it, it is lawful for the Seller so to charge him for it. And yet because that Convenience was not the same to him, that it is to the Buyer, it may very well become the Seller to shew Kindness in this Matter also, though it cannot be said he is unjust if he do not; there being this Difference betwixt this and the former Case, that

there the Fancy of another was not so reasonably valuable, as here the supposed Convenience is, because this will bring him in some real Gain, that only an imaginary one.

We have only to add, That if we impose these strict Rules of Indifference on the Seller, we must do the like on the Buyer too; and if he by any indirect Means over-reaches the Seller, he is bound to as much Restitution as the other would have been: For there is no Question but the same Exactness is required of the one as of the other. It is therefore very necessary that all the Rules which have here been set the Seller, should be Matter of Obligation also to the Buyer, so far as the Rule of *doing as we would be done to* belongs to him. For as to any farther Liberty to either Buyer or Seller, they must not expect it from *Christ*, who will think us rich enough, and happy enough, if we have good Food and Raiment, and Contentment with it. And as for the Concernments of the Commonwealth in this Matter, which some suppose would be damaged by this Strictness; it is clear that if the Practice of these Rules should prove inconvenient to any Commonwealth, as now it stands, this might rather be imputed to the Generality of the contrary Custom, which will not without some Difficulty, and perhaps present Incommodity, be changed: And the same might also be observed of most other Sins, which have had the Luck to become customary. But then for the new constituting of a Commonwealth, and so likewise for the prudent reforming of any Vice in the old, it would be found true, that the Rules which *Christ* hath set, if they were embraced, would be universally most gainful; or if they should hinder some particular Advantages, either of some Man, or Society of Men, this would be repaired by other more valuable Benefits. These Rules would certainly keep the World most

most quiet, and so most worth living in. And, on the contrary, it is the desiring more than this, that makes the World such a Stage or Theatre as it were, on which each endeavours to supplant and wound the other, till at last every Man undoes himself, and his Neighbour too, by desiring to be richer than he. And besides we may consider, that the Wealth of this World being God's, it is his to dispose of it, and preserve and bless it to whom he please; and 'tis not likely that he will deny to them that Use, and depend on his Rules in acquiring it; or that he will give and continue it to those that set themselves against him, and that will be rich in spite of him: Or if he do the latter, this is an infallible Argument, that Riches are not the greatest Blessings; for then those whom God best loves, would have most of them.

But it may be said, That these Rules are inconvenient to Commonwealths, because they may hinder Merchandize; for the Hazards peculiar to Merchants are so great, that if they have not Leave to make use of such Advantages as have been here spoken against, they will not be able to subsist at all. To which we answer, That all Merchants are supposed to take into Consideration those Hazards that are universally annexed to their Trade; and so are all Men of all other Callings also: And therefore when we speak of a lawful moderate Gain, we count that but a moderate Gain, which sufficiently provides for Hazards, nay, which takes in farther the Consideration of all other Things which are fit to be considered, the Charges and Pains they are at, and the Rate they may set upon their Skill, and that heightened more and more according to the Difficulty of acquiring it, and the Usefulness of it when acquired. Nay, when the Skill is in such Matters, or in such Kind, that it brings in some real Commodity to others without their

doing or paying any thing toward it, it will be more reasonable for those Men, in these Respects, to value their Trades or Crafts very high, and to expect great Gains by them; because what comes in to them is supposed to be taken away from no Body, but withal to bring some Advantage to others, without any Detriment or Hazard to them. But then all this being supposed to be already provided for in the several Rules, that the honest intelligent Men of every Trade set themselves, it will not be reasonable that the same Consideration of Hazards and Losses should be taken in again, to heighten the Gains yet more; nor indeed may particular extraordinary Losses be Excuses to any Man for so doing; for those, whatsoever they are, were contained in the fore-mentioned Hazards, and every Man must resolve to bear his Lot, be it worse or better, with Patience; or if he be impoverished by such heavy Accidents, it will be fitter to seek a Subsistence of Men's Charities, than by enhancing the Price of what is left, to venture the Imputation of being unjust: And because we have mentioned Charity, as a lawful Relief for him who cannot thrive by lawful Trading, we shall also add, That if upon helping any Man to a good Pennyworth, or selling upon barely moderate Gains, the Buyer think fit to reward the Seller's Justice and Diligence with some Advance above the Price he demands, there will be no Need to make Scruple of receiving what is so freely given; but to grow rich by that which is fetched out of another's Throat, extorted and forced from him, will never tend much to the Comfort or Reputation of any Man, nor will he have any Reason to hope for a Blessing from Heaven upon it.

There is one Thing more which belongs directly to this Matter of just Dealing betwixt Man and Man, and therefore will not be unreasonably spoken of in this Place,

Place; we mean the Business of Usury, of which there are various and distinct Opinions. Now in speaking of this we may observe, *First*, That the Sin of Usury is not so clearly stated in the * New Testament, as that any strict and certain Laws can be set to our Actions from thence: For the one only Ground of Objection against Usury that we have from the New Testament, is from an Observation made in comparing the *Hebrew* with the *Septuagint* Interpretation of the Book of *Nehemiah*; in which the Phrase which we generally render *to exact Usury*, is rendered by the *Greek* *to exact*, simply, without any Substantive added to it; and so the *Greek* Noun for requiring, or exacting, signifies there *requiring of Use*. Thus in the Book of *Maccabees*, we have this Passage; *Macc. 4. 27. As for the Money, be put it not into any good Course, but Softratus took the Use of it. For unto him belonged the managing of the Monies.* From whence it may be concluded of that Place of the Gospel, *Luke 6. 30.* where *Christ* speaking of Acts of Mercy, or *giving to every one that asketh*, addeth in our Translation, *And from him that taketh away thy Goods, ask them not again*; that the most proper and commodious Sense, will be this; *from him that receiveth, by Way of Loan, any of thy Goods, require no Usury*: Which Precept, being joined with *giving to them that ask*, denoteth a Work of Mercy, as indeed lending is; for the *good Man is merciful and lendeth*; and *he that is merciful will lend to his Neighbour*, according to the wise Man. *Pomponius Atticus*, a most excellent *Roman*, exercised himself especially in this Kind of Mercy, lending and strictly requiring the Payment on the Day. And *Cornelius Nepos* saith, he did more Good that Way, than by giving he could

have done; teaching Men to be thrifty and laborious; whereas giving, or suffering them not to repay, would have made them sluggish and Beggars. Which being supposed, it will follow, that this *not requiring of Use*, being an Act of Mercy, must be extended no farther than the former Precept of Giving was to be extended. Now though the Words are in an unlimited Latitude, *Give to every one that asketh*, yet ordinary Prudence will interpret them so, that if a covetous rich Man ask of me, I am not bound to give to him, but only to him whose Wants set him on asking. And so consequently, in like Manner, the forbidding to exact, take, or require Use of him that borrows, belongs not to the poor or mean Creditor, when a rich Man borrows of him; but only to the Rich when he lends to the Poor, to whom a free Loan is a seasonable Mercy. From whence as we should conclude without any Demur, that when we lend to a poor Man, we must not require Use; so we cannot conclude it unlawful from hence to receive from a rich Man what Interest or Increase he is willing to give. All that is necessary to be added by Way of Caution is, *First*, that we take Care, that such lending to the Rich do not disable us from assisting the Poor. *Secondly*, That we are sure, as far as morally we can be, that he who pays us this Use is able to do it, without eating out, or hurting himself; but that he makes greater Gain of it by Trading, or the like. *Thirdly*, That it be not so done, as that it may bring a Reproach or Censure of Worldly-mindedness upon us, much more that it be not an Act of a covetous Mind, but only a Way of subsisting on that small Portion left us by our Friends. Farther in case the Person to whom we thus lent upon Use, either

* Among the *Jews*, in the Old Testament, it is but obscurely stated, and that only with Regard to a Fellow Jew.

by Misfortune, or by his own Neglect, lose by our Loan, and runs the Hazard of being ruined by paying the Interest, we scruple not to say, That then it is the safest Course to forbear the Interest; and in Matters of this Nature, it is our Duty to take the safest Course; and the thinking ourselves obliged to do so, will make us more circumspect than perhaps otherwise we should be, in examining the Condition of the Person, of whom we venture to take Use. In all this Matter, indeed, nothing can be said so positively as in some other Things. What has been advanced, being only set down as Opinion, and the Grounds on which that Opinion is built. And the Truth is, after all this which we have said upon that Ground from the Passage of *St. Luke* so interpreted, that the Word which we render *requiring of Use*, may signify † *to exact*, or *require back the Loan*, when it is lent without Use. And then the Meaning of the Verse in *Luke* will be, that as I must give to him that asketh, so of him that borroweth of me, I must not exact Repayment, when he is not, through Poverty, able to do it. And if this be the Sense, then it will be still pertinent to the Business of Liberality, or Charity in giving and lending, and so no farther belong to the Matter of Usury, than by Analogy may be inferred from thence; namely, That if from a poor Man I must not hasten or exact the Repayment of his Debt, but continue the Loan to him as long as his Distress requires, then surely I must not sell that Loan, by taking Use of him. But this still must belong only to the rich Man lending to the Poor. As for the Case of the rich Man's lending to the Rich, there hath appeared nothing in either of these Interpretations, which will oblige to it, or if he do, which will prohibit the taking Interest of him. And

there is as little to that Purpose in a third possible Interpretation of the Words, of *not requiring* the legal Fourfold of him that hath robbed me; which though it be not the Import of the Word *taketh*, which notes only *receiving*, not *Rapine*, yet is no very improbable rendring of the Word *require*. Nor is there any other so much as Colour of Text in the New Testament, which forbids one rich Man to take Use of another; nor is there indeed any Reason, or Analogy, either from that great Rule in Hand, of *doing as I would be done to*, or of *loving my Neighbour as myself*, to this Purpose; nor consequently can we affirm it unlawful, still supposing that the Cautions above mentioned are observed uprightly.

This Doctrine of Christian Justice, thus largely explained, is a fit Introduction to the Exhortation that follows of Christian Strictness, which seems to be built on this, and to be but a Branch of this great Precept; and not a Particular distinct from it.

The Exhortation we mean, is that of a great, superlative Strictness in the Ways of Godliness; not being content to walk in the broad Road that *Jews* and *Heathens* have contented themselves with; but being willing to undertake any Thing of Difficulty for *Christ's* Sake, *entring in at the strait Gate, and narrow Way that leadeth unto Life*; that Way which these elevated Precepts have chalked out to us; which Precepts here, are not proposed as Counsels of Perfection, but as Commands of Duty, without which there is no entring into Life, no avoiding Destruction.

The *third* general Precept is a Precept of Wariness and Prudence, to *beware of Errors*, and those whose Trade it is to seduce us to them. It is contained in six Verses, and belongs not to all Deceivers of any Kind, but particularly to such as

† So it signifies Deut. xv. 2, 3. & alibi.
Numb. LXII.

profess to follow *Christ*, and yet teach false and damnable Doctrines; which, that they may put off to their Auditors or Followers the better, they pretend a great deal of Holiness in some other Particulars. And the Sum of that which he here saith to this Purpose, may be reduced to this: Whensoever any false Teacher comes to disseminate his Doctrine, the surest Way to detect him will be, to observe the Effects and Actions discernible in him, or which are the Fruits of his Doctrine. If all his Actions, and all the Designs and Consequents of his Doctrine, be the advancing of Piety and Charity of all Kinds, then you may conclude that he is no false, at least no dangerous Teacher. For *first*, The Devil will never assist him, or put him upon false Doctrines, to such an End, that he may bring more Holiness and Christian Practice into the World. *Secondly*, Such holy Christian Practice is not easily built upon any false Doctrine. *Thirdly*, If the Doctrine should chance to be false, that bringeth forth such wholesome Effects, than to him that receiveth it for those Effects Sake; and otherwise discerneth not the Doctrine to be false, it may be hoped, through God's Mercy in *Christ* to our Infirmities, that it shall not prove dangerous, or destructive. But if the Consequents or Effects that flow naturally from the Doctrines which he brings, be either against the Rules of Piety, or Christian Virtue, we are then to *beware* of him. As if they tend to the lessening of our Love of God, or to the alienating our Hearts from him, by giving us mean or unworthy Notions of him; if they tend to the begetting of Presumption and Security in our Hearts, by giving us any Ground of Hope without amending our wicked Lives, and by leaving no Place for Fear, whatsoever we do, and by making us conceit highly of ourselves, and boast of our own Merits; if they lead us to Idolatry, to the Wor-

ship of somewhat else beside the only true God, or to a bare formal out-side Worship of him; if they open the Door to false or needless Swearing, or to Prophaneness and Neglect of God's Service; if they tend to Injustice or Uncharitableness towards Men, or to Disobedience, Sedition, Rebellion, and speaking Evil of Dignities, if they tend to the favouring or authorizing of any Kind of Lust, of Divorces forbidden by *Christ*; to the nourishing of rash Anger, uncharitable censuring, Envy, Emulation, Variance, Strife, Malice, Revenge, Whispering, Backbiting; to the excusing or justifying of Piracy, Rapine, Oppression, Fraud, Violence, or any Kind of Injustice; to the spreading of Lies, Slanders, Defamations; to Covetousness, and Uncontentedness in our present Condition, Desire of Change, Casting the Cross on other Men's Shoulders, that we may free our own from it; to Dealing with others, as we would not be well pleased to be dealt with ourselves; or, in a Word, if they tend to the discouraging or discountenancing any Christian Virtue set down in this or any other Sermon of *Christ*, or by his Apostles, or to the granting any Dispensation or Liberty from that Christian Strictness in these Duties, or in those other of Repentance, Self-denial, Meekness, Mercifulness, Peaceableness, &c. then by these Marks and Characters we may know this to be a false Teacher. Yet must not this be extended so far as that whosoever is guilty himself of any of these Sins, shall be, if he be a Teacher, a false one; for it is possible his Doctrine and Actions may be contrary; but that, if these be the Fruits and natural Effects of his Doctrine, then shall his Doctrine be thus condemned: Otherwise an ill Man he may be, and yet a Teacher of Truth; a wicked Person, but not a false Prophet.

But it is said of these false Prophets, that they come in *Sheeps Clothing*, which seems

seems to signify their outward Actions to be innocent: How then, may some Person say, can they be discerned by their Fruits? We answer, *First*, That the Fruits of their Doctrine may be discerned, though their own evil Actions be disguised, and varnished over. *Secondly*, That though their Actions most conspicuous and apparent be good, yet their closer Actions, which may also be discerned by a strict Observer, are of the Nature of the Wolf, ravenous and evil. *Thirdly*, That though they begin with some good Shews to get Authority, though they enter as Sheep, and do some specious Acts of Piety at first; yet they continue not constant in so doing, but within a while put off the Disguise, and are discernible.

The Sum of the *fourth* or *last* general Precept contained in this Chapter, is this, That it is not the outward Profession of Christianity or Discipleship, though set off by Prophecy, and doing Miracles in *Christ's* Name, which will avail any Man towards his Account at the great Day, without the real, faithful, sincere, universal, and impartial performing of Obedience to the Laws of *Christ*.

And from hence it appears, that God doth sometimes permit wicked Men to do Miracles, and deliver important Truths: For the End of Miracles and Preaching being to convince Men of the Truth of the Doctrine of *Christ*, that may well enough be done by those who only acknowledge that Truth, though they live not accordingly: The Miracles done by them, being not designed by God to the Commendation of the Instruments, but to the persuading of the Spectators.

There now remains only the Conclusion of the whole Sermon to be discharged, and that is this, That the Profession

of Christianity, and lending a patient Ear to its Doctrines, will, if it be depended on to render us acceptable to *Christ*, prove a very fallacious and deceitful Hope. Whensoever any Storm comes, any shaking Disease or Affliction, which gives us Occasion to awake thoroughly, and examine ourselves to the Bottom; we are not then able to retain any Hope or comfortable Opinion of ourselves; though in Time of Quiet and Tranquillity, before we were thus shaken, we could entertain ourselves with such flattering Appearances. Hearing of Sermons, and professing of Love to, and Zeal for, *Christ*, may pass, for Piety a while; but in the End it will not be so. 'Tis true Christian Practice, that will hold out in Time of Trial; and that Hope of ours which is thus grounded, will stand firm and stable in Time of Affliction and Temptation, at the Hour of Death, and at the Day of Judgment. This Doctrine of Christian Duty and Obedience, is such that can never deceive any Man, who is content to build upon it. Nor Infirmary, nor Sin repented of, nor Devil, shall ever shake any Man's Hold, who is thus built, shall ever endanger any Man's Salvation, who lives according to the Rule of this Sermon; nor shall all the flattering deceitful Comforters of the World, bring in any true Gain or Advantage, or substantial Ground of Hope, to any other.

Thus have we gone thro' the several Parts of this important Sermon; having treated some of them largely, others more briefly, according as the Matter required: In judging of which we depended chiefly on the learned Doctor Hammond, from whose Works the greatest Part of what is delivered in these six Dissertations, has been extracted.

C H A P. II.

I. *Jesus descends from the Mountain, followed by the Multitude, and enters Capernaum. A Centurion sends to him.* II. *Jesus consents to go. The Centurion's second Message.* III. *Jesus applauds the Officer's Faith, and heals his Servant with a Word.* IV. *Jesus raises the Son of a Widow at Naim.* V. *John Baptist sends his Disciples to Jesus.* VI. *Jesus's Answer to them.* VII, VIII, IX. *His Discourse to the People concerning John.* X. *He upbraids the Cities of Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum.* XI. *He prays, and addresses the People.*

WHEN *Jesus* had finished his Sermon, he came down from the Mountain, and great Multitudes of People followed him, both on account of his Doctrine, and of the Miracles which he wrought. And he went into *Capernaum*, the usual Place of his Residence; where he was no sooner arrived, than there came to him the Heads of the Inhabitants, as Messengers from a certain * Centurion, whose favourite Servant lay at the Point of Death. These Men † besought him, in the most pressing Manner, to go with them to the Centurion's House, and cure his Servant; urging, that this Officer was a very good Man, who since he had resided among them, had done very peculiar Favours to their Nation, particularly that he had built them a Synagogue at *Capernaum* at his own proper Cost; and that therefore he deserved to have all Favour shewn him by the *Jews*, and every one of them in particular.

II. *Jesus* being prevailed upon by these Reasons, went together with them directly towards the House of the Centurion; and being not far from it, he was accosted by some of that Officer's Friends,

with this Message from him: 'That he did not think it in the least necessary for him to take the Trouble upon him to come in Person to his House, as knowing very well that he was able with one Word's speaking in what Place soever he were, to heal his Servant, tho' at never so great a Distance from him: That he looked upon himself as unworthy to entertain so great a Prophet; for which Reason he did not wait upon him in Person, but had recourse to the Mediation of his *Jewish* Friends for the obtaining this Favour from him: That he considered that as he himself, who was under the Command of superior Officers, had yet Soldiers of his Company, and domestick Servants, whom he might send on what Errands, and whithersoever he pleased; so *Jesus*, who was supreme Governor of the Universe, had Angels at his Command, any of whom dispatched by his Authority would be able to cure his Servant.

III. *Jesus* having received this Message from the Centurion, admired the singular Confidence which this Man had conceived of the Power he was invested with; and turning himself to the Multitude, declared

* A Captain of an hundred Men. He was a Roman Officer, and probably in Garrison here with his Company.

† There is a Difference between *Matthew* and *Luke*, in the setting down of this Relation; the former of whom speaks as if the Centurion came to *Jesus* himself: But this Difficulty will be removed by considering what we have before said, *That those Things which a Man employs another to do, he may be said to do himself.*

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The CENTURION beseeching Christ to heal his Servant.



ST. MATTHEW 8. Verse 5.

*And when Jesus was entered into Caperhaum, there came unto him
a Centurion, beseeching him, &c.*

before them all, That he had not met with any one among the *Jews*, who entertained such elevated Notions concerning the Divine Power. He added farther, That like as the Faith of this *Roman Centurion*, which entitled him to a Participation of the Benefits of the Kingdom of Heaven, exceeded that of any of the *Jews*: so also it should come to pass, that many Heathens from the remotest Parts of the Earth should believe on him, and share the Felicity of the Kingdom of Heaven with *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, those Founders of the *Jewish Nation*, while many of the *Jews*, who had the Advantages and Rewards of the Kingdom of Heaven propounded to them in the first Place by the peculiar Bounty of God, shall be wholly excluded from them. *Jesus* then dismiss'd the Friends of the Centurion, bidding them tell him, that in Consideration of his Faith, his Servant should be cured. They therefore returned, and found the Servant had recovered exactly at the same Time that *Jesus* told them he should be cured.

IV. The next Day he went to * *Naim*, another City of *Galilee*, being attended by a great many of his Disciples, and a Multitude of other People. At his Entrance into the Town they met a Funeral: The Deceased was the only Son of a Widow of that Place, and the Corpse was followed by a great many of the Citizens. *Jesus* taking notice of the Widow's Tears, and compassionating her Misery, bid her be of good Comfort; and immediately approaching the Bier, he took hold of it; upon which they that carried it stop'd. Then *Jesus* with a loud Voice bid the Youth arise; who immediately obeyed the Divine Summons, raised himself, and

began to speak. Thus *Jesus* rescued this dead Person from the Grave, and restored him to his Mother. All that saw the Miracle were struck with a religious Terror, and gave Thanks to God for having sent so great a Prophet to them, and for manifesting his Care and Protection of the People whom he had chosen, by this and many other Miracles that *Jesus* wrought among them. The Fame of this Miracle, by which was fulfilled that Prophecy of *Jesus*, that the Dead should shortly hear his Voice, was spread throughout *Judea* and all the neighbouring Country.

V. The Disciples of *John the Baptist*, who, as we have related, was imprisoned at *Macherus*, acquainted him with the Miracles *Jesus* wrought, and the Doctrine he delivered. *John*, who knew him to be the *Messiah* by a Relation from Heaven, wondered there had not been a greater Change in the Affairs of the *Jewish Nation*, since *Jesus* had been then entered upon his Ministry a very considerable Time. He called therefore two of his Disciples to him, and sent them to *Jesus*, to enquire of him, in his Name, Whether he was not that Person that was to come, (not daring publicly to call him *Messiah* or King, lest by expressing himself too plainly he might irritate the *Romans*, as also the unbelieving *Jews*;) or whether they were to expect another? They immediately obeyed, and repaired to *Jesus* according to the Instructions they received from *John*.

It happened that when these Disciples came to *Jesus*, he was employed in publishing his Gospel, restoring Health to the Sick troubled with divers Infirmities, casting the evil Spirits out of many human

* *Naim*, or *Nain*, was a City in the extreme Borders of *Issachar*, towards *Samaria*, two Leagues from *Nazareth*, and not much more from Mount *Tabor*. It had its Name from the Pleasantness of the Place. If *Josephus* speaks of the same Place, he twice calls it a Village, and saith it was walled about in the Time of the *Jewish Wars*: But St. *Luke* assures us that it had Gates in our Saviour's Time.

Bodies, and restoring Sight to the Blind : *Jesus answered them therefore to this Purpose : Return to your Master, and tell him, I have given you no direct Answer to his Question, but have ordered you to relate to him what you have seen me do, and heard me teach. Now the Blind, as you perceive, thro' my Means recover their Sight, the Lame are cured of their Infirmary, the Lepers are cleansed, the Deaf hear, the Dead are restored to Life, and the Poor have the Laws and Rewards of the Kingdom of Heaven published to them ; and blessed shall all they be that are not alienated from me by reason of my external Appearance.* By which Words he insinuated, that *John* ought not to have a less Opinion of him for his not performing those Exploits which the *Jews* generally expected from the *Messiah*. This was all the Reply that *Jesus* made them, as thinking it not convenient to make a publick Declaration of his being the *Messiah*, leaving that Truth to be collected from his Doctrine and Miracles, to which Argument he referred *John* : For such an open Profession would have added no Weight to it, and might have caused an Insurrection among the *Jews*, who were very much galled with the *Roman* Yoke, and therefore desirous of a Revolution ; besides that they expected their *Messiah* should reign over them like a glorious Conqueror, after having freed them from the Tyranny of the *Romans*.

VII. The Disciples of *John* having left *Jesus*, he began to discourse to the People concerning *John*. What was the Reason, said he, you went into the Desert, where *John* lived before he was cast into Prison? Did you go to see Reeds shaken with the Wind, or *John*? Him without Doubt. But what was there so remarkable in *John*? Did you expect to find a Courtier, and one conspicuous for his rich Apparel? His Raiment you know was as mean as possible, and such gaudy Persons

were to be seen daily in the Courts of *Herod* and *Philip*. In which Words *Jesus* intimated, tho' obscurely, that the Reign of the *Messiah* should be no ways like any terrestrial Reign, since *John*, who was the Forerunner of him, did not in the least resemble any of the Courtiers of the Tetrarch of *Galilee* or *Trachonitis*. But, continued he, what was it you were thus earnest to see in the Desarts where *John* lived? You expected, no Doubt, to find a Prophet; and truly I esteem him greater than a Prophet, since it is concerning this Person that God says in *Malachi*, *Mal. 3. 1. Behold, I will send my Messenger, and he shall prepare the Way before me.* Now take notice that there never was a greater Prophet than *John the Baptist* : For he has had clearer Revelations concerning the *Messiah* than all of them; and he it is who was employed in promulging the Laws of the approaching Reign of the *Messiah*, which were almost wholly unknown before; and yet the meanest Person that shall become a Member of my Church, shall excel him in this Particular. From the Time that *John the Baptist* began to exhort you to Repentance, the Kingdom of the *Messiah* has as it were been seized on by Men, whom you look upon as unjust and violent; the Tax-gatherers, for Instance, and others of that Stamp, who have cheerfully submitted to mine and *John's* Baptism.

VIII. The Law and the Prophets continued in Force till the Time that *John* entered upon his Office; nor were there any Rules known, but what were contained in the Precepts of the one, and the Prophecies of the other: But after that *John* began to preach unto you, the Laws of the Kingdom of Heaven have been more fully opened, and the Rewards that attend the Obedience to them have been manifested to you. This Personage, if you will believe me, is that *Elias*, who, accord-

according to the Prophecy of *Malachi*, was to appear *before the Coming of the great and dreadful Day of the Lord*. Whoever has a serious Concern for his own Salvation, and is convinced it is his Duty to examine into the Means proposed for the obtaining of it, let him ponder my Words, and infer from them what it is not necessary for me at present to express more plainly to him. A great Multitude of the common People, and the very Publicans, out of a due Sense of the Greatness of their Crimes, which had stirred up God's Justice against them, have embrac'd the Baptism of *John*, and are become truly penitent; but the Pharisees, and almost all the Doctors of the Law, those eminently learned and holy Persons, as they would fain be thought, have rejected the Counsel of God exhorting them to Repentance, thro' Pride and Contumacy, and refused to be baptized by *John*, that they might not be obliged to make an open Confession of their Vices.

IX. Which Behaviour of theirs I can liken to nothing more properly than to the proverbial Saying among Children at their Play: *We have piped, and you have not danced; we have lamented among you, and no Body has been concerned at it*. Thus these Men have not been persuaded to comply with God's Messages to them, inviting them to a Reformation, and the Advantages that attend it in the Kingdom of Heaven. *John the Baptist*, who was first sent to them, led a most austere Life in the Desarts, sustaining himself without either Bread or Wine; by which Severity of Life they might have concluded him to be one, who laying aside all Care after the Conveniencies of this Life, made it his great Business to put in Execution the

Commands he received from God: Him they calumniated as one possessed with an evil Spirit, which hurried him into the Desert, and made him neglect the sacerdotal Duties, and the Benefits annexed to them. Whereas I, on the contrary, who have conformed, in all outward Respects, to the general Customs of Men, who have made no Difference in the Use of Meats and Drinks, who have not avoided the Conversation of the Vulgar, that I might make the more Profelytes to my Religion, am traduced by them as a Glutton, a Lover of Wine, and a Friend to Publicans and Sinners. But whoever has a true Relish of heavenly Things, will easily perceive the divine Wisdom in these so different Ways of Living, and with how much Reason they both tend to one and the same End.

X. Then began *Jesus* to upbraid the Inhabitants of those Cities, in which, and in whose Country, he had wrought his Miracles, for their not being prevailed on to amend their Lives. O how great Punishments, said he, remain for you, ye Inhabitants of * *Chorazin* and *Bethsaida*! If the *Syrians* and *Sidonians*, a People the most abandoned to Idolatry, had seen those Miracles that have been shewn to you, they would long ago have repented, and implored the Divine Mercy in Sackcloth and Ashes. Whereas you, who are *Jews*, who have the true God for the Object of your Worship, have not been so affected with them as to amend your Lives. They therefore, tho' Idolaters, shall not be so severely punished as you in the Day of Judgment. And you, O Inhabitants of *Capernaum*, who have been hitherto judged happy by my Residence, and the Miracles I have performed among

* *Chorazin* is supposed to have stood on the Sea of *Galilee*, about two Miles distant from *Capernaum*: It is no where said that our Lord was ever there, but his Exclamation here proves it: *Bethsaida* has been mentioned before: It was the native Place of three Apostles, *Peter*, *Andrew* and *Philip*; and stood likewise on the Sea of *Galilee*.

you, your Obstinacy hereafter shall be punished with the greatest Severity of all: For if the Citizens of *Sodom*, had seen the Miracles of which you have been Eye-witnesses, their City would not have been destroyed: Those Men, tho' so wicked and impure, by a timely Reformation would have appeased the Wrath of God, and shall therefore suffer less Punishment than you.

XI. After these Exclamations, *Jesus* addressing himself to the Father, I thank thee, said he, and acknowledge the Wisdom of thy Providence, in that thy Gospel has been received by the unlearned and undesigning Part of Mankind, while the Men of Repute for Learning and Policy reject it. Thus it has pleased thee to order for thy own wise Purposes, which it is impossible for Men to penetrate. Then turning himself to the Auditory, Whatsoever I teach you, said he, I have received from my heavenly Father, and there is no one knows what I am to do and suffer, inasmuch as no Mortal is acquainted with his secret Determination but the Son only, and they to whom the Son shall reveal it. O all ye that desire Ease, ye who have been wearied out by the many Journeys the Law obliges you to make to *Jerusalem*, and who groan under the Burden of many and grievous Rites, embrace my Discipline, and you shall find Relief. Observe my Precepts, and you will see how much I differ from the Pride and Haughtiness of your Rabbies; those of the meanest Condition shall be received by me as well as others, and all that I expect from you is a sound Morality, and an unaffected Piety. 'Tis in these Commands of mine, that your Souls may rest satisfied, and not in your *Jewish* Ceremonies, the Observance of which is required with so much Rigour. When you have been a while inured to my Discipline, you will acknowledge I have imposed nothing on you but for your own Profit, and that the Tasks I have en-

joined you contain nothing in them grievous or hard to be performed.

DISSERTATION.

In Defence of those Miracles of our Saviour by which he restored the Dead to Life, and particularly of his raising the Widow of Naim's Son.

THOSE who take upon them to oppose the Authority of the New Testament Revelation, well know, that if it can be proved that the Author of that Revelation did actually, by his Word only, restore to Life Persons who were perfectly dead, there would be no need of any Thing farther to prove that all which is delivered in that Revelation ought to be received and embraced by us, and that *Jesus Christ* ought to be owned in that Character, which he assumed to himself, and which has ever been attributed to him by those who have professed to be Followers of his Doctrine. For which Reason it was absolutely necessary, in order to the introducing and establishing a System of Infidelity, that those Parts of the History of *Jesus*, in which he is said to have raised the Dead, should, above all others, be called in Question by them. This has been done by the Author of the *Discourse on the Miracles of our Saviour*, who pretends to shew, that the three Resurrection-Stories, concerning the Widow of *Naim's* Son, the Daughter of *Jairus* Ruler of the Synagogue, and *Lazarus* the Friend of *Jesus*, do, in their literal Sense, consist of Absurdities, Improbabilities, and Incredibilities; all which is doen, as he would have us believe, in order to the mystical Interpretation of those Passages. As to this mystical Interpretation of our Saviour's Miracles, it hath, we believe, been sufficiently exposed in the preceding Discourses on such of these Miracles as have

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already occurred in this Work; and therefore we shall neither here, nor in any future Discourse, take much notice of it: But the literal Sense we are all along bound, by the Nature of the Work, to defend, as the several Miracles objected against fall in our Way: And to do this, in the present Case, will be no very difficult Task.

The Author, before he meddles with any one of these Miracles in particular, proposes some preliminary Prejudices against all these three Resurrections, which either arise from a Comparison of them together, or from some common Circumstances of them; though, according to the true Rules of Method, these complicated or circumstantial Considerations ought to have been postponed to the Examination of what is more plain and simple, as well as more essential, namely, the Accounts given in the Gospels of *Jesus's* raising to Life the three Persons there specified. Yet, that we may not lose all Sight of these Objections so wrong distributed, we shall pursue them in the Order we find them.

He begins with an Enquiry foreign enough to his Objections against the Truth of these three Resurrections, namely, "Whether *Jesus* raised any more from the Dead besides the fore said three Persons?" Now it may be easily shewn, that it is not uncertain, from the evangelical History, whether *Jesus* did so or not. For that *Jesus* raised more Persons from the Dead than are recorded, appears both from St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*, *Matt.* 11. 5. *Luke* 7. 22. Both of these, when they mention *Jesus's* Answer to the Message of *John the Baptist*, who sent to be resolved whether he was the *Christ*, gives us as Part of this Answer, that among the Works of *Jesus*, which the Disciples of *John* are said to hear and see, the Dead are affirmed to be raised up. An Expression, which being in the plural

Number, unavoidably supposes more Persons than one to have been then raised to Life by *Jesus*: And therefore, though *Matthew* no where mentions any other particular Instance of that Nature, besides the restoring Life to the Ruler's Daughter, (to which *Luke* only adds the Widow of *Naim's* Son, the Story we are now upon; and the last Evangelist St. *John*, only superadds one more, namely that of *Lazarus*, which was long after the other two;) yet in Justification of the Propriety, and indeed of the Truth of that Answer, it is necessary to acknowledge that *Jesus* raised more from the Dead besides those three Persons, and that this is certain from the evangelical History.

St. *Austin* acknowledges, that without Controversy *Jesus* raised many others besides the three Persons recorded in the Gospels, tho' he moralizes those three Facts. And even *Eusebius Gallicanus* owns that our Lord raised up more than three. That Writer acknowledges the Truth of the three literal Resurrections, tho' he afterwards moralized them with *Austin*, and that too almost in *Austin's* Words, when he says, It is not without its mystical Signification, that whereas our Lord raised up more Persons, the Evangelists have given us an Account of his raising three only. For he raised up the Ruler of the Synagogue's Daughter, continuing as yet in her Father's House, and lying in an inner Room. He raised up also the Widow's Son, now carried out of the Gates of the City, but not as yet buried. He likewise raised up *Lazarus*, who was not only buried, but had lain in the Grave four Days, and stank. Therefore these three dead Persons signify three different Sorts of Death." On which three Degrees of the spiritual Death of Sinners, tho' he went on to enlarge, yet he there plainly confesses the literal Sense not only of these three Resurrections, but of others that are not related, to

be true. Which is a Concession far from evincing the pretended Necessity of espousing the mystical Sense of these Miracles, in Derogation from any literal Resurrection of the Dead by *Jesus* at all.

The next Observation is, that "these three Miracles are not equally great, but differ in Degree;" and the Author accordingly enlarges on a Comparison of them. He then adds, that "the Fathers have taken notice of such a Difference." But not to anticipate what shall be farther said on this Subject, we may here only take notice, that on Supposition all the three Persons said to be raised were really dead, there is no other Difference in their respective Resurrections but what is circumstantial, and has a Regard to outward Appearances; nor do the Fathers, as is pretended, patronize any such Distinction. *Peter Chrysologus*, after he has acknowledged the three Resurrections in their literal Sense, adds indeed by Way of Explication, with Regard to the Death of *Lazarus*, that "the whole Power of Death was accomplished upon him;" and with Regard to his Resurrection, that "the outward Appearance or Manner of his Resurrection shone in all its Glory." But that is no more, in plain Words, than that his Death differed from that of the other two, as he had been actually buried for four Days and stank; and his Resurrection differed from that of the rest, as it was more solemn in its Manner and all its Circumstances. And *St. Austin* says only on this Occasion, that "of all the Miracles of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, the Resurrection of *Lazarus* is chiefly celebrated." Which is still on the same Account, the more solemn Circumstances that are related of his Resurrection after so long a Burial, as compared with those of the other two. And consequently the other Differences that are precariously assigned as to the Inequality of the three Resurrections, are by no Means patroniz-

ed by the Fathers; an Inequality, so far from being essential, that as the three Persons were equally dead, so they were equally raised to Life again, tho' with different external Circumstances.

"But I am apt to believe with the Fathers, (says the Author of the Discourses,) that *Jesus* actually did raise the Dead; but then as these Miracles are only recorded for the Sake of the Mystery; I affirm that none of them, as to the Letter, will abide the Test of a critical Examination, nor stand its Ground against such Exceptions as may be made to it." Observe how inconsistent with itself is all this *Bravado*. The Fathers, to whom our Author appeals for the contrary, believed that *Jesus* actually did raise the Dead: Our Author himself is apt to believe so with the Fathers, tho' he professedly ridicules all the Instances of *Jesus's* doing so as *Impostures*. Again, None of these Miracles, as to the Letter, can stand the Test, tho' he is apt to believe them: And once more, Tho' these Miracles cannot stand the Test, they are recorded, and that only for the Sake of the Mystery; that is, in other Words, our Author adheres to a Mystery as true, which is entirely founded on a false Miracle. Whether these are not Contradictions that argue a disordered Head, we refer to the competent Reader.

The first Remark after these prefatory Cavils, on the three recorded Resurrections, as compared together, is on "the Order of Time in which these Miracles are related, which is said to be unnatural and preposterous; and that the Omission of *Lazarus's* Resurrection, said to be the greatest of all of them, by the three former Evangelists, is so very unaccountable a Thing, as to render suspected *St. John's* History of *Lazarus's* Resurrection." This is the whole Force of Mr. *Wolfston's* first, and indeed his principal Objection; in answer to which, we shall endeavour to shew, What could be the Reason that

Matthew, Mark, and Luke, who all wrote their Gospels before *John*, and many Years nearer to the Death of our Saviour, should omit to record this remarkable and most illustrious Miracle of *Lazarus*. And afterwards we shall add somewhat about the Order of Time in which these Miracles are related.

Now on this Occasion we premise, *First*, that this and other Omissions of the three former Evangelists were made designedly, and not thro' Lapse of Memory or Inattention. For it is not consistent with the Supposition of any Divine Inspiration, to assert that this and other Omissions of them were made by Inadvertency and Forgetfulness; since the Holy Spirit, which was promised by *Jesus* to teach his Disciples, and bring all Things to their Remembrance, when they preached the Gospel to the Age they lived in, must be much more necessarily supposed to direct and influence them when they committed it to Writing, for the Use of all succeeding Ages of the Church. And indeed there can be no doubt but that they wrote what they preached.

Secondly, That tho' the Writers of the three former Gospels were under the Direction of the Holy Spirit, with Regard to the Truth of what they recorded, yet they were left in a great Measure to their own natural Abilities and Judgment, as to their Style and Method, and the Choice of some Miracles out of a vast Variety of them in composing their respective Histories of *Jesus*. Or, as the judicious *Isaac Causabon* speaks from *St. Austin* himself, "They wrote down what their Memory suggested to them; and tho' the Spirit of God directed their Memory and Understanding, yet it did so in a Manner suitable to the Simplicity of illiterate Men, which it by no means altered." So that the Inspiration that attended them in writing the historical Matters relating to *Jesus Christ*, which they knew well them-

selves, or had from other credible Persons that did so know them, was such as did not exclude the Operation of their own Minds in writing those Narratives; tho' no doubt it was such as influenced them so far as to write nothing but Truth. And from so great an Instance as that of *St. Paul*, we are assured how very consistent a Thing the Knowledge of Facts from Eye-witnesses is with a particular Revelation of *Jesus Christ*, since he certainly enjoyed both of them after his Conversion.

Now these Things being previously supposed, we shall endeavour gradually to account for the Omission of *Lazarus's* Resurrection by the three former Evangelists. And *first*, it is evident in Fact, that the particular Period of Time, in which *Jesus* is said by *St. John* to have performed that great Work, is wholly omitted by the three former Evangelists. For the second Retreat of *Jesus* beyond *Jordan*, from which *Jesus* came to raise up *Lazarus*, is not within the Compass of the three former Evangelists, and is wholly omitted by them. This second Retreat was immediately occasioned by *Jesus's* Conference with the *Jews* in *Solomon's Porch*, at the Feast of Dedication, in which he asserted that *he was the Son of God*, and that *he and his Father are one*; which the *Jews* understood as equivalent to his making himself God: Upon which they took up Stones to stone him; and, after his Expostulation with them, they sought again to take him, but he escaped out of their Hand, and went away again beyond *Jordan*, unto the Place where *John* at first baptized, and there he abode. And that it was from this second Retreat beyond *Jordan* that he made an Excursion to revive *Lazarus*, is most apparent, *John* 11. 1, 7, &c.

Secondly, Tho' the Omission of the fore said Period of Time, and consequently of the Resurrection of *Lazarus* that

was wrought in it, may at first View seem somewhat surprizing; yet that Omission will appear upon farther Reflection to be no singular Case, nor peculiar to the Resurrection of *Lazarus*. For it appears from almost all the other Miracles supplementally recorded by *St. John*, that they were omitted by the three former Evangelists, as they omitted the Periods of Time in which they were performed. Thus those Miracles were omitted by them which were wrought before the Imprisonment of *John the Baptist*, with which they, in Effect, began their Gospels. Such, for Instance, were the Change of Water into Wine at *Cana*, and the first Reformation of the Temple. And this Observation holds true till that Evangelist falls in with the Period of Time within the Compass of the three former Evangelists, after which he records the Miracle of the five thousand Men being fed with five Loaves and two small Fishes; not merely in Confirmation of that great Miracle as mentioned in common by the three other Evangelists, but for the Sake of the Circumstances of it which were omitted by them, and supplied by him; namely, that *those Men, when they had seen the Miracle that Jesus did, said, This is of a Truth that Prophet that should come into the World: And that, when Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by Force, to make him a King, he departed again into a Mountain himself alone, John 6.* The just Inference that was then drawn by so great a Number of Men on whom this Miracle was wrought, and the Caution and Care of *Jesus* to avoid Popularity and secular Grandeur, were of such Weight and Consequence as to deserve to be taken Notice of by a supplemental Writer. As indeed does the immediately following Miracle of *Jesus's* walking on the Sea, though mentioned by *Matthew* and *Mark*, as it is connected with his long mysterious Discourse to

the *Capernaïtes*, which is inserted by *St. John*, because omitted by the three former Evangelists. These Instances may serve instead of a greater Number.

Thirdly, That several Periods of Time in the History of our Lord, and among them that which relates to the Resurrection of *Lazarus*, were omitted by the three former Evangelists, is asserted by the best and most ancient ecclesiastical Historian, as well as most artful Harmonizer of the Gospels, *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*; who informs us, that "It is evident that the three former Evangelists give only an Account of our Saviour's Actions after the Imprisonment of *John the Baptist*, and that too during one Year of his Ministry; which Limitation is clearly signified in the beginning of their respective Histories." The same Thing is likewise asserted by the late great Chronologer, *Mr. Dodwell*, who assures us, "that the three former Evangelists record only what was transacted by *Jesus* in the first Year of his preaching: And, that *St. John* is the only Evangelist who has preserved the Memory of all the other Years and Passovers of *Christ*." That is, of all but the first Year of *Christ's* preaching and publick Ministry. It may be doubted, indeed, whether this Restriction of *Jesus's* Actions in the three former Evangelists by these eminent Persons, and indeed by others, to a single Year of *Jesus's* Ministry, be nicely and rigidly exact; we having elsewhere signified the contrary. All we should prove by these Quotations, is, That it must be allowed that there were several Periods of Time in our Saviour's Life, that were omitted by the three former Evangelists, and therefore the Miracles performed during those Periods were likewise omitted by them: From whence it is a just Inference, that their Omission of *Lazarus's* Resurrection is no singular Case.

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The Matter of Fact being thus established, namely, that there were Omissions made by the three first Evangelists of several Periods of Time, and, consequently, of the Miracles performed in them; we now proceed to offer some Reasons for the said Omission of these Periods, and more particularly of the Period of *Lazarus*, on which the Omission of his Resurrection has been shewn to depend.

The most comprehensive Hypothesis is that of an Accommodation used by the Writers of the three former Gospels to the Method and Order of those more early Narratives of the Life of *Christ*, which very probably they had in their immediate View, when they wrote with a Design to correct what was imperfect, or uncertain, or erroneous in them, not only for the Use of the Age they lived in, but to give a more exact Account of *Jesus's* Actions and Doctrine for the Use of the Church for ever. So that the three first Evangelists may, very consistently, be considered as occasional Writers, and yet as Writers for Perpetuity. Now it appears from *Dr. Mills's Prolegomena*, that as the chief of the Narratives of *Jesus*, were the Gospels according to the *Hebrews* and the *Egyptians*, so the three first Gospels were wrote on Occasion of them, as Part of the Narratives of the many Writers of which *Luke* speaks; namely, for correcting their Errors, and supplying their Defects. And accordingly *St. Matthew's* Gospel, in particular, was wrote in Opposition to the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, for the immediate Use of the converted *Jews*, who had used the said imperfect Narrative of *Jesus*. On which Occasion *Dr. Mills* writes thus: "For how necessary soever it was to the Church that some good Memoirs of the Life and Actions of our Lord should be wrote by the Apostles themselves, or which is the same Thing, their constant

Attendants; yet it was so ordered by the divine Providence, that those Authors did actually set about writing the same on occasion of the fore-mentioned Narratives, because the Affairs of *Christ* was inaccurately and unworthily delivered in them." And as for *St. Mark*, *Dr. Mill* first premises that he made a Disposition of his Narrations for the most Part agreeably to the Method and Order of *St. Matthew*; and then he adds, "That tho' he wrote his Gospel at the Request of the *Romans*, agreeably to the Testimonies of the Antients, that they might have by them the Sermons of *Peter* in Writing for their constant Perusal; yet these Memoirs of *Mark*, as well as the other Gospels, seem to have been wrote for correcting the Errors, and supplying the Defects, of some little Narrative of *Jesus's* Life and Actions, which probably was then received among the *Romans*." And as for *St. Luke*, the same Author tells us to this Effect; "that he wrote his Gospel with Design to correct those imperfect and erroneous Narratives that had been then wrote, by many Persons, of the Life and Affairs of *Christ*; and particularly for correcting what was amiss in the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*, and for supplying its Defects: That he wrote his Gospel at *Alexandria*; and that it is probable that he substituted his accurate History of our Lord in the Room of that imperfect Gospel, which had before prevailed chiefly in the Churches of *Egypt*, and left it to be recurred to and publicly read by them." And as for *St. John*, he assures us from *Irenæus*, *Eusebius*, and others, "that he wrote his Gospel at the Requests of the Bishops of *Asia*, and as a Supplement (especially before the Imprisonment of *John*) of the other three, the Truth of which he confirmed." He likewise wrote occasionally, as he opposed his Account of *Jesus's* Divinity to the Heresies of *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*, who as-

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ferted two Gods, and distinguished between the Maker of the World and the Father of our Lord.

And as to the Design of *Luke's* writing his Gospel, Dr. *Grabe* agrees with Dr. *Mill*, that it was to correct the Errors, and to supply the uncertain Accounts, not only of several Narratives, but chiefly of the Gospel according to the Egyptians. And indeed it is probable that this last Gospel was wrote early by the Christian *Essens* that had been converted by *Mark* before *Luke* came into *Egypt*, who, as it is well known from *Philo*, affected a mystical Turn in all their Writings. And accordingly *Epiphanius* tells us, that "many Things are mentioned in the Gospel to the Egyptians in a disguised and mystical Manner, in the Person of our Saviour." On which Occasion Dr. *Grabe* immediately adds; "and the Truth of what *Epiphanius* says, clearly appears from the Remains of that Gospel which are now extant." And therefore, tho' it may be said in general of *Matthew*, that he accommodated his Gospel to that according to the Hebrews; and of *Mark*, that he conformed his Gospel very much to that of *Matthew*, tho' he was not entirely an Abridger of him; yet, this their Accommodation may be best illustrated by that which was used by St. *Luke* to the Gospel according to the Egyptians; namely, by that greater Number of Parables which are recorded by St. *Luke* than by the other Evangelists. For these Parables answer more properly to the disguised and mystical Way of the Egyptian Gospel; which has just now been intimated; and are a Proof that St. *Luke* was such an occasional Writer as is here supposed.

To make an Application of this Hypothesis to the present Subject, we may now naturally conclude, that as the three former Evangelists wrote on Occasion of correcting several Narratives, it was natural for them in some Measure to adapt and

accommodate their Method of Writing to that of those Narratives which they corrected. And therefore if it be supposed that the History of *Lazarus* was omitted in those Narratives, as it was natural for those three Writers to imitate the Order of those Narratives, those three Writers likewise omitted an Account of *Lazarus*. And such an Omission is fairly accountable from the usual Practice of Authors who write occasionally, and correct other Writers on the same Subject.

But it is pretended, "That the first Writer of the Life of an Hero makes mention of all the grand Occurrences of it, and leaves no Room for Biographers afterwards, but to enlarge and paraphrase upon what he has written, &c.—If a third or a fourth Biographer after him shall presume to add a more illustrious Transaction of the Hero's Life, it will be rejected as Fable and Romance, tho' for no other Reason than this, that the first Writer must have been apprised of it, and would have inserted its Story if there had been any Truth in it." This is a Criticism applied to the Case of the Resurrection of *Lazarus*. Now that this Objection is impertinent, and the Allegation in it false, will appear very clearly when 'tis reduced into a narrower Compass. *That every Thing which is distinguishing and eminent in the Life of a great Man, must necessarily be recorded by the first Writer of his Life; and that whatever extraordinary Performance is delivered of him by any subsequent Writer, must therefore be false.* For if by any Biographer afterwards be meant any subsequent Historian who was not contemporary, the Criticism is not to the Purpose: And if one be meant that was contemporary, but wrote subsequently in order of Time, the Assertion is false.

But as we would rather recur to Fact in this Particular, Instances shall be here produced, that are sufficient to confute this Criticism, both in heroical and philosophical

sophical History. In the heroical Way there is a memorable Instance in the Life of *Alexander the Great*, as it is recorded by a subsequent Historian, *Josephus*, but was omitted by all the earlier Historians, either Greek or Latin. It is the great Encouragement that was given to *Alexander*, by a Vision from God, to pass over into *Asia* and subdue the *Persian Empire*; as likewise the Confirmation of that Design by a View of the Prophecy of *Daniel*, which was given him by *Jaddus*, the Jewish High-Priest, in which he was assured that the *Persians* were to be conquered by the *Grecian Arms*. And this *Jaddus* was the Person whom he had before seen in his Vision, as dressed in the same Pontifical Habit in which he met him when he came to *Jerusalem*. So remarkable a Piece of History as this has been preserved only by *Josephus*. Tho' it was the great Original Incentive of the Asiatick Victories of *Alexander*, it was omitted by all the most antient Historians of *Alexander* that were transcribed by *Plutarch* on all occasions, who, agreeably to *Plutarch's* Silence about this Matter in his Collection out of them, must be presumed to have been all of them silent with Regard to so important a Fact, tho' some of them recorded Facts of a like Nature, tho' of an inferior Kind. This animating Fact has indeed been doubted of by some bold Criticks; but the Truth of it has been established by *Origen* antiently, and by the most learned Bishop *Lloyd* lately.

Other Instances about the Omission of any Thing very remarkable and distinguishing in the first Historian, may be taken from the sacred History. It is obvious that the Books of *Chronicles* were designed to be a Supplement to those of *Samuel* and *Kings*, in some very material Points; as likewise that the Book of *Deuteronomy* was wrote to supply the Deficiencies of the other Books of the Law of

Moses. The prior Author, or Authors, of the Book of *Kings*, have not recorded the Pride of *Hezekiah* in consequence of the miraculous Sign he was favoured with by God, and his subsequent Humiliation, that are recorded in the supplemental *Chronicles*, 2 Chron. 32. 25, 26. This must be acknowledged to be a very memorable Incident in the Life of so good and pious a King as *Hezekiah*; and consequently, it is a very remarkable Addition made by a subsequent Writer, which was wholly omitted by the earlier Writer of his Life.

As this Instance is taken from a good King, so another shall be now produced from a very bad one. In the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, chap. 38. 17, 18. we find recorded a most extraordinary Interview of that Prophet with King *Zedekiah*, in which is mentioned an Assurance given from God by that Prophet to the King, when in the utmost Distress, that if *Zedekiah would go forth to the King of Babylon's Princes*, then engaged in the Siege of *Jerusalem*, he should live, and the City should not be burnt with Fire; but if he would not so go forth, he should not escape, and the City should be burnt with Fire. Now it is certain that this great oracular Decision of the Fate of that King and of *Jerusalem* is not taken the least Notice of in the professed History of that Transaction, as it is recorded in the second Book of *Kings* and the second Book of *Chronicles*; but is only preserved in that Part of the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, which gives an historical Account of the taking and Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the King of *Babylon's* Army. Whence it clearly appears, that the most distinguishing and critical Part of the History of a great Person's Life may be omitted, not only by the first but the second Writer of it, and yet it may be very true.

We shall now subjoin a very remarkable Instance out of the New Testament, and

and that more especially proper, as it relates to the present Subject of the Resurrection. It is the Omission not only of the three former Evangelists, but of St. *John* himself, the supplemental Writer, to record that illustrious Testimony of the Truth of *Jesus's* Resurrection, which is mentioned by St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 15. 6. namely, that *Jesus*, after his Resurrection, *was seen of above five hundred Brethren at once; of whom, the Apostle adds, the greater Part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep.* As this is a noble Testimony of *Jesus's* Resurrection, considered as additional to that of the other Apostles, the Force of it shall be observed in its proper Place. But what it is here cited for, is to give an unanswerable Instance of the Omission made by all the Evangelists, of so material a Testimony as that of a Majority of above five hundred Persons, who saw our Saviour after his Resurrection; and these Persons that were then living, and therefore were appealed to by St. *Paul* when he wrote that Epistle; which, according to the best Accounts, was near twenty four Years after *Jesus's* Resurrection. In this Case might it not as well be objected, that this Matter of Fact cannot be true; because, if it were so, it would not have been omitted by all the Evangelists, as being an uncontrollable Testimony? But notwithstanding this Omission of them all, St. *Paul* here cites the Testimony of so great a Number of Persons then living: Which he could not possibly have done with any Degree of Modesty as to himself, or without the Examination and open Contradiction of others at that Time, if the Fact relating to such a Multitude of living Witnesses had not been very certain. Here is then as great an Omission as well can be imagined, of a most important Testimony, in a most important Affair, made by all the Evangelists, not excepting St. *John*, who wrote a Supplement of their

Gospels. And consequently St. *Paul* must be allowed to have wrote a Supplement about the Resurrection of *Jesus* to all the Evangelists, even *John* as well as the rest. This Omission of *John* is indeed more unaccountable than the Omission of *Lazarus's* Resurrection by the three former Evangelists, since tho' they were occasional Writers, he was professedly so in supplying their Omissions. And consequently, the Omission of *Lazarus's* Resurrection by the three former Evangelists is not at all surprizing, when we make a just Comparison of those Omissions and the Persons that made them. With regard to St. *John's* Account of *Lazarus*, tho' our Author in one Place makes him an artful Writer, yet in the very next Page he treats him as one in his Dotage, and above an hundred. But that St. *John* was a very competent Witness of *Lazarus's* Resurrection, notwithstanding his Omission of the Testimony of five hundred Persons given to that of *Jesus*, is not only evident from his having been present at it, but from his giving all possible Marks, in his Gospel and Epistles, of a sound Understanding and a faithful Memory, as well as of the divine Assistance. And of this Assertion, not only his supplemental Accounts of the Miracles and Discourses of *Jesus*, omitted by the other Evangelists, as well as the Excellency of the Beginning of his Gospel, are Arguments not to be evaded. And therefore the Reason why St. *John*, as well as the other Evangelists, omitted the Account of these five hundred Witnesses seems to be this, That they thought it unnecessary to produce it; since the Testimony of the Apostles, as Witnesses of his Resurrection chosen by God, was a sufficient Proof of the Reality of it to all impartial Persons. And if St. *Paul* super-added that Testimony, it was thought proper by him to preserve the Memory of it, in Order to extort the Assent of those

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Incredulous Persons, who pretended to doubt of the Veracity of the Apostles themselves in their Testimony of *Jesus's* Resurrection.

And indeed the same Reason ought to satisfy any rational Person in his Enquiry, why *Matthew* and *Mark* omitted the Revival of the Widow of *Naim's* Son, which was superadded by *St. Luke*. For if the Resurrection of any one Person is granted to be sufficient, there was no Necessity for their recording any other Instance, since the same divine Power which raised one Person from the Dead, is capable of raising as many others as it pleases to exert itself upon.

But we now go on to a *second* Objection; "That since we hear nothing more of the three Persons *after* their Resurrection, there were no such Persons at all raised from the Dead." But that this is too trifling a Suspicion to be dwelt upon, is evident to any one who considers, that in prophane History many Instances occur of Persons that only appear once, on some particular Occasion, on the publick Stage; and having served that Purpose, disappear for ever: So that it can by no means be drawn, as a Consequence of their appearing no more, that therefore they never appeared at all. And tho' we do not precisely know how and where *Lazarus* spent the rest of his Life after the Gospel ceases to mention him, yet we have Reason to believe that it was to the Honour of *Jesus*, and the spreading of his Religion, of the Truth of which his restored Life was an unanswerable Argument, and indeed a standing Monument. We only know in general, as has been shewn from *Epiphanius*, that he lived thirty Years after he had been raised by *Jesus*, according to the antient Tradition of the Church. But do we know more of the future Lives of most of the Apostles after the Scripture-Accounts of them? For tho' it is certain that they spent their

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Lives in the Propagation of the Gospel; yet there are extant very few authentick Memorials of their pious Labours; as is well known to all Persons conversant in the Antiquities of the Church. Did *Lazarus* therefore not propagate the Gospel at all, because we know not the particular Manner of his doing it? This is no more credible, than that, because many Legendary Stories were made, in the darker Ages, of *St. Patrick* or *St. David*, there were no such Persons as they who performed great Works of Piety. And if *Lazarus* at first absconded to avoid the Rage of the *Jews*, and probably afterwards went abroad in the Persecution upon *Stephen's* Death, is this any Imputation on him, when he thereby saved a Life, the Continuance of which was a Demonstration of *Jesus's* divine Authority, and was designed to be spent in spreading his Gospel?

With regard to the *third* Objection of *Mr. Woolston*, against those Persons whom *Jesus* is said to have raised to Life, as "comparatively improper and unworthy of that Favour, and that therefore he raised none, or should have raised more proper Objects;" it may be replied, That if this Author be considered as a Christian, which he pretended to be, he must acknowledge not only that *Jesus* was a free Agent, and might chuse whom he thought fit to raise; but that he acted agreeably to the Character of a most compassionate Person in raising, in particular, the Ruler of a Synagogue's favourite, if not only, Daughter; a Widow's only Son; and his own particular Friend, *Lazarus*. And since two or three Instances of *Jesus's* Almighty Power of this kind will be allowed to be sufficient, it unavoidably follows, that the Miracle consists in raising a Dead Person to Life, without any regard to the Quality of the Person that is so raised; since the Exertion of Almighty Power is the very same

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in raising a Person of a low, and of a high Rank and Quality.

We go on to consider our Author's *fourth* Objection, namely, that "none of the three raised Persons had been long enough dead to amputate (as he politely calls it) all Doubt of *Jesus's* miraculous Power in their Resurrection." And to his subsequent Argument on this Subject, it may be replied as follows.

First, That tho' it be granted that some Persons have actually revived after they had been thought by unaccurate Observers to have been really dead, which they were not; yet this Concession neither favours this Author's Cause, nor prejudices the Supposition of the Reality of the Death of the three Persons raised by *Jesus*. For how does it follow, that because some unaccurate Observations have been made of Persons falsely supposed to have been dead, but who were only fallen into long Fits, therefore there are no just *Criteria* for accurate Observers to make use of in determining the Reality of Death in any Person whatsoever?

2dly, That from the Histories of Persons who have been said to revive, when falsely supposed to have been dead, it appears that they had revived at very different Periods of Time, some short, and some long, after they were supposed to have been dead: And consequently, an Objection against the three Instances of Persons raised in the Gospels, as not after Time long enough, is weak and groundless. For Instance, the Demand of *some Days*, or *two or three Weeks*, for the Widow's Son and *Jairus's* Daughter, is wholly precarious and unsatisfactory, since *Lazarus* really rose after some Days without convincing these Objectors, and others are said to have revived after many more Days, or some Weeks, who were wrongly supposed to have been dead; and therefore no fixed Time can be assigned in either respect.

3dly, That there are just and proper *Criteria* of the reality of the Death of any Person, we need not recur for a Proof to the Judgment of learned Physicians, since it is evident from common Experience. The fallen Jaw, the Stiffness and Coldness of all the Parts, the altered Face, the natural Purgations, and several other *Criteria*, are united Demonstrations of Death to any diligent Observer of this great Change of Nature. And when we super-add, to an actual Experience of these more obvious *Criteria* of Death, the strictest Enquiries of a tender Father, so solicitous for preserving the Life of his favourite young Daughter, as to recur to *Jesus* at some Distance with the most pressing Entreaties; when he, in concurrence with the latter Account of his attending Servants, absolutely concluded she was truly Dead, and therefore ceased to solicit her Recovery; surely other Persons unconcerned and disinterested, had then, and now have, just Reason to acknowledge the Reality of her Death. And thus again, When the sorrowful Widow, who must be supposed to have tried in vain all proper Methods of saving the Life of an only Son, was at last obliged, though with great Reluctancy, to part with so invaluable a Blessing, and to lament her irreparable Loss; when she acknowledged and attested his Death, the Reality of which she cannot but be presumed to have critically examined, and when she herself assisted at the carrying out of her beloved Son to his Funeral; certainly it was upon so firm a Conviction of the Reality of his Death, as ought to be satisfactory to all others. And as for any Suspicion of a Collusion practised in the casual meeting of the Corps of this young Man, as if it was a designed and concerted Scheme; it is so very weak as to confute itself by its Inconsistency; as likewise does the other ridiculous Supposition of *Jesus's* chafing his Corps, when we are expressly

expressly told that he only touched the Outside of his Bier.

As the last Objection related to this World, so our Authors proceeds to advance another from "the Silence of those that were raised from the Dead by *Jesus*, with regard to the other World." But this Objection is certainly one of the weakest that ever was made. For could not those Persons have been raised in Fact, unless their Historians had given an Account of what they reported with Relation to the State of the other World, which was nothing really to the Purpose of their Resurrection? How does any one know whether the Evangelists were permitted by the Holy Spirit to drop any Thing relating to the particular State of the invisible World? *St. Paul* himself asserts that he had *heard unspeakable Words in the third*, or the highest, *Heaven, which is not lawful for a Man to utter*; or, if not forbid, *could not be uttered*; since *Eye has not seen, nor Ear heard, neither can it now enter into the Heart of Man, what God has prepared for them that love him*? And, consequently, they that were raised must be supposed to want Ideas for describing the State of the spiritual World. Again, How does any one know, whether their Ideas of that State might not have been providentially erased, in order to prevent such a Communication of it, as is ill-suited to the present probational State? Or, again, whether such an Account was not designedly omitted by the Evangelists; since if *Men bear not Moses and the Prophets*, nor *Jesus* and his *Apostles*, *neither will they be persuaded, tho' one rose from the Dead*, and revealed the Secrets of the invisible World. Any one of these Suppositions, none of which are improbable, is sufficient to overthrow this imaginary Connection, between a Discovery of the separate State, and the Reality of the Death of those Persons that were raised by *Jesus*. But there was not only no Oc-

casione for the Evangelists to mention any Thing of that Kind, in order to confirm *Jesus's* Discoveries of another World, because it was besides their Business in their Narratives of the three Resurrections; but because such a Discovery was made of the separate State by *Jesus's* Doctrine and his own Resurrection, (which have sufficiently brought *Life and Immortality to Light*;) that the Addition of any Relations of the separate State, by the three Persons raised to Life again, would have been superfluous: Which is the very Case of *Plato*, in consequence of his introducing *Erus*, the *Pamphilian*, as revived on the Funeral Pile after a supposed Death of twelve Days, and giving an Account of the separate State: For this has been thought by *Justin Martyr*, and others, to be a mere Fable, contriv'd in the popular Way, in order to disguise his having borrow'd the Doctrine of a future Judgment from the *Jewish* Prophets, as not agreeable to the *Greeks*, and to deter Men from Sin by the horrible Fear of that invisible State which was described by *Erus*.

After these general Objections, the Author of the *Discourses* acknowledges that he has nothing farther to object to the Letter of the Account of the Resurrection of the Widow of *Naim's* Son, but the Shortness of the Time in which he lay dead, and the Unfitness of his Person to be raised before others, who he fancies better deserved such a Resurrection. But as these Objections, unreasonable as they are, have been already considered, a few additional Reflections will be sufficient. And the first is, How does any one know how long the Widow's Son had been dead? He might, for any Thing our Author has been informed of to the contrary, have lain unburied, or attended, for three Days, as the utmost Time, that, as has been shewn before, was allow'd among the *Jews* for a Revival in a dubious Case.

But from what part of the Story does it appear to him that this was a dubious Case? Or, what Probability is there that the young Man's sorrowful Mother had not carefully considered whether her only Child was in a Fit or not, before she laid him out, and assisted herself in carrying him out of Town to his Funeral, according to the Custom of Burying in the East? And indeed the Supposition that he might be in a Fit, and in that critical Minute might be brought again to his Senses by some Artifice or Application of *Jesus*, and not by his mere Word of Command upon his accidentally meeting the Corpse, is so remote a Possibility, that whoever can swallow it is absolutely incapable of any Conviction.

In order to palliate such a Possibility as this, which is, in effect, equivalent to none at all, more especially when no mechanical Operation was used, and the Meeting was casual, Mr. *Woolston* found himself obliged to fortify his imaginary Possibility of Fraud by insinuating a Detection of Fraud in other Cases. For these are his own remarkable Words; "especially where the Juggler has been detected in some of his other Tricks." A Detection this, in which he plainly begs the Question; and which neither he, nor any of his Brethren in Infidelity, either antient or modern, have been able to make in any one Instance. But conscious of the Weakness of this Supposition, he endeavours to buttress it up with another most unreasonable Demand;

namely, "that if *Jesus* had a Mind to raise the Widow's Son, in Testimony of his divine Power, he should have suffered him to have been buried two or three Weeks first." But when *Jesus* by mere Chance, as far as appears, met upon the Road a Corpse carrying out to its Funeral by the Friends and Relations of the Deceased, and was moved with great Compassion at the Widow's Tears for the Loss of her beloved Son, and was therefore willing, even without any Application, to restore his Life; is it not very chimerical in our Author to pretend, in these Circumstances, that the Execution of *Jesus*'s good Intention ought to have been deferred for a Fortnight or three Weeks, and that the Company should have been put to the Trouble of burying him for so long a Time, merely to gratify the vain Curiosity of any sceptical Person, who may be supposed to have doubted whether the young Man on the Bier was dead or not, when none of the Company there could entertain any such Doubt, but were convinced he was really dead?

But as we willingly leave the Unreasonableness of such a Demand to be determined by the common Sense of Mankind; so we shall add nothing farther about the pretended Unfitness of the Person that was raised, as having already expatiated upon the melancholy Circumstances of the Case, as well as asserted the Freedom of *Jesus*'s Choice of the particular Objects of his Compassion.



C H A P. III.

I. *Jesus is invited to the House of a Pharisee. A Woman washes and anoints his Feet.* II. *The Pharisee doubts. Jesus puts a Question, and is answered by him.* III. *Jesus applies the Pharisee's Answer to the Case of the Woman* IV. *He forgives the Woman her Sins, &c.* V. *He continues his Progress, accompanied by the twelve Apostles, and certain Women.* VI. *He dispossesseth an Evil Spirit. The Scribes and Pharisees calumniate him.* VII. VIII, *By Way of Answer to the Pharisees, Jesus delivers certain Similitudes, and reasons on them.* IX. *He condemns them for their false Judgment, &c.* X. *He denies to shew them a Miracle, and threatens them for their Obstinancy.* XI. *His Mother, &c. come to him. Who are his Relations in a spiritual Sense.*

I. **T**Hough most of the Pharisees were Enemies to Jesus, yet some of them had a greater Sense of Humanity, and were more obliging to him: Among these was one Simon, who at a certain Time invited him to Dinner; which Jesus accepted of. While he was at this Entertainment, there fell out a very remarkable Accident: For having placed himself at the Table with the other Guests, a certain Woman of that Town, who had led a loose Life, but had lately been converted by the Preaching of Jesus, hearing that he was invited to the Banquet, took a Box of Ointment, and went with it to the Pharisee's House; and entering the Room where the Feast was serv'd up, she stood at Jesus's Back, and wept so violently, that her Tears run down upon his Feet, which she wip'd with the Hair of her Head, and kissed, and anointed with the Ointment she had brought with her.

II. The Pharisee observing this, thought within himself, that if Jesus were a Prophet, he would have known the Quality of the Woman, and therefore would not have permitted her so much as to touch him, lest any might take Occasion from thence to defame him. But Jesus, not unacquainted with the Phari-

see's Reflection, thus address'd himself to him: *I have one Question, said he, to put to thee. Simon told him he was ready to hear and answer it. Then said Jesus, A certain Man had two Debtors, to one of whom he had lent five hundred Pieces of Money, to the other fifty. Neither of them being in a Condition to discharge their several Debts, he frankly forgave them both. Now the Question that I ask thee is, Which of the two, thinkest thou, will have the greatest Sense of the Favour bestowed on them? Simon told him, that in all likelihood he who was discharged from the greatest Debt, would make the most grateful Acknowledgment of the Kindness of his Benefactor; at least the Difference between the Benefits seems to suppose a proportionable Return of Gratitude.*

III. Jesus approved of his Answer, and turning himself towards the Woman, *Do you see this Woman, said he? Now behold an Instance of the very Case I propounded to thee. You, who do not think yourself under any great Obligation to me, have received me no otherwise than Men generally receive a common Acquaintance, or one to whom they think themselves not much, if any thing at all indebted; but this Woman, who looks upon herself as under an extraordinary Obligation to me for having*
been.

been converted by my Means, hath given this extraordinary Demonstration of her Gratitude. When I came into your House, I had not that common Civility shewn me as the Offer of Water to wash my Feet with; but she hath bath'd them with her Tears, and wip'd them with the Hair of her Head. Thou scarce saluted'st me when I came into thy House; but she hath not ceased to kiss my Feet. Thou gavest me not so much as common Oil to anoint my Head with, and she hath anointed my Feet with costly Ointment. The Height of her Gratitude arises from the Forgiveness of her repeated Sins; but he who has received Pardon but of a few or lesser Faults, is seldom found to be so zealous in his Acknowledgment.

IV. These were the Reasons that prevail'd with Jesus to suffer her to wash and anoint his Feet; and for a Reward and Encouragement of her Piety, Jesus further told her, Her Sins were pardoned. Which when the Guests heard, they wondered by what Authority Jesus pardon'd Sins; which seemed to belong to God only. Jesus, though he knew the Reflections they made upon it, turning himself to the Woman, dismissed her in these Words: *The trust thou badst in me, as one sent by God, has been salutary to thee; go thy Way, and be assured of thy Felicity.*

V. Jesus afterwards continued his Progress through Judea, and, according to his usual Custom, published his Gospel in every Town and Village, being constantly attended by the twelve Apostles whom he had lately made choice of. Moreover, he was accompanied by several Women, on whom he had wrought Miracles, by curing them of their Distempers, and casting the Evil Spirit out of them. The most eminent among these were Mary, surnamed Magdalene, out of whom Jesus had cast seven Demons, Joanna, the Wife of Chuz, an Officer of Herod Antipas Tetrarch of Galilee;

Susanna; and divers others whose Names I omit. These supplied Jesus and his Disciples with all Things necessary, and assisted them in the publishing of the Gospel.

VI. While he was thus employed in promulgating his Gospel, there was brought unto him a certain Man, so grievously tormented with an evil Spirit, that he was thereby deprived of the Use both of his Eyes and Tongue; whom Jesus cured immediately, and perfectly restor'd to his Sight and Speech. The whole Multitude that had been Eye-witnesses of the Miracle, stood amaz'd at it, and for this Reason suspected him to be that King that was to be descended of the Family of David, and whom the Jews were now in Expectation of: But some of the Pharisees and Doctors of the Law, who were arrived from Jerusalem, told them that Jesus did not cast out the evil Spirits by the divine Power, but by the Assistance of Beelzebub, Chief of the evil Spirits; that he was himself possessed by that Demon, and acted by his Authority.

VII. When Jesus understood that this Calumny had been divulged by them, though he himself had not heard them, he confuted it with these Similitudes. If said he, a Kingdom, a City, or a Family, be distracted by Factions and Parties, 'tis impossible that Kingdom, City, or Family, should continue long in Safety. In like Manner, if these evil Spirits be thus at Variance one with another, their Empire must quickly fall, and they cease being formidable to Man; which is a Point you will not allow. You say it is by the Authority of Beelzebub that I cast out the evil Spirits, and offer no Reason for your Calumny. If a Man should retort it upon your Disciples, who pretend to have the like Authority over the Demons, without producing any Ground for such a Calumny, Would you think he had any Right thus to detract from them? What Defence soever they

they are able to make for themselves, consider I shall have an equal Right to it; and take notice, that this Injurious Calumny of yours will be condemned by whatever Answer they can make upon such an Occasion. But if I banish the Demons from the Bodies of Men by the Power of God, and it is not to be denied of you; all must then conclude that I have been sent by God to Men, with the good Tidings of the Approach of the Kingdom of God.

VIII. Can a Man rob another, a valiant Person, and despoil him of his Goods before his Face, and when he is able to defend them? He can only expect to do it with Impunity after having bound him, or otherwise secured him from making any Opposition. Thus it is that I lay waste and destroy the Empire of the Demons by casting them out of the Bodies of Men. Know you not that proverbial Saying? *He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad:* Which signifies that Neuters are often looked upon as Enemies. How can you then possibly suspect me to be a Favourer of those evil Spirits, who am so far from being a Spectator of the Misfortunes they afflict Men with, that I oppose them in every Thing I do say? It being then thus manifest, that my Design is by the Ruin of the Devil's Empire to enlarge the Kingdom of God, you may take Notice that in thus calumniating my Miracles, as proceeding from the Assistance of the evil Spirit, you have incurred the Guilt of the most heinous of all Crimes, and are become obnoxious to the most dreadful of all Punishments: For any Sin whatsoever, any impious Act or Saying, shall be forgiven Men upon their sincere Repentance; but this Calumny against the Miracles I have performed by the Power of the Holy Ghost shall never be forgiven those that have been Eye-witnesses of them, because such Men are so degenerated, that

it would be next to an Impossibility to reclaim them. Whoever shall detract from me, not having known me, nor the Reasons which manifest my Authority; if this Man, when he comes to be acquainted with them, retract his Error, and repent of such his Detraction, he may obtain Forgiveness. But whoever having seen the Miracles I have wrought by the Power of the Holy Ghost, shall obstinately continue to calumniate them, can by no other Argument be induced to repent, and consequently cannot expect any Mercy from God. *These Things were said by Jesus, because the Pharisees and Doctors of the Law had declared that his Miracles were performed by a Power derived from the evil Spirits.*

IX. He then continued to speak unto them to this Effect: Either pronounce the Tree good, by reason of the good Fruit it bears; or if you condemn it, shew us the bad Fruit it has produced; for the Tree is known by its Fruit: If I exhort Men only to the Pursuit of Virtue, you ought to infer that my Exhortation proceeds from a Disposition inflam'd with a Zeal for Virtue; or if you censure my Actions as proceeding from an evil Temper, you ought to warrant this Censure, by producing an Instance of something evil in my Doctrine. But O you degenerated Race of Men, so truly like envenom'd Serpents, 'twill be impossible for you to be more candid in your Judgments, while you continue thus debas'd by Wickedness: For being plung'd in Vice, the Discourse must favour of the general Corruption: Whereas there is a beauteous Harmony in every Thing a good Man says and does; and the different Expressions of these Men discover the different Notions they are both stock'd with. But I forewarn you, that Men shall be severely punish'd hereafter for every Word that shall be pronounced with a Design to draw Men off from the Pursuit of Virtue:

For

For were there no ill Consequence attending it, your Words are the Demonstration of the inward Frame and Temper of your Mind.

X. After Jesus had said this, several of the Lawyers and *Pharisees*, not out of any Love of Truth, but merely to tempt him, desired him to perform some Miracle before them. But Jesus, who was not wont to refuse this Favour to such as really stood in need of this Conviction, and desired it out of a Principle of Piety, thus replied: This depraved and vicious Age, whatever Pretences they make to the true Worship of God, require a Miracle from me, as if I had not hitherto perform'd any; but they receive no other from me to induce them to believe on me, than a Miracle like to that of the Prophet *Jonas*. For as that Prophet continued three Days in the Belly of the Whale that had swallowed him up, out of which he was delivered alive and unhurt, in like Manner shall I rise again after I have been buried three Days in the Sepulchre. In the Day of Judgment the Example of the *Ninevites* shall be objected to the Men of this Age, and shall be one Argument for their Condemnation: For the Inhabitants of that City repented at the Preaching of the Prophet; but the present *Jews* are not in the least affected with the Words and Miracles of a Person much greater than *Jonas*. They shall also be reproached with, and condemned by, the Example of the Queen of the *Sabeans*, who came from the remotest Part of *Arabia* to be a Witness of the Wisdom of *Solomon*, and returned into her Country after she had heard his Discourses with Admiration; whereas there is among the *Jews* of this Age one infinitely superior to *Solomon*, and yet they lightly esteem his Doctrine: But let them take notice of the Punishment that attends their Obstinacy. When the evil Spirit hath been dispossessed of the Body

of any Person, and is prohibited from re-entring for some Time, he wanders about in Solitudes in quest of some Place to rest in; but finding none, he bethinks himself at last of the Habitation from which he had been of late expelled. If the Person in whose Behalf Providence hath so graciously concerned itself, do not prove the better for so great a Benefit, the *Demon* at his Return will find a free Admission, and the Place like to a House cleansed, and set in Order to receive a long expected Friend. The evil Spirit finds Room, even enough for many others worse than himself, which comes to pass by the just Judgment of God upon the Impenitency of that Man, who slighted so great a Mercy; and this latter Condition of the Man will be much worse than when he was before possessed with the evil Spirit. The like Afflictions shall happen to the *Jews* of this Age, if after all the Wonders I have wrought among them, and the Means I have used to set them free from their Crimes and Vices, they take no Notice of my Preaching and Miracles, and continue in a Course of Wickedness; God will give them up to themselves, and in this deplorable Condition they shall grow worse, and draw down God's severest Judgment upon them.

XI. While Jesus was thus discoursing to the Multitude round about him, his Mother and some of his Relations came thither, and were desirous to speak with him; of which he was informed by some of the Auditory, they not having been able to press through the Crowd. Jesus then stretching his Hand out, and looking round upon his Disciples and Hearers, All these (said he) are of my Family, who have diligently heard my Doctrine, and are resolved to live in Obedience to the Laws of it: These are to me instead of a Mother, and the nearest Relations; whom

whom I am commanded to take care of, and not only of those that are allied unto me by Consanguinity.

DISSERTATION.

Illustrating several Passages in the preceding Chapter.

THE Design of this Dissertation being to clear up several Particulars of the preceeding Chapter, some of which have no Connexion with one another, we shall follow the Order of the Facts therein related, and produce our Observations just as they start from the Subject. And here the first Thing that offers itself, is an Enquiry who the Persons were that are mentioned above, as present at some of the Transactions there related.

The first of these Persons is *Simon* the Pharisee, who invited our Lord to an Entertainment, in order, as may be supposed, to observe the private Conversation of one who had made so much Noise in his Country. We have before shewn what the Pharisees were, and how little apt they seemed, on every Occasion, to favour either *Jesus* or his Doctrine: and therefore we might justly wonder that a Person of that Denomination should so far distinguish *Jesus*, who was an Object either of the Contempt or Hatred of all that Sect, were it not for some such Reason as we have now assign'd, for we do not find that *Simon*, any more than his Brethren in general, believed *Jesus* to be the Messiah. As to any other Circumstance of this Pharisee's Life or Character that distinguished him from the rest of his Sect, we have no ground to offer so much as at any Conjunction, more than this; That we may suppose from this Action of his to our Lord, that he was a Man of more Politeness and Generosity than most of his Brethren, who were generally remarkable for the Stiffness of their

Behaviour, and their unsufferable Pride towards Persons of a different Denomination.

Whilst *Jesus* was at the House of this Pharisee, there came to him a Woman, who, we are told, was a *Sinner*. The word *Sinner* here, according to some, signifies no more than *Gentile*, or *Heathen*: According to others, it intimates that she was a Harlot, or Woman of the Town; one of a lewd and scandalous Life. The Apostle *Paul* speaks of *Sinners of the Gentiles*, Gal. 2. 15. And our Lord mentions *Sinners* in the same Sense, when he tells us that *Sinners love those that love them*, and *Sinners lend to Sinners*, Luke 6. 32. In like manner we find Publicans joined with *Sinners* in several Places, to intimate that a Publican, tho' by birth a *Jew*, was as hateful and scandalous as a *Heathen*, which is what we are in those Places to understand by *Sinner*. This is manifest from that Passage, in which our Lord commands concerning a Person who would not listen to wholesome Admonition, that he should be esteemed as an *Heathen Man and a Publican*. All these Places favour the first Interpretation, But then it is also true that *Publicans* and *Harlots* are put together, by way of reference to the Infamy of their Callings; and so *Sinner*, as applied to this penitent Woman, may signify one that had been a Whore; which Interpretation is likewise very reconcilable with the former; the Trade of Prostitution being so very common among the *Gentiles*, that the Word *Sinner*, by which a *Gentile* was generally understood, might probably be put for one who was notorious for that *Gentile Sin*, as we frequently call Man remarkable for any Vice, by the Name of some Country, or Town, in which that Vice is reputed to be most predominant. Thus much concerning the Title of *Sinner*, applied to this Woman. Who this *Sinner* was, is what we are next to enquire.

In the next Chapter after that in which the Entertainment at *Simon's House* is related, the Evangelist mentions *certain Women*, who accompanied *Jesus* in his Travels; and ministered to him of their Substance, having before been healed by him of evil Spirits and Infirmities. Of these Women he names three; the first of which Number is *Mary Magdalen*, out of whom, says the sacred Author, went seven Devils. Some imagine that as these Stories so immediately follow one another, this *Mary Magdalen* was the *Sinner* before-mentioned; and that the seven Devils which are said to be cast out of her, are not to be taken literally, but as an Expression to signify the great Change that was wrought in her Conversion, when of one of the most wicked, she became one of the most pious of her Sex. But this Conjecture is grounded at least on very uncertain Circumstances; whereas *Dr. Hammond* thinks it demonstrative, that *Magdalen* and the said *Sinner* were different Persons. Those who are curious may consult his Note on this History; for we will not be prolix on a Matter of so little Importance.

What is certain concerning *Mary Magdalen*, is, that after her Conversion, she was one of the most constant Followers of *Jesus*; that she attended him in his last Journey from *Galilee* to *Jerusalem*, and was at the Foot of the Cross with the holy Virgin; that she continued upon *Mount Calvary* till the Saviour of the World gave up the Ghost, and after that saw his Body put into the Tomb; that then she returned to *Jerusalem*, to buy and prepare Perfumes, in order to embalm him when the Sabbath was over; and that going early on the first Day of the Week, with *Mary* the Mother of *James* and *Salome*, to the Sepulchre, she was made a Witness of the Resurrection, the News of which she carried to the Apostles. Thus the Scripture gives an Account of her. After this, we

are told, she went to *Ephesus*, upon the Death of the Virgin *Mary*, and abode always with *St. John* till she had ended her Days by Martyrdom. As to her Condition of Life, some affirm she was a Widow; others say she always liv'd in Virginity. If this latter be true, 'tis intirely inconsistent with her being the great *Sinner* who washed the Feet of *Jesus* with her Tears.

Her Surname of *Magdalen*, is thought by many to come from her being of *Magdala*, a Town of *Galilee* beyond *Jordan*; or of *Magdalo*, a Town on this side *Jordan*, at the foot of *Mount Carmel*. But the *Rabbies* mention a *Mary Magdalen*, who was so called, not from the Place of her Nativity, but because she was a Seamstress by Profession; the Word *Magdala*, which properly signifies a Tower, bearing an Allusion to the high Head-dresses, which were worn by the Women of that Time, and which it was her Business to prepare.

Joanna the Wife of *Cbuzza*, and *Susanna*, the other two Women mentioned by *St. Luke*, as ministering to our Lord in his Travels, are not taken notice of on any other Occasion throughout the Gospels. We learn, however, from the Context, that they were Persons who had been delivered by him either from evil Spirits or bodily Infirmities; and we may conclude from this Act of their Piety, that they were stedfast Believers, and consequently Women of unspotted Virtue and strict Holiness, at least after their adhering to *Jesus*. As to the legendary Stories that have been invented of them, as well as of almost all other Persons that happen to be once mentioned in the New Testament, we think them not worth our Notice. And indeed the wisest Part of the *Romanists* have given up a Multitude of these Fables.

These Women are said to have ministered to *Jesus* of their Substance: To come

at the true Notion of which Phrase, we must enquire in what Sense the Word *minister* is used in other Places of Scripture where it is found. Now this Word, in the common Sense, is well known to be taken for any kind of Service or Ministry. Such was that of the Disciples, who waited upon the Prophets, and did their servile Offices: And so in the New Testament, a *Deacon*, or *Minister*, means such a Disciple. But omitting this common Notion of the Verb *minister*, we shall find it best interpreted to the present Purpose by considering it only as it refers to one particular Office of Servants, that of waiting at Feasts. For we find among the antient Customs at Feasts, that the Waiters or Ministers distributed the Portions, first to the Master of the Feast, and then to the Guests, each of them in Order, according to the Directions they had received, or according to the Rule of Equality when they were not directed. Agreeable to this Custom are those Words of our Saviour, when speaking of a Master that entertains his Servants, he says, Luke 12. 37. *That he shall gird himself, and make them to sit down to meat, and will come forth and serve them.* This Office of distributing Provisions belonged primarily to the Governour of the Feast. And thus we read of *Christ*, that when he entertained the Multitudes, he acted the Part of the Governor, and *when he had given Thanks gave to his Disciples, and they to the People, to every Man singly his Portion.* From which Festival Custom, set down in all its Parts, we may learn the Office of the first Deacons in the Church, who were to distribute to the Poor, as every one had need, under the Apostles as chief Dispensers, from whom they thus took off the greatest Part of the Toil: And so in like Manner at the Administration of the Eucharist, they distributed the Wine and Bread which the Bishop or Prefect had consecrated. But to the former

of these Offices, that of distributing to the Poor, the Word *Ministering* in Scripture peculiarly belongs, which makes good the Sense in which we take it. This might be proved from a great many Passages in the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistolary Writings. Hence the Emperor *Julian*, speaking of the *Galileans*, as he styles the Christians, mentions *their Feasts of Love and Entertainments, and Distribution at Tables, by which, says he, they allured many to their Religion.* To all this Authority we need only add, that what some dispensed as Officers and Ministers of others Liberality, that also others did out of their own Estates: And such Dispensers as these latter, were the Women here said to have followed *Jesus*, and to have ministered to him of their Substance. Such also were *Onesiphorus* and *Phæbe*, which latter the Apostle calls the *Servant or Minister of the Church in Cenchrea.*

The next Thing that falls under Consideration, is the Calumny of the *Pharisees* against our blessed Lord, upon his casting a Devil out of one that was blind and dumb, so that the Blind and Dumb both spake and saw. For when all the People saw this Miracle, and were amazed, and said, *Is not this the Son of David?* the *Pharisees* replied, *This Fellow doth not cast out Devils, but by Beelzebub the Prince of the Devils.* It hath been a Question, which is the true Reading in this Place; whether *Beelzebub*, as the Greek Copies have it, which signifies the God of Ordure; or *Beelzebub*, as the Vulgate renders it, and as it is rendered in our English Bibles, signifying the God Fly, or the God of a Fly: But of these two most Criticks prefer the latter, and the Hebrew of the Old Testament favours them herein. *Beelzebub*, or *Baalzebub*, was a *Philistine* Idol, called in Scripture the God of Ekron. His Worshipers conceived him to have Power over all hurtful Flies, which they imagined he drove out of their Region. This

not improbable that by this Name was signified the *Jupiter* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who is sometimes called *the God that caught, and drove away Flies*. *Pliny* calls this God of *Palestine* by almost the same Name he is called by in the Old Testament, and reports that the *Cyreneans*, when any Plague of Flies came on them, sacrificed and prayed to him, on which the Flies immediately died. Those who are for reading his Name *Beelzebub*, suppose him to be so called by the *Jews* in Derision; that Word signifying, as we before observed, *the God of Ordure*.

It appears from the Words of the *Pharisees* Charge on our Saviour, that this Idol was in high Repute at that Time amongst the Heathens: For, in all likelihood, it was from their calling him the *Prince*, or *Chief of Gods*, that the *Jews*, by way of Opposition to the Idolatry of their Neighbours, named him *the Prince of Devils*. And this Name is agreeable to the Notion which they here give of him; it being seemingly supposed by them, that as he was Prince of Devils, so he was able to cast them out of those that were possessed by them. But our Saviour, in his Answer, shews the Improbability of his so doing, because it would be destroying his own Interest. And here we may trace some Connexion between the two Notions of *Beelzebub*, as God of Flies, and God of Devils: For the *Jews* imagined the Demons, like Swarms of Flies, to hover in the upper and middle Regions of the Air; from whence they came down, whole Legions of them together, to take Possession of human Bodies. We do not find, however, that the *Jews* themselves, in their Exorcisms, ever applied to *Beelzebub* for his Assistance in Cases of Possession; and if they had, it is not likely they would have been the better for such Application: This Reproach, therefore, was invented by the Pharisees, purely for the sake of *Jesus*, in order to render him hateful to

the common People for those very Works which manifested his Divine Authority.

But if *I* by *Beelzebub* cast out Devils, says our blessed Lord, by whom do your Children cast them out? Therefore they shall be your Judges. Here the Taunt is immediately turned upon themselves, as many of them as pretended to the Power of ejecting Devils, who might be suspected of doing what they did of this kind by the Power of *Beelzebub*; at least as much as he. But we shall say more of this by-and-by, after having taken a little Review of the Exorcisms of the *Jews*, concerning which our Saviour here speaks.

That it was the Custom of the *Jews* to cast out Devils by Invocation of the Name of the Most High, or of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, is what we have elsewhere shewn from the Fathers, who seem to make little Doubt of the Reality of those Dispossession. *Justin Martyr*, speaking to *Trypho* a Jew, says, If any of you do exorcise Devils by the Name of the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, perhaps they will obey you. *Irenæus* observes, that as all Things are subject to the Most High, so by Invocation of his Name, even before the Advent of our Lord, Men were saved from evil Spirits and all kinds of Demons. *Josephus* also informs us that God gave this Art to Solomon against Devils, that he should teach it for the Profit and Healing of Men; and that Solomon left behind him those Ways of Exorcising, by which Devils were so effectually cast out as never to return again. These Authorities, with others of the like Nature, are thought of so much Force by *Dr. Whitty*, that he brings it as a Proof that *Episcopus* had not read these Authors, because that Author thinks it not certain that the *Jews* in our Saviour's Time made use of these Exorcisms. And *Dr. Hammond* thinks we have yet farther Certainty of the Use of these Incantations, from the antient Forms of renouncing

Judaism,

Judaism, which are to be found in the Liturgies of the *Greek Church*; where, after the mention of the several *Jewish Feasts and Sabbaths*, it is added, *I renounce all Charms, and Incantations, and Defensatives*. The Reader may look back to more of this in the Dissertation above referred to.

We should not have taken any farther Notice of these Incantations of the *Jews*, were it not necessary to remove an Objection of the Author of the *Discourses on the Miracles of our Saviour*, that did not then occur to our Memory. He pretends, that *since the Jews, by their Arts, did cast out Devils as well as our Saviour, therefore the casting out of Devils could be no Proof of our Saviour's Divine Authority*. In answer to which we shall produce the Arguments of the same Right Reverend Author, whose Works we have all along used against Objections of this kind. These Arguments, 'tis true, will somewhat invalidate what we now two or three Times mentioned of the Force of the *Jewish Exorcisms*: But they can have no Effect upon what was more largely said, concerning the Dispossession of Devils that were wrought by the primitive Christians; these being more publick and frequent, and much better attested than the former.

As to the Practice of Exorcising evil Spirits by the *Jews* in our Saviour's Time, says the learned Author, it is indeed somewhat dubious; I mean, by those *Jews* that derived not any Authority from him, nor acted in his Name. For when our Lord says, *Matth. 12. 27. By whom do your Sons, or Children cast them out? Therefore they shall be your Judges*: The Sons, or Children, here spoken of, (as *St. Austin* and other Fathers interpret the Place,) may refer to those Sons of theirs that were his Disciples, and particularly the Seventy, who received a Commission from *Jesus* to cast out Devils; from whom the sceptical *Jews* might every where receive that Satis-

faction which they refused to receive from himself; as not only casting out Devils himself, but delegating that Power to others, even their own Sons and Children: As likewise he might refer them to that Person, (and possibly to others that might do the same,) who cast out Devils *in the Name of Jesus*, though he did not follow and attend on *Jesus*.

And this Solution of the Case receives some Confirmation from the Accounts, given by the several Evangelists, of the extreme Surprize and Wonder of the *Jews*, that were Eye-witnesses of the several Dispossession of evil Spirits by our Lord; which Astonishment of them is not capable of any natural Explication, on Supposition that the Dispossession of Devils was an usual Practice among the *Jews* in our Saviour's Time, independently of his Authority. *St. Matthew* tells us, that *when the Devil was cast out, the Dumb spake; and the multitudes marvelled, saying, it was never so seen in Israel*. And again, the same Evangelist says, that in Consequence of *Jesus's* healing one that was possessed with a Devil, blind and dumb, *all the People were amazed, and said, Is not this the Son of David?* *St. Mark* too acquaints us, that when *Jesus* had cast an unclean Spirit out of another Person, who acknowledged him to be *the Holy One of God*, they, the Spectators in the Synagogue, *were all amazed, insomuch that they questioned among themselves, saying, What Thing is this? What new Doctrine is this? For with Authority commandeth he even the unclean Spirits, and they do obey him. And immediately his Fame spread abroad throughout all the Region round about Galilee*. The very same Account of the great Amazement of the *Jews* is likewise given by *St. Luke*, on several like Occasions: And he adds, that *the seventy Disciples returned with Joy, saying, Lord, even the Devils are subject to us through thy Name*. *St. John* indeed mentions no Dispossession of

of evil Spirits by *Jesus*, they having been so minutely recorded by the three other Evangelists, to whom his Gospel is chiefly a Supplement of Things omitted by them.

But though it should be allowed, that some Dispossession of evil Spirits were wrought by the *Jews* before our Lord exerted that Power among them, yet Mr. *Woolston's* Consequence would be far from being of any force, namely, *That those Dispossession of evil Spirits that were wrought by him could be no Proof of his Divine Authority.* For those Dispossession that are supposed to have been performed by the *Jews*, before those that were done by our Lord, were not performed by such as this Author distinguishes by the Title of *some Artists among the Jews*, as if they were owing to some Skill in Magic; but if they were wrought at all by the *Jews*, they were so by the religious Invocation of the God of *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.* And it is only of such Invocations of the true God that *Justin Martyr* and *Irenaeus* speak on this Occasion. For as for *Josephus's* Account of their Exorcisms, as derived from *Solomon*, it is too full of ludicrous Ceremonies to be regarded. But as *Justin* in particular speaks very dubiously on this Head, when he says, *If any of you do exorcise Devils in the Name of the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, perhaps they will obey you;* so, if the Fact, though rarely wrought, were granted to be true, and that in order to keep up some Sense of the Government of the invisible as well as visible World by the supreme God, yet the Consequence would not be, that the Dispossession of evil Spirits by our Saviour, were no Proof of his Divine Authority. The *Jewish* Exorcisms, if real Facts, were rather Confirmations and Proofs of our Saviour's Authority as derived from God. For if such Dispossession were really made among the *Jews* by the Invocation of the Name of the true God, they were like-

wise very consistently made by *Jesus*, who confessed that his Power in performing these Dispossession and other miraculous Works was originally derived from God his Father. And therefore since *his Father and he are one*, all his miraculous Works were founded on Divine Authority.

And indeed, it is most evident that our Lord did not cast out Devils by Beelzebub the Prince of the Devils, as the Pharisees suggested, when they granted that he did actually cast out Devils. For besides that our Lord exposed with great Advantage the fore-mentioned Absurdity of supposing the Prince of the Devils to divide and destroy his own Kingdom, he farther shewed the Weakness of that Calumny, by appealing to the *Jews* themselves in these Words; *If I by Beelzebub cast out Devils, by whom do your Children cast them out? Therefore they shall be your Judges.* That is, *Use the same Equity in my Case, as you do in that of your own Sons, who are said to exorcise Devils in the Name of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and whom therefore you do not believe to act by the Power of Beelzebub. You ought therefore to believe that I act by the Power of the true God, and not in Confederacy with evil Spirits, or with their Prince, whose Kingdom is directly opposite to that of God. The Kingdom of God therefore, and not that of Beelzebub, is erected by me among you. And the Finger of God is signally displayed, not only by my Doctrines, as inconsistent with the Interests of Beelzebub, but by my Dispossession of all Manner of evil Spirits, in the Name and by the Authority of the true God. This is the Kingdom of the Messiah that I am now introducing, which was foretold by Daniel and the other antient Prophets, and is founded on the Ruins of the Kingdom of Beelzebub, whose Works I came to destroy.*----- Thus we see upon either Supposition, that is, whether the *Jews* did or did not exorcise evil Spirits effectually

effectually before our Lord exerted that Power, his divine Authority is still equally vindicated.

After having confuted the Calumny of the Pharisees, our Saviour proceeds immediately to discourse on the Sin against the Holy Ghost, in these Words, *Matt. 12. 31, 32. Wherefore I say unto you, All Manner of Sin and Blasphemy shall be forgiven unto Men: But the Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto Men. And whosoever speaketh a Word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him: But whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this World, neither in the World to come.* There is not, perhaps, a more difficult Passage than this, and which has been more variously interpreted, in all the New Testament. We shall rehearse the Opinions of several Fathers and Interpreters concerning this Sin, and then explain some Phrases in our Saviour's Words.

Athanasius, who wrote expressly upon this Matter, relates the Opinions of *Origen* and of *Theognostes*, who made the Sin against the Holy Ghost to consist in Crimes committed after Baptism. But *Athanasius* observes that the Pharisees, whom our Saviour here seems to upbraid with this Crime, had not received Baptism, and consequently could not be capable of it in this Sense: It is therefore his own Opinion, that this Sin, as to the Pharisees, consisted in their maliciously imputing the Works of *Jesus Christ* to the Power of the Devil, though they could not but be convinced in their own Minds, that he acted by a good Spirit; and also in denying the Divinity of the Son, which was so clearly proved to them by his Works. *St. Hilary* and *Theophilus* of *Antioch* follow the Opinion of *Athanasius*.

St. Austin says in one Place, that the Sin against the Holy Ghost consists in subverting brotherly Charity, by Motives of Envy and Malice; and in another, that

to render this Sin really irremissible, the Sinner must persevere in it to the End. He adds in other Places, that tho' there are several Sins that may be committed against the Holy Ghost, yet none of them are utterly unpardonable but final Impenitence and Despair. *St. Chrysostom* and others, who, with *Athanasius*, make this Sin to consist in ascribing the Works of *Jesus* to a diabolical Power, suppose the Irremissibleness of it not to be absolute and real, but only relative, because it is very difficult to obtain the Pardon of it.

St. Ambrose is not altogether consistent with himself, in what he says concerning this Crime. In one Place he makes it consist in denying the Deity of the Son; in another, in denying the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and imputing his Works to the Power of the Devil; and in a third Place, he extends it to Heresy and Schism, as does the Author of the *Apostolical Constitutions*. In a Word, some make it a blaspheming of God; others, a renouncing of God; and others again, among whom we may reckon *Grosius*, will have it to be only the Sin of a hardened impenitent Sinner; such for Example as *Korab* and his Accomplices, *Pharoah*, *Simon Magus*, and *Ananias* and *Sapphira*. This Opinion, which places it in final Impenitence, seems to have the strongest Party of any: And next to it is the Opinion of those who place it in wilful Malice, in withstanding the Conviction of Conscience, in imputing to a diabolical Power what carries with it the most evident Marks of a divine Authority.

That the Pharisees were guilty of this malicious withstanding the Evidence of Truth, is most apparent; and if it were as clear that *Jesus* applied this Discourse directly to them, those who believe the Sin against the Holy Ghost to consist in this Malice, could have no Room to doubt of these Pharisees having been guilty of it. Those also, in all Ages of Christianity, according

according to the Opinion of *Chrysostom* and *Jerome*, must become guilty of the same Crime, who oppose a known and manifest Truth, and who impute either to Vanity or Hypocrisy, or, what is still worse, to Magic and diabolical Confederacy, such Actions as they see performed by good Men influenced by the Holy Ghost. But there are some Authors who will not have the Pharisees to be at all concerned in this Part of our Saviour's Discourse, and who make the Sin against the Holy Ghost to consist in somewhat different from any Thing yet mentioned.

The Phrase, *Son of Man*, in the thirty second Verse, belongs, says Dr. *Hammond*, to *Christ* as he appeared in the Weakness of human State, the Son of *Mary*, without any such Light shining in him to convince all Men that he was the Messiah; it belongs to *Christ* abstracted from the great Power of his Doctrine and Miracles, which when they did appear, convinced the Auditors and Spectators to an Acknowledgment, that *never Man spake as this Man*, and that *surely he was the Messiah*.-----And this Distinction shews the Ground of Difference betwixt these two Sins, of *speaking against the Son of Man*, and *speaking against the Holy Ghost*: The first was the not believing him to be the Messiah, when tho' he affirmed himself to be so, yet there was not that convincing Light and Manifestation thereof; but the second was resisting this Light thus brightly shining in him, and ascribing his Miracles, which were too evident to be denied, to the Power of the Devil, rather than to the Operation of God; which being their only possible Evasion, *Christ* tells them, after having confuted it by three several Arguments, that if they continue in it, they must needs be guilty of a willful Blindness, and therefore could not plead that Excuse of Ignorance or blind Zeal, which in the former Case they had some Right to.

As to the Phrases of *being forgiven* and *not being forgiven*, here joined to these two Sins, they have an Allusion to the Sacrifices under the Law. The former Sin is supposed to be of that Kind for which the Law allowed of Sacrifice, and consequently of Forgiveness. It did not incur the Sanction of Death, or Excision from the People; and proportionably, in a Gospel-sense, it is, in the Number of those Sins by which the Sinner, if before living spiritually, doth not incur present Obligation to Death eternal, but by *Christ's* Sacrifice is preserved from it. Such a Sin as this seems to that of *Nabanael*, when doubting of what was told him concerning *Jesus*, he cried out, *Can any good Thing come out of Nazareth?* This was *speaking a Word against the Son of Man*, but yet easily pardonable. But the Sin against the Holy Ghost, which *shall not be forgiven*, is of a far higher Nature, and parallel to those for which no Sacrifice was accepted under the Law. Those that sin thus are *the Souls that do ought presumptuously*, or with a high Hand, and therefore under the Law were to be *cut off from the People*; proportionable to which, under the Gospel, is *the not being forgiven*. The Offender in this Kind, if he were before spiritually living, now becomes spiritually dead, and so is cut off from God's true *Israel*. The Sacrifice of *Christ's* Death does not obtain any Thing for him, without a particular and special Repentance, which it is in the Hand of God alone to bestow.

The Issue of this whole Matter therefore, so far as it concerned the Pharisees, seems to be this; That unless their Sin were particularly retracted by a special Repentance, and *Christ* received and acknowledged, either upon the Miracles which he wrought, or upon the future Conviction of the Holy Ghost, after his Crucifixion, they should never have Pardon or Remission: Not that they who were

were here guilty, should never afterwards repent, or upon Repentance be accepted; for this is not said, either here or in any other Place of Scripture, but rather the contrary every where affirmed. Thus we see *Christ* praying afterwards for his Accusers, saying, *Father forgive them*; and the Apostle teaching that *Christ was exalted at the Right-hand of God, to give Repentance unto Israel, and Forgiveness of Sins*. These Things are spoken to all *Israel*, and particularly to those crucifying Rulers; whose Ignorance is urged, both by *Christ* and the Apostles, to make their Case the more hopeful. We do not infer from hence, that what the Pharisees did here was not most notoriously criminal; but only that as they had not yet received all the Means of the Holy Ghost for their Conversion, there remained to them some Ground of Excuse. For the greatest of all the Evidences of the Messiahship of *Jesus* his Resurrection from the Dead, was yet behind: This was the Sign like to that of the Prophet *Jonas*, which *Jesus* told them was the only one they should receive farther from him; and when this was past, and witnessed by the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles, and the Preaching and Miracles which followed that Descent, then they who came not into *Christ* were never to be forgiven: There was no farther Means of working Repentance in them, and consequently they could not hope for that Mercy which is shewn to the Repentant only.

And whereas *Christ*, when he says these Persons *shall never be forgiven*, adds these Words, *neither in this World, nor in the World to come*; we may here observe a Reference to a Persuasion which prevailed among the *Jews*, that some Sins which could not be forgiven upon their Sacrifices, and so were irremissible in this Age, might yet be remitted and pardoned in the Age to come; by which Phrase they sometimes meant the Age of the Messiah, and some-

times the State after Death. But to this Sin, unrepented of, *Christ* gives them to understand that there is no Place for any such Hope, and that their Opinion of every *Jew's* having a Place in the Reign of the Messiah should stand them in no stead; and farther, that in the State after Death, when their Sentence was once past, there remained no possibility of Relief.

Having thus explained the Terms in this Part of our Saviour's Discourse according to their Hypothesis who believe it regarded the Pharisees to whom he delivered it, we come now to consider the same Passage in another Light, that so every Reader may chuse his particular Opinion, in a Point on which it is not to be expected that Interpreters should ever agree. But, by the Way, 'tis proper to observe that our Paraphrase above corresponds, in most Particulars, though not in all, with what is already said, rather than with what we are now going to say. To which we must add, that when in the said Paraphrase, according to our usual Conciseness in the Chapters, we make our Lord fix the Sentence, *shall never be forgiven*, on those who being Spectators of his Miracles, were not converted by them, we include his Resurrection in the Number of those Miracles, of which, in a proper Sense, it was not only one, but the greatest, as may be elsewhere shewn.

To proceed, Dr. *Whitby*, from whom we shall extract what may be farther said on this Subject, thinks it not proper with *Grotius* to mollify the Severity of our Lord's Sentence, by saying that what is here absolutely spoken, should be comparatively understood, as intimating merely that it is only very difficult to obtain the Pardon of this Sin, not that it admits of no Forgiveness. Our Saviour says negatively, that it *shall never be forgiven*, and affirmatively, that the Person guilty of it shall be obnoxious to eternal Judgment;

all which he confirms with an Affelevation, *Verily I say unto you*. For those Reasons also Dr. Whitby concludes, that Dr. Hammond's Descant on our Lord's Words, that this Sin shall not be forgiven but upon a particular Repentance, is much less to be admitted: Which Interpretation, he says, makes no Discrimination of this from any other wilful Sin, though such a Discrimination was plainly designed by our Saviour in these Words. -- The Doctor then proceeds to find out the Nature of this Sin, by making the following Observations and Distinctions.

First, That from our Lord's Words it seems to follow, that this Sin is completed, not in our Thoughts, or in our Works, but in our Words: For it is he that *speakes* Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, that shall not be forgiven. *Simon Magus* conceived as vilely of the Holy Ghost as we can well imagine, when he thought he might be purchased with Money; (for this was to conceive that the Holy Ghost was given by some higher Art of Magic than he had ever attained to;) and yet St. Peter exhorts him to pray, *that the Thoughts of his Heart might be forgiven him*. So also they who by Uncleanness, Fornication, and Adultery, despised the Command, *to possess their Vessels in Sanctification and Honour*, are said to have despised not only Man, but God who also had given them the Holy Ghost; and yet St. Paul saith, such Persons might repent of the Uncleanness, Fornication, and Lasciviousness, which they had committed. This Sin must therefore be committed, not merely by evil Thoughts, or evil Works, but by blasphemous Words against the Holy Ghost.

Secondly, That 'tis not any Blasphemy against the Spirit in his miraculous Operations, such as were casting out of Devils, and healing of Diseases, which is here stiled Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. This was here done by the Pha-

risees against the Son of Man, who declareth, that *he cast out Devils by the Spirit of God*: They, therefore, must blaspheme that Spirit by which our Saviour did this, in saying, *he cast out Devils by Beelzebub Prince of Devils*; and yet our Saviour saith, that even this Blasphemy against the Son of Man should be forgiven. And therefore,

Thirdly, That there is a plain Difference in Scripture, between the Operations of the Spirit and the Gift or Distributions of the Holy Ghost. All the Miracles that were wrought upon others, were the extraordinary Operations of the Spirit: But all the inward Gifts, by which the Understanding was enlighten'd, and enabled to perform Things which by Nature it could not do, are called the Gifts or Distributions of the Holy Ghost. The Ground of this Distinction is made out by these Considerations. *First*, Because our Saviour, whilst he was upon Earth, gave to his Apostles and the seventy Disciples Power to heal the Sick, cleanse the Lepers, cast out Devils, and raise the Dead; And yet St. John informs us, *John 7. 39.* that the Holy Ghost was not yet come, because that Jesus was not glorified. And Christ himself told his Disciples, that if he did not go away, the Comforter, that is the Holy Ghost, would not come to them: And St. Peter writes to the Jews, that our Lord being exalted at the Right-hand of God, received the Promise of the Holy Ghost, and sent him down upon his Disciples. From all which it appears, that the Holy Ghost signifies something distinct from the Power of working Miracles. *2dly*, Because the Apostle John, producing his Witnesses to prove that Jesus is the Son of God, saith thus; *There are three that bear Record upon Earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood; and there are three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost*; in which Words he clearly distinguishes the

the Witness of the Holy Ghost from the Testimony of the Spirit. 3dly, Because throughout the History of the Acts of the Apostles, where St. *Luke* hath Occasion to mention the Miracles which the Apostles and other Christians did, he always useth the Words *Wonders, Signs, and Powers*; but where he speaks of Persons prophesying, or *speaking with Tongues*, he as constantly ascribes this to the Holy Ghost's descending on them. And lastly, Because where the Scripture mentions these Things together, it puts a manifest Distinction between *Signs and Wonders*, and the *Gifts or Distributions of the Holy Ghost*.

Having thus considered the Nature of the Sin against the Holy Ghost, Dr. *Whitby* proceeds to shew the Difference between that and all the Blasphemies which the *Jews* vented against our blessed Lord whilst he was upon Earth; and why these latter were all pardonable, or that might be forgiven; whereas the Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is such as can never be forgiven. He begins with the first of these, namely the Difference between this and other Sins, and reasons in the following Manner.

'Tis to be observed, says he, that tho' the *Jews* still represented the blessed *Jesus* as a Wine-Bibber and a Glutton, because he used not that Abstinence which *John* and his Disciples did; though they stiled him a Friend of Publicans and Sinners, because he conversed with such for their Good; though they stiled him a Blasphemer, because he called himself the Son of God; though, lastly, they pronounced him worthy of Death, and crucified him, as a false Prophet and Deceiver of the People; yet our Saviour not only promises Pardon of these Things to them who should believe after his Resurrection, but even prays for them on the Cross. Now this he might be supposed to do upon these Considerations.

First, Because the Meanness of his Birth

and Education, and of his State and Condition upon Earth, caused many to be offended at him, and indisposed them to believe such high Things of him, as that he was the Son of God, and was to be the King of *Israel*. Thus when they were amazed at the divine Doctrine which he taught, and the mighty Miracles by which he confirmed it, and thereupon enquired, *Whence this Wisdom was given him, and these mighty Works done by him?* the Thought that he was the Son of a Carpenter, and of a poor Woman called *Mary*, caused them to be offended at him. And thus when he represents himself as a Person coming down from Heaven, they do not believe him on the same Account, but say, *Is not this Jesus the Son of Joseph? Know we not his Father and his Mother? How then saith he, that I came down from Heaven?* This therefore being so specious a Pretence for their rejecting of, and not believing on him, our Saviour promisethesthe Pardon of their Infidelity, till by his Resurrection, and the Mission of the Holy Ghost, he had quite taken off the Force of the Objection, and shewn that he was indeed the Son of God.

Secondly, Because *Christ* thought their Case more worthy of Pity, till after his Resurrection and Ascension, and till this Mission of the Holy Ghost, by Reason of the many Prejudices which their whole Nation had entertained against his Person and Doctrine, and which could not be entirely removed till he had thus ascended. Some of these Prejudices, besides that against the Meanness of his Condition, were as follow. 1st, They had a Tradition, that *when Christ came, no Man should know whence he was*; whereas they were acquainted with the Birth and Parentage of *Jesus*. 2dly, They believed that *Elias* must first appear in Person, according to the Letter of *Malachi's* Prophecy, which was objected to *Jesus* by his Disciples themselves. 3dly, They had gotten a

general Opinion, that *their Messiah was to abide for ever*; whereas *Christ* still declared that he was to be lifted up, and to die an ignominious Death; a Doctrine so distasteful to his own Followers, that *Peter*, after confessing him to be the *Christ*, rebukes him for it, saying, *Far be it from thee, this shall not happen unto thee.* And though he very frequently and plainly told them that he was to suffer, yet *St. Luke* frankly informs us that *they understood not this Saying, and it was hid from them*; and in another Place, *that they understood not those Things, nor knew they what was said.* *Christ's Words*, indeed, were plain enough, but they could not reconcile them with their Tradition; and there lay the Difficulty. 4thly, The whole Nation of the *Jews* laboured under this great Prejudice, That their Messiah was to come in a triumphant Manner, to subdue the Nations under them, and make them to lord it over their Enemies, and to continue this his Kingdom for ever; their Prophets having still represented him as a great King over all the Nations. His own Disciples were so fully possessed with this Opinion, that after his Resurrection they presently enquire, *Lord, wilt thou at this Time restore the Kingdom to Israel?* It is not therefore to be wondered at, that this so pleasing an Apprehension should prejudice the Minds of other People against a Person so seemingly mean and despicable, who spake so often of his Sufferings, who declared that *his Kingdom was not of this World*, and that *he came not to be ministered unto, but to minister.*

But by our Saviour's Resurrection, Ascension, and Mission of the Holy Ghost, all those Objections were fully solved, and all these Prejudices were removed. For when he was thus declared to be the *Son of God with Power*, they must then be convinced, that besides that human Nature which he received from *Mary*, he had another Nature, according to which

they knew not whence he was, and neither knew him nor his Father. When at his Ascension all Power in Heaven and in Earth was given to him, then might they easily perceive how *this Messiah was to abide for ever*, and to reign over the House of Jacob for ever, till all his Enemies were made his Footstool. Hence, from this Exaltation to the Right-hand of Power, *St. Peter* makes this Inference, *Therefore let all the House of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made this Jesus whom you crucified both Lord and Christ.* They from his Resurrection were well assured, that his former Sufferings were well consistent with his Kingdom, and from his Ascension into Heaven, that his Kingdom was not to be a temporal Kingdom upon Earth, but a spiritual and heavenly Kingdom, not over Men's Bodies, but over their Souls and Consciences: And when they saw this Kingdom so powerfully erected by the Holy Ghost, assisting the Apostles in preaching the Gospel, and making numerous Converts in the heathen World, they could not but discern in what Sense it was foretold by the Prophets, that *he should reign over all Nations*, and what *St. John Baptist* meant, when he declared that this *Lamb of God should baptize them with the Holy Ghost*, and also how *St. John* was the *Elias* who was to be the Messiah's Forerunner.---Thus we see why our Saviour puts a Distinction between the Blasphemies committed against him in his State of Humiliation, and those committed against the Holy Ghost after his Exaltation to the Right-hand of Majesty in the Heavens.

It remains to shew how the Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost becomes unpardonable, and why it was so, rather than any Sin committed against *Christ* whilst in his State of Humiliation. Now this it was upon the following Accounts, according to *Dr. Whitby*.

First, Because this was the last Evidence that

that God designed to make use of, to cure the Infidelity of that stubborn Generation, and to prevail on them and other Nations to believe in *Christ*. In all the other Evidences which came before to win Men to *Christ* God had still a Reserve, and resolved upon some other Means when they had proved ineffectual. If the Testimony of *John the Baptist* that *Jesus* was the *Christ*, if the Innocency of our Saviour's Life and the Wisdom of his Words, if the heavenly Nature of his Doctrine, and of the Miracles by which it was confirmed, proved ineffectual to persuade that perverse People to own him as their promised Messiah; God still resolveth, and accordingly promiseth, to send this Holy Ghost, as a more powerful Evidence to convince the World: Which Evidence, in Consequence of the Promise, was powerfully urged by *Peter* in his first Sermon on the Day of Pentecost. But when the Apostles, being endued with the Power of the Holy Ghost, had been *Christ's Witnesses throughout Judea, and Samaria, and to the End of the Earth*; God had then done all that he designed, to bring Men to the Faith of *Christ*: So that when many would not be persuaded by it, but instead of being convinced and reclaimed, proceeded to flight, despise, revile, and blaspheme it; God was unalterably resolved to strive no more with them, but to let them die in their Sins. And therefore 'tis observable, that when the *Jews* had thus resisted the Holy Ghost, and contradicted the holy Spirit by which they preached unto them, *Paul* and *Barnabas* gave them over as desperate, and Persons in whom that of the Prophet was fulfilled, *Behold ye Despisers, and perish!* for which Reason they turned to the Gentiles. And *St. Paul* elsewhere represents them as Persons given up to a Spirit of Slumber, and judicial Blindness, and so rejected from being any more God's Church and People.

And as this was the last, so it was the

most powerful Evidence. As for the Power of Working Miracles, the heathen Priests and Exorcists, and many of the *Jews*, pretended at least to it; and our Lord, and his Apostles, foretold of the false *Christs* and false Prophets, that they should work Signs and Miracles, sufficient to seduce, if possible, even the very Elect. But no Impostor ever did, or could, pretend to these inward Gifts and Operations of the Holy Ghost, such as enabled the Illiterate to speak with all kind of unknown Tongues, and to interpret the Tongues of others, and to discern the Secrets of Men's Hearts, and to understand all Mysteries, and even to confer these Gifts on others by the Imposition of Hands, as the Apostles did. When therefore Christians saw these Gifts exercised continually in their Assemblies, and daily conferred on Persons at their Baptism, they could never have a stronger Evidence of the Truth of their Religion; nor could they ever blaspheme the Power by which their Faith was so wonderfully confirmed, without the utmost Degree of Infidelity.

This Sin is therefore represented as unpardonable, because the Faith of such perverse and stubborn Persons is impossible, they having rejected all the Evidence that can be offered for their Conviction, and all the Motives that can be tendered to provoke them to repent of their Infidelity. Thus *St. Paul*, speaking of those who though they lived under the Dispensation of the Holy Ghost, did yet apostatize from Christianity to Judaism or Heathenism, declares against laying again the Foundations of Repentance and Faith towards God, which were the Doctrines that were first preached to both *Jew* and *Gentile*; because, says he, it is impossible for them who have been once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly Gift, — if they fall away, to renew them again to Repentance. They could not be incited to be true to their Profession by any other En-

gagements

gagements than those which they had made in Baptism, nor could they receive any higher Evidence of Christianity than that of their Participation of the Holy Ghost; there was nothing therefore to be done for them, which had not already been ineffectually performed, and the Success of which might not be despaired of in any future Trial.

Having been thus copious in giving the Sentiments of others concerning the Sin against the Holy Ghost, we shall not add any thing of our own, either by Way of Reflec-

tion or otherwise, except this one general Observation, namely, That there seems to be no Reason now-a-days for any one to think himself guilty of this Sin, because that extraordinary Evidence of the Holy Ghost, against which it was committed, is now wanting in the Church, or at most is preserved only in the Writings of the New Testament, where it cannot be so strong as it was in its immediate and visible Appearance, Other Remarks we leave the Reader to make.

C H A P. IV.

I. Jesus goes into a Boat on the Lake of Gennesareth. He compares his preaching the Gospel to a Sower sowing of Seed. II. He tells his Disciples the Reason of his using Similitudes. III. He explains the Parable of the Sower. IV. He illustrates what he has said, and gives them a Caution. V. He delivers several other Parables concerning the Gospel. VI. Why Jesus spoke in this Manner. VII. He explains the Parable of the Tares. VIII. He delivers more of the same Kind. IX. He enquires if his Disciples understood him, and then leaves the Country.

THE same Day Jesus went out to the Lake of Gennesareth, and began to instruct the People upon the Shore. But the Multitude increasing, in order to avoid the Prefs, and that many might hear him, he went into a small Boat, and putting off a little from the Shore, he from thence preached unto them, describing in Similitudes the various Tempers of his Hearers, and the different Effects his publishing of the Gospel had among them. Harken, said he, attentively to what I am about to speak unto you; for it concerns you very much to be acquainted with it. A Sower went forth to sow, and being thus busied, Part of his Seed fell upon the Highway, which was not separated from his Field by any Hedge or Ditch; by which it came to pass that this Seed was lost, partly by being trodden under Foot, and partly by the

Birds who picked it up, as not having been covered with any Earth. Other of his Seed fell upon stony Places, and shortly after sprung up, not having been buried deep enough in the Ground: This was quickly burnt up by the vehement Heat of the Sun, as not having taken Root deep enough, and being destitute of Moisture. Some of it fell upon a Place overgrown with Briars and Thorns, which growing up, choked the Seed, and hindered it from bringing forth any Fruit in those Parts. Lastly, some of it fell on a good and fertile Soil, and brought forth great Plenty of Corn, insomuch as for one Grain sowed, they reaped thirty, sixty, and even a hundred Grains. When Jesus had delivered this Parable, he cried out with a loud Voice: Let every one take Notice of this, who thinks it his Duty to use his utmost Endeavour to acquaint himself

himself thoroughly with my Doctrine.

II. *When the Multitude were dispersed, and the Disciples left alone with Jesus, they asked him why he made use so frequently of obscure Similitudes before the People, and what was the Meaning of this last about the Sower.* Jesus answered them: God has been pleased to discover to you those Things which concern the heavenly Kingdom of the Messiah, though he hath not made so clear a Revelation of his Purposes to others: For whoever like you shall have made a right Use of the Gifts God hath formerly bestowed upon them, shall receive other and greater Benefits from him; but those that have abused his former Bounty, have forfeited all Title to future Favours. This now is the Case of many among the *Jews*, and this is the Reason why I express myself so often in obscure Similitudes: For, whereas God had endued them with Abilities sufficient to make them acquainted with the Truth of my Doctrine; yet, though they have heard my Discourses, and seen my Miracles, they seem no more to have attended to them than if they had been destitute of the Use both of their Eyes and Ears. Therefore I speak obscurely to them, because having Faculties given them by God, they make no Use of them, and are as if they were totally deprived of them. Thus it happens to the *Jews* of this Age what the Prophet *Isaiab* saith concerning those of his Time; *Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the Heart of this People fat, and make their Ears heavy, and shut their Eyes; lest they see with their Eyes, and hear with their Ears, and understand with their Heart, and convert, and be healed.* But blessed are ye, in that having made a right Use of the Gifts of God, you have Reason to hope for the Increase of his Favours towards you: For I tell you that many Prophets

and holy Persons have desired to be Witnesses of those Things which you see and hear, and it hath not been granted to them. But know you not the Meaning of the last Parable, which is not really obscure? How then will you be able to come to the Understanding of those that are?

III. Now the Meaning of it is this: The Corn sowed is the Revelation of God's Will; The Sower of it is he that publishes this Revelation: The Hearers are the Ground on which the Seed falls: The high Road is an Image of those who listen to the Gospel when it is preached, but growing quickly negligent and careless, lay themselves open to the Frauds of evil Spirits, which quite efface the Memory of it, and thereby hinder them from making a right Judgment concerning it; and so deprive them of the Means of obtaining Salvation: The stony Ground represents those who willingly embrace the Gospel at the first Offer of it, but are not deeply affected with it, and so in Time of Persecution upon the Account of it, are ready to abandon it, rather than to endure the least Calamity. The Ground overrun with Briars is a Designation of those who at first willingly receive the Gospel, and for a while are mindful of it, but afterwards are diverted by anxious Cares after the Conveniencies of Life, and the earnest Pursuit of Riches; and thus neglecting to conform their Lives answerable to the divine Prescriptions of it, render the Revelation of it wholly useless to them. Lastly, the good Soil represents those who receive it with an honest and resolute Temper, who make it their Business to meditate upon it, and treasuring up the Laws of it in their Memories, live all their Life-time after in Conformity to it, be it attended with never so great Calamities. These are they in whom this divine Seed brings forth the plentiful Crop I spoke of, though not equally in all.

IV. Though there may seem to be some Obscurity in this Parable, as you have observed, yet my Design was by no Means so unintelligible to all: For as no one Lights a Candle on Purpose to conceal the Light of it under some Vessel or Couch, but to place it on high, that it may be conspicuous for the necessary Occasions of the House; so neither do I propound my Doctrine to my Hearers so as not to be understood by any of them. Suppose no one at first comprehend it, it is impossible but it must shine out in a short Time: For you may justly apply to it that proverbial Saying, *Nothing is hid- den that shall not be discovered, nothing secret that shall not be manifested.* Whoever therefore would understand my Words, let him give Attention to them, and they shall become plain and easy, provided he makes Use of the Faculties God has given him as he ought to do. *He then proceeded to caution them against a negligent Hearing of his Doctrine:* For, *said he,* if you receive what I now deliver with an honest and religious Temper, I will hereafter give you a more clear and copious Exposition of my Doctrine. Consider diligently what Sort of Hearers you ought to be: For, if you make a right Use of what I now speak to you, I will instruct you farther; otherwise that very Knowledge which you seem to have acquired shall become unprofitable to you.

V. *Several other Parables Jesus spoke to the Multitude.* In the heavenly Kingdom of the Messiah, *said he,* there shall happen something like the Accident that befel that Man, who having sowed his Fields with good Wheat, an Enemy came privately in the Night-time, and sowed Tares amongst it. When the Wheat grew up, the Tares also grew up along with it; which the Servants taking notice of, acquainted their Master with it, asking him if he had not sowed his Field with Wheat; from whence then, said

they, are those Tares? He told them he had sown only Wheat, and knew nothing of the Tares before; but that he imagined some Enemy had mischievously mixed the Tares among the Wheat. The Servants then proposed to have the Tares rooted up, that the Corn afterwards might receive the greater Nourishment. But the Master forbade it, lest while they plucked up the Tares, they might pluck up the Corn also. Let both grow together, said he, until the Time of Harvest, and then you shall gather the Tares, and bundle them up for Fuel, and reap the Corn to be stored up in my Barns.----The Preaching of my Gospel may be also likened to Seed sown in the Ground, which springs up, and grows insensibly, whilst Men are asleep, or employed about their worldly Affairs: For the Earth, after it has been sown with Corn, without any farther Labour of the Husbandman, completes the Work, bringing forth at first the Blade, then the Ear, after that the full Corn in the Ear; which, when it is ripe, is reaped, and laid up in Storehouses.----We may also compare the Doctrine of the Gospel to a Grain of Mustard-seed, which, tho' it be of the smallest Sort of Seeds, yet shoots forth to such a Height, and has so many Branches, as to be able to afford shelter to the Birds against the Heat of the Sun, and Places for them to build their Nests in.----The Gospel may also not unfrequently be compared to a little Leaven, which a Woman mixes with a large Quantity of Meal, and which causes the whole Mass to swell, and to dilate itself in every Part of it.

VI. *Jesus made use of these Similitudes in his Discourses to the People, at a Time when it was not seasonable for him to express himself more clearly:* For *questionless they would have been offended, if he had at first openly declared unto them that the Power of the Messiah here on Earth was only to set them free from their Vices; that*

their Jewish Rites were now to be abrogated, and give place to a new Religion, and other like Truths, which were indeed for the Honour of the Gospel, but little agreeing with the common Opinions of the Jews concerning the Messiah, and the perpetual Obligation of the Law of Moses. For these Reasons Jesus wrapped up those Truths in Parables, which might else have offended the Ears of the unprepared Jews; not to conceal his Meaning alike from all, but that he might not immediately alienate the Minds of those from him who as yet were not sufficiently disposed to receive the naked Truth: For he interpreted whatever was obscure in them to his Disciples in private. To which Practice of Jesus those Words may be applied which we read in the Psalms, Psal. 78. 2. I will open my Mouth in a Parable; I will utter dark Sayings of old.

VII. *The Multitude being separated, Jesus returned home, and his Disciples came to him, desiring him to explain to them the Similitude of the Tares, which they did not thoroughly understand. To whom Jesus thus replied: I am the Sower of the good Seed I spoke of: The Field is the Earth: The Seed, they that hear the Gospel, believe it, and live according to the Rules of it; and shall therefore participate of the Rewards of the Kingdom of Heaven. The Tares are wicked Men, who are every where mixed with the Good, and who shall have no Share in the Happiness of that Kingdom. The Enemy, who privately sowed Tares among the Wheat, is the evil Spirit, who by private Artifices seeks to undermine and corrupt Mens Integrity. The Harvest is the End of the World, and the last Judgment; and the Reapers are the Angels. Like as the Tares, therefore, are gathered together in order to be burnt, while the Wheat is carefully stored up, thus shall I send the Angels as Executioners of my Will, to separate the Good from the Bad, that these may be thrown into Fire; that is, a Place allotted for*

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them to endure the Torments they have merited, where all their Lamentations and Complaints of the Misery of their Condition shall be vain and fruitless to them; while the former are admitted into the Seats of eternal Bliss, where they shall shine like the Sun in its greatest Lustre. Let those who make a right use of the Abilities God hath given them, attend to my Sayings, and they shall understand them.

VIII. I might also compare the Doctrine of the Gospel to Treasure formerly hid in the Ground, and concealed for a long time, but at last discover'd by a Passenger, who, though he is extremely glad of his good Fortune, yet is afraid of discovering the Place in which his Treasure lies; and not being able to carry it off privately, dissembling his Joy, sells all he is worth, if it be necessary, on purpose to buy that Field, that he may privately dig it up, and secure it from being seiz'd by the Lord of the Manor. Surely you ought to shew as great Concern for your Salvation; and if the Case require it, it would be your Interest to part with every Thing, rather than to fail of the Knowledge of the Evangelical Doctrine, though it hath been so long conceal'd, and as yet is not much celebrated among Men.---A Jeweller having met with a Jewel of extraordinary Value, by the Purchase of which he hopes to make his Fortune, sells all his others, if his Stock of Money be not sufficient, on purpose to procure that one Jewel. Thus it fares with those that hear, and embrace my Gospel; rather than miss of an Occasion of being acquainted with its divine Precepts, and leading a Life answerable to it, they will run the Hazard of losing all they are worth in this World.---The Preaching of the Gospel is like to a Net, which being let down into the Sea, encloses a vast Number of all sorts of Fishes. The Fishermen perceiving their Net full, drag it to the Shore, and preserving the

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Good for Service, throw away the Refuse. In like Manner shall it happen at the Day of Judgment: The Angels shall separate the good Men from the Bad, with whom they have been mix'd in my Church till now; and shall cast the Bad into a Furnace of Fire, that is, a Place where they shall be justly punish'd by God, and where there shall be nothing heard but miserable Groans and Lamentations.

IX. *When Jesus had done Speaking, he asked the Apostles whether they understood*

the Meaning of these Parables; which they affirming, he told them, that they, and all who like them were acquainted, not only with the Doctrine of Moses and the Prophets, but his also, resembled a Master of a Family, who having the last Year's, and this Year's Fruit, made use of both upon Occasion, for the Sustenance of his Family.---- And after he had pronounced these Parables, partly before the Multitude, partly to his Disciples alone, at Capernaum, or the Country adjoining to it, he left those Parts.

CH A P. V.

I. *Jesus passes over the Lake of Gennesareth, and answers a Lawyer who proposed to follow him. II. He obviates the Excuse of another, who desired to be his Disciple. III. He appeases a great Storm, and reproves his Disciples for their Incredulity. IV. He meets two Men possessed with Demons, who desired him not to torture them. V. Jesus drives out the Demons, and suffers them to enter into a Herd of Swine. The Swine run head-long into the Sea. VI. The Swineherds relate the News, and the Gadarenes desire him to depart out of their Country. He returns towards Capernaum. The Demoniacs spread his Fame. VII. He is met by Multitudes at Capernaum. The Ruler of the Synagogue comes to beseech him for his Daughter. Jesus goes with the Ruler, and meets a Woman with a Flux of Blood. VIII. The Woman touches his Garment and is healed. Jesus discovers and comforts her. IX. News is brought that the Prefect's Daughter was dead. Jesus comes to the House and restores her to Life. X. He restores Sight to two blind Men. XI. He heals a Demoniac who was Dumb.*

I. **T**HE same Day in which Jesus delivered the Parables mentioned in the last Chapter, towards the Evening, being on the Western Side of the Lake of Gennesareth, together with his Disciples, he ordered them to get a Ship in Readiness to transport them to the other Side towards Gadara. Being ready to go on Ship-board, there came a Lawyer to him, declaring he was willing to follow him whithersoever he went, imagining in all likelihood he was bound to some Place where he might advance his Fortune. Jesus thereupon told him, that

all Places here on Earth were alike to him; that the Foxes had Holes, and the Birds Trees wherein to shelter themselves; that the most miserable Men had some House to repair to; but that for his Part, he had not any Place to retire to, nor where he could entertain his Followers. By which Words he admonished his Disciples not to hope for his establishing an earthly Government among them, nor to hanker after the Profits that usually attend it.

II. Another Disciple came to him at the same Time, professing his Readiness to follow him all his Life-time; but desired

sired he would permit him to continue with his aged Father till his Death, and then after he had buried him he would return to *Jesus*. *Jesus* thereupon, to put him in Mind that the Concerns of Heaven were to be preferred before all worldly Affairs, and that he ought to make Use of the present Opportunity that he might not fail of the Happiness he proposed, thus answered him: *Follow me, and leave the Management of the Funeral Rites to those who may justly be termed Dead in respect of the spiritual Life of the Soul, that is, a Conformity of Morals to the Gospel Purity.*

III. The Multitude being afterwards dismissed, *Jesus* went on Board, together with his Apostles, and several other Vessels followed him. When he was at some Distance from the Shore, there arose a sudden Storm of Wind, so fierce, that the little Vessel in which *Jesus* was, together with his Disciples, was in a short Space almost full of Water, and so in Danger of being sunk. All this while *Jesus* was asleep on the Stern of the Ship. But his Apostles, concerned for the Danger they were all in, waked him, and begged that he would not suffer them to perish in his Company. *Jesus*, as soon as he awaked, with a loud Voice commanded the Wind to cease, and the Sea to be still: Which Words were no sooner pronounced, but the Wind fell, and there ensued so great a Calm, that they were forced to make use of their Oars. *Jesus* then reproached his Apostles with their unreasonable Fear in his Presence, and their mean Notions concerning the Power and Truth of God, since the many Miracles, of which they had been Eye-witnesses, might have given them to understand how much they were under God's immediate Care; and that therefore they might be secure in the greatest Tempest. But they, struck with Admiration, mixed with Terror, inquired one of another what Sort of Power this was with which

Jesus was invested, and which was extended to an absolute Authority over the Winds and Waves, the like to which they had never before heard of.

IV. Not long after they landed on the Eastern Side of the Lake, not far from *Gadara*, a Town inhabited by Heathens, and situated on the Side opposite to *Galilee*. *Jesus* had no sooner landed, but there met him two Men possessed with evil Spirits, naked, and who dwelt among the Sepulchres hard by. They had been often bound with Chains and Fetters, and as often broke them; and being impatient of all Restraint, they made their Abode among the Sepulchres, from whence they were wont to set upon those that passed by, which had made that Road unfrequented. In these Places they lived Night and Day raging mad, and making dreadful Outcries; not only molesting Passengers, but tearing and cutting themselves with Stones in a most cruel Manner. These perceiving *Jesus* at a Distance, being acted by the evil Spirits, run towards him, and falling down at his Feet, cried out, *What have we to do with thee, O Jesus, thou Son of the most high God? We adjure thee by thy heavenly Father not to torment us, since the Time in which he has decreed we shall be punished, is not yet come: Do not trouble us till that Time come.* These Words were pronounced by the evil Spirits, who made Use of the Organs of those miserable Persons that had been a long Time possessed by them, because *Jesus* had commanded them to go out, taking Pity on the calamitous Condition of those poor Wretches: For, as we have observed, they had been possessed of a long Time, and could not be bound with any Chains or Fetters; but the Demons breaking through all Obstacles, hurried them away into these Desarts.

V. *Jesus*, that his Disciples might have some Notion of the great Misery of those Men, and withal of the Greatness of the Benefit he was determined to confer upon

them, asked the evil Spirits by what Name they were called. They told him their Name was *Legion*, because that many evil Spirits had entered into them at the same Time. And they vehemently besought *Jesus* not to banish them from those Parts, nor to send them to the Place of Torment. It happened that there was a Herd of Swine feeding not far off at the Foot of the Mountains: The *Demons* therefore intreated *Jesus*, that if he compelled them to depart out of the Bodies of the Men, he would permit them to enter into those of the Swine, designing in all Likelihood by the Destruction of the Swine to alienate the Minds of the *Gadarenes*, to whom they belonged, from him, lest the miraculous Recovery of those two Men should persuade many to believe his Gospel. Now *Jesus*, to make Trial of the Virtue of the Inhabitants of *Gadara*, and to see whether they would be more affected with the Loss of their Swine, than the Recovery of the Men, and the hearing of his Doctrine, granted this Request of the *Demons*; who making Use of this Permission, entered into the Swine, who precipitated themselves from the Tops of the Rocks into the Lake, where they were all drowned, being in Number about two Thousand, the Loss of which no Doubt the *Gadarenes* would greatly resent.

VI. The Swineherds, who had seen the Accident, ran to the Town in a great Fear, every where divulging this Loss, and also the Miracle wrought upon the Men that had been possessed. This News filled all the Inhabitants with Astonishment, and a Desire of being satisfied of the Truth of what these Men had related to them. Thereupon they came out in a Body towards *Jesus*, and near him saw with Amazement the two Men that had been possessed by the *Demons* quietly reposing themselves, clothed, and in a sound Mind; and all that were present confirmed to them the Story of the Swineherds,

how the *Demons* had been cast out by the Command of *Jesus*, and of the Herd of Swine being drowned in the Lake. The Thing being thus made manifest, the whole City came out to *Jesus*, and in a Body intreated him to depart out of their Coasts, greatly apprehending such another Misfortune. *Jesus* perceiving their Apprehensions, and how much they preferred their Wealth before the hearing of his Doctrine, took Shipping in order to return to *Capernaum*; and being ready to put off, the two Men whom he had rescued from the Power of the evil Spirits, came to him, and besought him to give them Leave to go along with him. But *Jesus* sent them Home, bidding them acquaint their Countrymen with the great Benefits they had received from God. Whereupon they left him, and spread the Report of that Miracle throughout all the Region of *Decapolis*; and all that heard it were filled with Admiration.

VII. As soon as *Jesus* was come to the Western Side of the Lake of *Genesareth*, there came thither a Multitude of People that had formerly heard him, in Expectation of his Return; and being impatient of his Delay, stood upon the Shore to receive him at his landing. *Jesus* therefore left the Vessel, and being come on Shore, began to instruct them, and discoursed with them upon the Method of dealing with the infirm Tempers of his Disciples; when on a Sudden there came a certain Prefect of the Synagogue of *Capernaum* to *Jesus*, who falling down at his Feet, earnestly intreated him to go Home with him, that by laying his Hands upon his Daughter, he might restore her to her former Health, she being now at the Point of Death. *Jesus* moved with the Man's Petition, began to follow him, together with his Apostles; and a great Crowd of the People attended him, pressing upon him on all sides. Among these there was a certain Woman that had been troubled with

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with a Flux of a Blood for twelve Years, who had in vain had Recourse to Physicians, having spent her Estate upon them, and made use of their Remedies without the least Amendment.

VIII. This Woman having been informed by several credible Persons, that all People were cured of whatsoever Infirmities they laboured under, if they did but so much as touch his Clothes, came behind him, and touched the Hem of his Garment, not in the least doubting but she should be cured of her Disease. She had no sooner done it, but she perceived a wonderful Alteration in her Body, and was perfectly cured from that very Moment. *Jesus* perceived the Miracle, and immediately turning about in the Midst of the Crowd that throng'd round him, asked who it was that touched his Coat. Those that were next to him disowning that they had touched his Coat with any Design, *Peter* and others of his Disciples told him they could not but wonder at his Question, since the Multitude every where pressed upon him. *But* replied *Jesus*, *some Person has touched me with Design; for I perceive a Miracle hath been wrought in favour of some such Person*: And looking round to see if any would own the Thing, the Woman finding she was discovered, began to be afraid, and falling down at the Feet of *Jesus*, being conscious of her Recovery, confessed the Matter before all that were then present. *Jesus* turning himself to her, bid her be of good Comfort, declaring that she had been cured by Reason of the high Opinion she had conceived of the divine Power and Beneficence, bidding her depart, assured that he willingly consented to her Recovery.

IX. While *Jesus* yet spake, there came some Messengers from the House of the Prefect of the Synagogue unto him, to acquaint him that his Daughter was dead, and that it was to no Purpose to trouble *Jesus* any farther, nor to bring him to a

Carcase without any Manner of Hopes left. But *Jesus* bid the Prefect, who was in Tears upon this News, not to be afraid; telling him, that if he had a just Sense of the Power and Goodness of God, his Daughter should yet do well. He went on therefore towards the House, the Multitude following him; but he permitted none to go into the House with him besides these three Apostles, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, together with the Parents of the Deceased. Being entered, he found the Mourners and Pipers, and other Preparations for the Funeral, ready according to the Manner of the *Jews*. *Jesus* therefore told them they need not make such a Tumult, nor be so much concerned for their supposed Loss; for that the Maid was only in a Sleep; that she should be quickly waked out of it, and that she should not die this Time: But they began to jeer him, well knowing that she was really dead. Nevertheless, *Jesus* bid them all depart out of the Room in which the Girl lay except her Parents: Then taking her by the Hand, *Maid*, said he, *arise*. The Words were no sooner pronounced, but her Soul returned unto her, and she immediately got up, being about twelve Years old. Then *Jesus*, to demonstrate that this was no magical Illusion, and to convince them that she was perfectly recovered, ordered them to give her something to eat. The Parents could not but look upon this Miracle with the greatest Admiration; and were so filled with Joy for the miraculous Favour bestowed on them, that they would have spread the Rumour of it far and near, if *Jesus* had not expressly charged them not to divulge it, lest it should occasion a too numerous Resort of Men unto him. Nevertheless, the Fame of it went through all the Country, from which many inferr'd that he was the Messiah.

X. Being now upon his Return home, there followed him two blind Men to the House

House where he lodged, crying all the Way they went, *O Son of David have Mercy on us!* Jesus therefore asked them, whether they had such a great Idea of the Power wherewith he was invested, as to be persuaded that he was able to restore them to their Sight. They replied, they were firmly persuaded that he was able. Jesus therefore touched their Eyes, and told them that he was willing they should be cured, since they had this just Notion of the divine Power by which he acted: Upon which they both immediately recovered. Jesus forbid them to publish so great a Miracle for the Reason before-mentioned, and particularly because they had stiled him the *Messiah*. But they, as soon as they were out of his Sight, could not refrain themselves, as thinking it injurious to their Benefactor not to divulge what was so very much to his Honour.

XI. Soon after there was brought to Jesus a Man possessed with an evil Spirit, which had deprived him of the Use of his Speech. Jesus taking Pity of him, commanded the *Demon* to depart out of him, who instantly obeyed, and the Man began to speak. Now this Sort of *Demon* being the most difficult of all to be cast out, the Multitude wondered that it should obey the very first Summons, affirming they had never seen the like. But the *Pharisees*, who were bitter Enemies to Jesus, endeavoured to persuade the People that he cast out the evil Spirits by an Authority deriv'd from the Prince of them; that therefore he was a Magician, and not a Prophet.

DISSERTATION.

In Defence of three of our Saviour's Miracles, namely, his sending a Legion of Demons out of two Men into a Herd of Swine, his raising the Ruler of the Synagogue's Daughter, and his curing a Woman who had an Issue of Blood twelve Years.

THREE of the Miracles related in the Chapter just now concluded, are caviled at by the Author of the Discourses which we have so often mentioned. These Miracles are, *First*, Our Saviour's driving a Legion of Devils out of two Men who were possessed, and suffering those Devils to enter into a Herd of Swine; *Secondly*, His raising to Life the Daughter of *Jairus*, Ruler of the Synagogue; And, *Thirdly*, his curing a Woman, who had been twelve Years troubled with an Issue of Blood, by the Touch of his Garment only.

We now proceed to Mr. *Woolston's* Objections against the Letter of this Story; the *first* of which, that we shall take Notice of, is, That *it is not credible there was a Herd of Swine in that Country*. But this is capable of being answer'd in a few Words, after what we have already said of this Country. For tho' the *Jews* were forbid by their Law to eat Swines Flesh, and by their later Constitutions to keep Swine; yet it is very credible that Swine were both kept and eat in the Country of *Gadara*, which was Part of *Decapolis*, or the Region of ten Cities of *Greeks* intermix'd with the *Jews*. For *Gadara* was the Metropolis of *Peræa* in *Cale-Syria*; it was a *Greek City*, and not a *Jewish* one; and therefore both that Place, and the Country round about it, may fairly be allowed to abound with Swine. Swine therefore, tho' forbidden the *Jews*, might very well be found in their Neighbourhood.

Secondly, Mr. *Woolston* objects, that such a Permission to the Devils to enter into the Herd of Swine, to their Destruction, is inconsistent with Goodness and Justice. Now it is certain, that as the Miracles of our Lord in general were very useful and beneficial to Mankind; so three Instances occur out of about thirty different Sorts of them, that were, no doubt for peculiar Reasons, of the punitive and vindictive Kind

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Kind. That of driving the Sellers and Buyers out of the Temple, tho' without any Injury done to their Goods, has been already vindicated. Another is that of *Cursing the barren Fig-tree*; which shall likewise be vindicated in its proper Place. And the third is the *miraculous Permission*, now under our immediate View. But to reduce this Matter into a narrow Compass; they were either *Jews* or *Gentiles*; that were Proprietors of the Swine that were destroy'd, in Consequence of the Permission given to the evil Spirits to enter into them. If the Swine belonged to the *Jews* that were intermix'd with the *Grecian Gentiles*, those *Jews* were justly punished for their sordid Covetousness, that prevailed so far as to induce them to break their own Laws and Constitutions. If the Proprietors were apostate *Jews*, with whom, as *Grotius* informs us, that Place abounded, it must be granted that they were most justly punished for their Apostacy. And if they were *Gentiles* that own'd the Swine, it is reasonable to believe they were guilty of some great Sins, that occasioned this Loss to them: And the Conjecture is not improbable, that it was inflicted in order to cure them, by an Argument peculiarly adapted to them, of their idolatrous Worship of Demons; over whom *Jesus* so clearly demonstrated his Superiority, both in his casting out of one Man an whole Legion of them, and likewise by their Confession that they absolutely depended on his Permission. So that even this Permission, in the Intention of it, seems to have been useful and beneficial, tho' it was of the terrifying and punitive Kind. For our Lord not only hereby shewed the implacable Hatred of those Demons whom they worshipped to Mankind, but likewise his own inexpressible Love to all Men, by subduing the Power and restraining the Malice of their inviolable Enemies; and to themselves in particu-

lar, by casting out of one of their Demoniacks such a Multitude of Devils, and obliging them to leave their miserable Country. And if the People of that Country were not of a Temper capable of being won to the Gospel by so great an Act of Love and Compassion, it was not improper to terrify those who deserved to be punish'd, not only for their former Sins, but for their present Perverseness and obstinate Infidelity. For no doubt they must have frequently heard of the Miracles of *Jesus* performed on the other Side of the Lake *Tiberias*, and now saw a very great one wrought in the Cure of the wretched Demoniacks among themselves: So that even this Permission of *Jesus* to the evil Spirits, was amply compensated by casting an whole Legion of Devils out of two Persons. And this Dispossession of those evil Spirits, and Permission given them in Consequence of it, were Arguments of great Force to shew the Power of *Jesus*, over so numerous a Regiment of them, and thereby to convince the *Gadarens*, if they had made a right Application of this Miracle, of the Truth of the Gospel, and of the Madness of their own Worship of such impure Spirits, as were cast out of Men at *Jesus's* Command, and could not enter even into the Swine without his Permission. The Goodness therefore, as well as Justice of our Lord, is fully exhibited, in the Dispossession of so many tyrannical Spirits lodged in one or two Persons, unto whom great Things are truly said to have been done by God; and likewise by *Jesus's* Attempt to rouse and awaken the thoughtless, or rather wicked *Gadarens*, to a true Sense of his Religion, by a Loss so easily borne, and which probably was shared among several Proprietors of the Swine; who may be considered as a Sort of Contributors to the Sacrifice of them, as devoted to the Deliverance of their Country from evil Spirits.

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And here we cannot but reflect how very small the Number is of the vindictive Instances of *Jesus's* miraculous Power, when compared with the many terrible ones even of the meek *Moses*, and the other antient Prophets among the *Jews*, performed upon Multitudes of Men, and not upon mere Swine, or an insensible Figtree. And if it be replied on this Occasion, that Prophets were always allowed to act above vulgar Rules in vindictive and punitive Instances; we must certainly recollect that *Jesus* was not only acknowledged by the *Jewish* Multitudes to be a great Prophet, but was confessed by the ejected Devils themselves to be *the Son of God most High*. And how much is this heightened when we consider, that he was and is, believed by all true Christians to be the sovereign Proprietor of all Things, and who therefore can transfer Right without any Imputation of Injury, and who probably punished the *Gadaren* Sinners with much less Severity than their Iniquities deserved; and that too with a View of promoting the great and good Ends that have now been intimated?

The second Miracle which we proposed to consider, is the Raising of the Ruler of the Synagogue's Daughter. When the Ruler of the Synagogue applied to *Jesus* for the Cure of his Daughter, she is said by *St. Mark* to have been at the Point of Death, and by *St. Luke* to have lain a dying, which is the same with *St. Matthew's* Phrase, that she was even now dead. But we find that as *Jesus* was going to the Ruler's House, and by the Way was a little retarded by the Cure of the Woman that had an Issue of Blood, there came a particular Messenger from the Ruler's House to acquaint him with the News of the actual Death of the young Woman; who therefore desired the Ruler not to trouble *Jesus* any farther, upon a Conviction, no doubt, that it was too late for him to come and cure her: Upon this *Jesus* bid

the Ruler not be afraid, but only believe. And accordingly he went to his House, and found the whole Family, their Relations and Friends, under great Sorrow, on a firm Belief that the Maid was actually dead; the funeral Minstrels too, and the Mourners, the People that made a great Noise, were present; and other Preparations were making, no doubt, for her Burial. And when *Jesus* intimated that she was not finally and irretrievably dead, but should be restored to Life, by that Expression, *the Maid is not dead, but sleepeth*, the Company, literally misunderstanding it, laughed him to scorn, as knowing that she was truly dead; and hereupon they declared their Judgment that she really was so.

All this had passed before *Jesus* entered into the Room where the Damsel was lying: So that it was not from any View of her that *Jesus* could before say she is not dead, in the Sense they understood him. And indeed the Word *sleepeth*, is in the same Manner distinguished from the Word *dead* in the Story of *Lazarus*. *Jesus* there speaks thus, *Our Friend Lazarus sleepeth*, that is, *is dead*, as he explains himself immediately. And the same Account is to be given of the Phrase used there, *This Sickness is not unto Death*; that is, not unto a final and irrecoverable Death, tho' he should actually die for a short Time. Accordingly these Expressions of *Death* and *Sleep* are often used promiscuously, not only in the Sacred, but in Profane Writers, the Quotations of which would be here superfluous. Thus as *Lazarus's* Sickness was finally not unto Death, tho' he really died; so *Jairus's* Daughter was not finally, tho' actually dead: And therefore since her Life was to be restored, that gentle Figure of Sleep was used, out of which she was quickly to be awaked to Life. And to this may be added, that *St. Luke* expressly mentions, that *her Spirit came again*; which may be

be render'd, and her Spirit, or Soul, returned to her Body. And what confirms this Interpretation, is, that a parallel Exposition is used in the Septuagint about the Return of the Soul of the Widow of Zarephath's Child, who was raised by *Elijah*: For in the *Alexandrian* Manuscript the Phrase used is, the Soul of the Child returned into him; and surely one that personates a Jew cannot deny that this Widow's Child was really dead, and restored to Life again by *Elijah*.

Having thus recollected the Historical Occasion of the Miracle wrought on *Jairus's* Daughter, and shewn thereby that she was really dead, tho' the Word *Sleep* was used by *Jesus* previously to his restoring her Life, we proceed to reflect upon what Mr. *Woolston* cites, by way of Objection, from *Hilary*, namely, *That the Gospel acquaints us, that none of the Rulers of the Synagogues believed in Jesus; and therefore there was no such Ruler as Jairus; and consequently the Letter of this Story cannot be true.* But *Hilary* draws no such Consequence, nor hints any thing like it. And if the Name *Jairus* had a mystical Meaning, and in point of Etymology signified an illuminated Person; and if this Name carried an Allusion to *Moses*, or any other Person or Thing, how does *Hilary* intimate that the whole Story was fictitious, because the Name *Jairus* may be imagined to be so? Indeed the contrary Supposition is most evidently true, from a Multitude of Scriptural Names of Persons that must be allow'd to have really existed, and therefore not to have been merely fictitious, tho' their Names, in point of Etymology, bore some Allusion to their respective Circumstances.

As to the Pretension, that none of the Rulers of the Synagogues believed on *Jesus*, and therefore that there was no such Person as *Jairus*; it is not only a weak Chain of Reasoning, but is false in Fact. It is confessed that the *Pharisees* said,

Have any of the Rulers, or of the Pharisees, believed on him? But did not *Nicodemus*, who was both a *Pharisee* and a Ruler of the *Jews*, acknowledge *Jesus* to be a Teacher come from God, and give this general Reason for his Belief, *That no Man can do those Miracles that he did, except God be with him?* And again, we are assured by St. *John*, that among the chief Rulers also many believed on him? tho' out of Fear they did not confess him. But does it hence follow, that because they did not openly confess him to be the *Christ*, therefore they did not believe him to be a Prophet, that could cure desperate Diseases, and perform many wonderful Works? No, by no Means; for the very common People, as well as many of their Superiors, did allow him to be a Prophet, tho' they doubted of his being the *Christ*. *Nicodemus*, we find, confessed to himself that he was a Teacher come from God, because he could perform real Miracles. And the Ruler of the Synagogue, in our present Story, undoubtedly believed the same: For otherwise he had never made any Application to him for the Cure of his Daughter. And it does not any where appear that *Jairus*, at first, had any other Apprehensions of *Jesus* than those of a Prophet, when he besought him greatly to come and lay his Hands on his Daughter, then at the Point of Death; in consequence of which he doubted not but she should live. It is not, however, improbable, but that, from the wonderful Cure of the Woman who had an Issue of Blood, in the Way to his House, whither *Jesus* was going with him, he might form higher Notions of *Jesus*, as the *Christ*, than he brought from home along with him. It is certain, that those of the Ruler's Family, who sent a decisive Message to him that his Daughter was dead, and therefore intimated to him that he should give *Jesus* no farther Trouble about her, seem to have had no greater Notion of him than of a Prophet at large,

large, that could cure all sorts of Diseases, since they dropp'd the Thoughts of all Application to him upon her Death: And therefore it is probable that the Ruler himself, when he first applied to *Jesus*, had no other Idea of him than his Relations and Domesticks had. And even the Faith required by *Jesus* of the Ruler, upon the certain News brought of his Daughter's Death, may possibly mean no more than that the Ruler should put his Trust and Confidence in him as a Prophet, and believe that he could, even yet, make his Daughter whole again, and restore her to Life.

This *Stumbling-Block at the Threshold of the Letter of this Story*, as our Author styles it, being thus removed, we go on to consider his next pretended Absurdity in it. He asks, "Why did *Jesus* say this Girl was but in a Sleep? If he was going to work a Miracle in her Resuscitation, he should not have called Death Sleep; but if others had been of a contrary Opinion, he should first have convinced them of the Certainty of her Death before he did the great Work on her."

We answer, That this is a most absurd Objection, appears plainly from the Consideration, that her Relations and Friends were all too well apprised of the Reality of her Death, and therefore there was no Occasion for any farther Conviction. And again it is demonstrable from hence, that *Jesus* acted with the greatest Sincerity, since he told them, by way of Information, and that before he saw the Maid, that she should be made whole, or restored to Life; and therefore he called her short temporary Death by the Name of Sleep, because she was speedily to be awakened effectually, that is, revived, by him. And when he resolved to restore her Life, he did not use the Arts of Impostors and Quacks, in magnifying his designed Performance by lofty Words; but chose rather an Expression of seeming Diminution

of it, when he termed her Death *Sleep*; tho' he never said, as is fondly suggested, that she was *asleep*, in the obvious and literal Sense of that Word. An Impostor would have acted the very reverse of this, and would have called common Sleep by the Name of Death; out of which she might have been literally awakened. But a real Prophet, that abhorred all Artifices, would as naturally have called Death *Sleep*, without any Ostentation; and consequently this is a vain and trifling Objection.

Another Objection offered against this Miracle, understood according to the Letter, is, "Why did *Jesus* turn the People out of the House before he would raise her; since the more Witnesses, and those too incredulous, so much the better is the Attestation." We answer, That if there were a sufficient Number of proper and competent Witnesses present at this Miracle, there was no Occasion for the Trouble of more; since others would believe it not only on their Authority, but likewise in consequence of their personal Knowledge of her Death, and of her being actually restored to Life. And that there was a sufficient Number of well-qualified Witnesses present on this Occasion, appears very clearly from *Jesus's taking the Father and the Mother of the Damsel*, Persons the most interested in this Affair, together with his *three selected Disciples*, and his *entring in with them where the Damsel was lying*. And therefore it is not at all surprising, that when, in Virtue of *Jesus's* commanding Words, *Damsel arise, the Damsel straightway arose and walked*, her Parents, as well as his Disciples, who were present, *were astonished with a great Astonishment*: As no doubt were all those troublesome People, that were put out for their Unworthiness to be present, on account of their *laughing him to Scorn* immediately before. However, the most Incredulous, even among

among them that were put out, must have received a full Conviction, when they afterwards saw the Damsel actually restored to Life, who they knew had been really dead.

The *third* History which we are to defend in this Discourse, is that of the Woman who was twelve Years afflicted with an Issue of Blood, and afterwards instantaneously cured by *Jesus*.

The Reflections on this Miracle are prefaced with a few Remarks on bodily Diseases, and an Insinuation, that the Cures of them by our Lord, are not sufficiently proved by the Evangelists to be miraculous. It seems necessary therefore to recollect what we have already said on that Occasion before our Vindication of our Lord's first Miracle, and previously to add a general Answer to an Objection which is renewed in general Terms.

In the Place here referred to, we have distinguished the miraculous Cures of Diseases by *Jesus*, into those of the Subject-matter, and those of the Manner of Cure. The former relate to Diseases that are naturally incurable, and the latter to those that are naturally curable. Instances of the former Sort of Cures are *Jesus's* restoring the withered Hand, and giving Sight to one born blind; and Instances of the latter are *Jesus's* instantaneous and sudden Cures of some supposed curable Distempers, as they were the immediate Effects of a mere Word spoken by him, or of the slightest Touch of his Hand or Garment. This Distribution comprehends all the miraculous Cures of our Lord; and those of each Sort are equally miraculous. For though some celebrated Physicians have been of Opinion, that all the bodily Diseases that were cured by our Lord were really incurable by Art, yet the Exigency of the Case requires not so unlimited an Assertion. It is certain indeed in general, that most of the Cures performed by our Lord were of Diseases incurable in their own Nature. But to avoid a vain Dispute

about curable and incurable Diseases, and the just Limits of them, though it should be supposed that some few of the numerous Diseases cured by our Lord might possibly have been curable by a long Course of proper Remedies, and a slow and gradual Process in the Practice of Physic, agreeably to the peculiar Symptoms of the respective Diseases; yet such a Supposition does by no Means derogate from the miraculous Cures of those very Diseases by *Jesus*, as the Manner of their Cures was both immediate and lasting, without any proper Means used, or any Regard had to the *Crises* of those Distempers. So that though in those Cases the Cure of a curable Disease was not supernatural as to the Subject-matter; it was most evidently supernatural, as to the Manner of the Cure, and as attended with an immediate Effect. There is therefore no Force in our Author's preliminary Objection, namely, "That the Diseases which *Jesus* cured, and his Manner of Operation, should have been so accurately described, as that we might have been sure the Work was supernatural; which, says he, the Evangelists have taken no Care to give us, in their Narrations of *Christ's* Miracles." For it is not reasonable to suppose that the Evangelists, as they are Historians, should describe, with the Accuracy of professed Physicians or Surgeons, the Nature and Symptoms of the several Diseases, the Cures of which by *Jesus* are recorded by them; since there are Circumstances of those Diseases inserted in their Narratives, that are sufficient to convince all rational and unprejudiced Persons, that the Cures of them were supernatural either as to the Subject-matter or the Manner of them: And which of these two the Incurableness consisted in, is not at all material.

Having thus obviated a general Objection against the Cures of bodily Diseases by *Jesus*, as drawn from the supposed Inaccuracy of the Description of them in the

Gospels, we shall now consider what has been alledged in particular against the Miracle of Christ's *healing the Woman that was afflicted twelve Years with an Issue of Blood.*

On this Oecasion Mr. *Woolston* thought fit to alter his usual Method of attacking our Saviour's Miracles. He here acknowledges "that the Fathers themselves do not deny that a Woman was cured of an *Hæmorrhage* after the Manner that is described by the Evangelists. St. *Augustine*, he confesses, says of this Miracle, that *it was done as it is related;*" And our Author adds, *I have a greater Veneration for his Authority, than to gainsay it.* This is indeed an extraordinary Compliment to St. *Austin*, whose Authority is here preferred to that of the Evangelists: Nor is it less extraordinary for Mr. *Woolston* to say, "*he will allow of the Truth of the Letter of this Story;*" since so uncommon a Concession must have been very prejudicial to his Cause, if he had not boldly denied that the Cure was miraculous. This too is very surprizing, after he has confessed the Truth of the Fact, and that *Austin* and the other Fathers asserted it. For if the Fact be confessed, the Miracle is at the same Time acknowledged; since the Fact could not have been performed by any natural Means. However, since he has advanced an Objection or two against the Miraculousness of this acknowledged Fact, which are drawn from the Nature of the Disease and the Manner of curing it, they shall be now considered. And on this Occasion, we shall omit nothing that he offers, but the Buffoonery interspersed, which is unworthy of any Regard.

As to the *Nature of the Disease* of the Woman here cured by *Jesus*, it is agreed on by the three former Evangelists that it was in general, an *Issue of Blood*, which she had laboured under for *twelve Years*. To this St. *Mark* adds, that *she had suffered many Things of many Physicians, and*

had spent all that she had, and was nothing better'd, but rather grew worse. And St. *Luke*, himself a Physician, uses these memorable Words on this Occasion, that *she had spent all her Living upon Physicians, neither could she be healed of any.* Whatever therefore was the Nature of this Disease, it is most clear from the Accounts given of it by St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*, that it was so very inveterate and obstinate as to be incurable by the Art of Physic, some harsh and uncommon Courses of which seem to have been practised on her by her *suffering many Things of many Physicians*; and that too at so great an Expence, that, whatever her Circumstances were, (which seem to have been considerable from her consulting many Physicians) she was reduced by them to Poverty. So that it is very evident from the Evangelical History, that this was a chronical and confirmed Disease, and therefore far from being a *slight Indisposition*.---But we shall now offer the Sentiments of some eminent Physicians concerning the Nature of this Disease, as the most competent Judges of Matters of this Kind.

It is confessed indeed, that the original Words used by the Evangelists on this Occasion, for the *Hæmorrhage*, or *Issue of Blood* of this Woman, are too general to point out the particular Disease she so long laboured under, and to determine critically what Part of her was chiefly affected. But though this Nicety was either thought unnecessary, or perhaps was owing to the Modesty of the Evangelical Writers, it is most probable that this Disease was of the menstruous Kind, and was an immoderate and very frequent Discharge of Blood from the hysterical Vessels. This Sense of the Words of the Gospel is favoured by the Judgment of the great *Bartholine*. He speaks to this Effect, in treating of the Cure now in our immediate View: That "there was a continual Flux of Blood from the hysterical Parts,

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Parts, and that Nature being by Length of Time accustomed to a Discharge that Way, and the Woman's Strength and Vigour being more and more impaired and broke, the Distemper became incurable." And *Mercurialis* is cited by him, not only as asserting in general, that *the several Diseases cured by Christ were naturally incurable*, but "that he mentioned this on Occasion of the present Cure of the Issue of Blood, and that this Disease in particular was absolutely incurable." The Sense too of *Ader* is expressed in very strong and emphatical Language on this very Subject: Says he, "It is as certain that the Recovery of the Health of the Woman devoted to *Christ* was to be despaired of, as that the History of her is true.—The Concurrence of all Circumstances sufficiently excuses both the Art of Physic and the Professors of it, since they could not possibly cure her.—The Woman laboured under an hysterical Issue of Blood, a Disease very troublesome and odious." And after a Description of the Causes and Degree of this Distemper, this Writer adds: "From thence this Evil gains Strength in its Progress, it increases and grows worse by Remedies, and at last all Benefit of them is despaired of. What *Æsculapius* could have cured a Patient in these Circumstances?" Agreeably to this Account the late learned Dr. *Friend* says thus: "It is remarkable that St. *Luke* is more particular in reciting all the Miracles of our Saviour in Relation to healing, than the other Evangelists are.—The reading the *Greek* Authors, while he studied Physic, made his Language without

Dispute more exact.—In setting down the Cure of the same Woman, the Language of St. *Luke* is more simple and more correct, as well as more physical.—St. *Luke* indeed in his Profession as a Physician, and no doubt merely because he was one, when there is Occasion to speak of Distempers or the Cure of them, makes Use of Words more proper for the Subject than the others do. Many Instances of this might be given." And with immediate Regard to this very Woman, says he, "St. *Luke*, though he mentions the Particulars recorded by St. *Mark*, but omitted by St. *Matthew*, gives them quite another Turn, and softens the Passage very much in Regard to his Faculty; and instead of relating how much she suffered by the several Physicians, or how she grew worse upon her Remedies, he says only that *her Distemper was above the Reach of any of them to remove it.*" This Extract is a Demonstration of the Falseness of our Author's Assertions about the Inaccuracy of the Evangelical Accounts of our Saviour's Miracles, and of this particular Distemper's being curable without a Miracle; as being made by a Person that was equally a good Judge of the Propriety of Style, and of the Power and Extent of Physic.—To these Testimonies we shall only add that of Dr. *Harle*, who on Occasion of this very *Hæmorrhage* speaks thus; "The Nature of the Disease, its long Continuance, the Variety of Physicians consulted,—the Woman's growing worse rather than better after all, demonstrate that her Malady was incurable by any human Means."

C H A P. VI.

I. *Jesus returns to Nazareth, and is again despised by his Countrymen.* II. *He continues his Progress, pities the Jews, and determines to send forth his Apostles.* III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII. *He commissioneth the Twelve, and gives them large Instructions for their Behaviour.* IX. *The Apostles separate, and enter on their Office.* X. *Herod makes a Feast, and, at the Request of Salome, beheads John the Baptist.* XI. *He hears of the Fame of Jesus. Divers Conjectures who Jesus was.*

I. **J**ESUS now determined to return to Nazareth, where he had been above a Year ago, but staid a very little while there, his Countrymen having designed to throw him headlong from the Mountain, as we before related. But their Anger being appeased by Time, and having acquired a greater Reputation by the many Miracles he wrought after he left them, he hoped to find them in a better Disposition to receive the Truth. Accordingly he went thither, together with his Apostles, and on the Sabbath-Day discoursed before the People in the Synagogue concerning the Laws and Promises of the Kingdom of Heaven. Many of his Hearers wondered how it was possible for him to speak with so much Eloquence, and perform so many Miracles as they had been credibly informed of. They asked one another, therefore, whether he were not the Son of Joseph the Carpenter, and bred up among them to the same Trade; whether his Mother's Name was not Mary; and whether his Relations James, Joses, Simon, and Jude, Sons of another Mary, and their Sisters, were not all still Inhabitants of Nazareth? How then, said they, can a Man of so mean Parentage, who has dwelt so long among us at Nazareth, acquire so great Learning? Therefore none of the Nazarenes would believe on him; for which Reason Jesus applied this proverbial Saying, *A Prophet is no where less esteem'd than among*

his own Countrymen, to them, as he had done the last Time he was among them, and for which they were so enrag'd against him. These Men therefore not being induc'd to believe on him by the Relation of the many Miracles wrought by him, he had no Opportunity of performing the like among them, this being what he was wont to do only in favour of Believers. Nevertheless he cured a few sick People that were brought to him, by laying his Hands on them; but did no other Miracle among them, by Reason of their amazing Obstinacy, who had nothing to object against him but the Meanness of his Family.

II. *Jesus therefore departed from thence, and continued his Progress through the other Parts of Galilee; and wherever he came, he cur'd the Sick that were presented to him, and publish'd the good Tidings of the Approach of the Kingdom of Heaven.* For which Reasons a very great Multitude followed him in all his Journies, who were proper Objects of his Pity, and who seem'd to him like Sheep wandering without a Shepherd, and not having any Fold to repair unto. And indeed the Condition of the Jewish Laity at that Time was deplorable; not knowing what to chuse or avoid, and distracted by the disagreeing Factions of the Sadducees and Pharisees, and as yet unacquainted with the Voice of the true Shepherd sent to them from God himself. The Reflections which this State of the Jews suggested to Jesus, gave

gave him Occasion to tell his Disciples, that there was a great deal of Corn ripe for the Sickle, but few Reapers; that therefore the Lord of that Corn ought to be intreated to provide many Labourers against the Harvest: For many now were prepar'd for the Reception of the divine Doctrine of the Gospel, and only wanted proper Persons to instruct them in a convenient Time and Place. The same Reflection, and also the Consideration that he himself could not be present in all Places where it was expedient the Gospel should be publish'd, made him resolve to send his Apostles abroad to all those Places he did not visit himself. We have already set down the Names of these Apostles, and it is not necessary to repeat them here. Having therefore call'd them to him, he furnish'd them with a Power of casting evil Spirits out of human Bodies, and curing all manner of Distempers; and gave them these Directions in Charge.

III. In this your first Progress, said he, apply yourselves wholly to the Conversion of the Jews, that after their various Wandrings like strayed Sheep, they may at last return into the right Sheepfold. This is, as it were, the Time of your Probation: Go not therefore into any Heathen or Samaritan City, but acquaint the Jews only with the good Tidings of the Approach of the Kingdom of the Messiah; and tell them, that the only way to participate of the Benefits that belong to it, is to lead a Life full of Piety and good Works. And that you may give Demonstration of this Commission which you receive from me, I authorize you in my Name to cure all Manner of Distempers, to cleanse the Lepers, to raise the Dead to Life, and to expel the evil Spirits out of the Bodies of Men. All these gracious Assistances shall accompany your Endeavours, on Condition you as freely make use of them for the Good of Men, as they have been freely bestowed upon you. Begin then without Delay,

and instantly set about this glorious Work; and be not sollicitous after providing yourselves with Viſtuals, Shoes, or any manner of Garb, or even Money to defray the Expences of your Journey. Those that have Staves, let them keep them, and those that have not, content themselves without them. Consider you are under God's Protection, and the People among whom you preach the Gospel will furnish you with all Things necessary for your Subsistence. And it is but reasonable that the Labourer should expect to be requited, according to the Proverb.

IV. At your Entrance into any Town or Village, inquire first into the Morals of the Inhabitants, whether they be Men of Probity, and in Expectation of the Kingdom of the Messiah: Whosoever entertains you, continue in his House during your Abode in that Place, lest by leaving of him you alienate his Mind from you. And when you first come into the Family, pray to God for a Blessing on it. If that Family deserve to have your Blessings confer'd upon it, God will hear your Prayers on their Behalf; otherwise your Prayers shall be fruitless in respect to them, but abundantly rewarded with Benefits on yourselves. But, whatsoever Town or private Family shall refuse to entertain you, as judging the Message you are charg'd with unworthy of their Attention, at your Departure from them shake off the very Dust from the Soles of your Feet, as a Token that you will not have the least Intercourse with such an impious Race of Men. But rest assured, that the Inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah shall be less severely punish'd in the Day of Judgment than those that refuse to hear you, or, having heard you, condemn your Doctrine.

V. I send you now, and shall do it hereafter with greater Solemnity, as Sheep unto a Company of Wolves; that is, Men of an inoffensive Temper, to a barbarous

barous and cruel People. You ought therefore to behave yourselves with so much Prudence, as not to irritate them by reproaching them too freely, nor by unreasonable Interpretations of that Truth they so much hate at present; but take heed this Prudence and Caution do not degenerate into worldly Craft, so as to make you betray the Cause of Truth, by encouraging them in their vicious Practices. Unite therefore the Cunning of the Serpent, as I may so say, with the Harmlessness of Doves. Secure yourselves with all necessary Diligence against the Artifices of the *Jews*, who will persecute you for the Preaching of the Gospel, and accuse you before the *Jewish* Magistrates, and cause you to be punish'd with Stripes: Nor will their Malice stop here, but they will force you to plead for your Life before the *Roman* Governors for having been my Disciples: By which Means the Gospel will be the more taken notice of both by the *Jews* and the *Gentiles*. At that Time be not solicitous about the Method of your Defence; neither be afraid, as being destitute of Eloquence: The holy Spirit of God will furnish you with Arguments, and the divine Assistance will abundantly supply the want of a premeditated Defence. The *Jews* and *Gentiles* shall impeach the nearest Relations they have, and deliver them up to the Persecutors for their Adherence to my Doctrine. A Brother shall betray his Brother, a Father his Son, and a Son his Father; and thus you shall be generally hated and tormented for being my Disciples: But whosoever shall contemn their Threats and Injuries, and shall persevere in his Obedience to my Doctrine, though he be punished with Death for it, that Man shall obtain everlasting Life in the next World. But when you are thus persecuted by the *Jews*, fly from one City to another, and be assured that you shall not have gone through all the Cities of the *Jews* be-

fore I come to take Vengeance on them.

VI. You have a proverbial Saying amongst you, importing that the Scholar ought to be contented, if he meet with no worse Usage than his Teacher; and the Servant, if he be as kindly dealt with as his Master. If then the Pharisees have attributed my Miracles to the Power of *Beelzebub*, if they have calumniated me as possessed by him, that Prince of the evil Spirits, how much rather will they defame you who are my Scholars and Ministers? Be not however afraid of their Accusations; for neither shall their Tricks nor your Innocence be always hid. Believe me, there is nothing so secret that shall not one Day be disclosed, nothing so hidden as shall not be laid open. Therefore what I now instruct you in private, I authorize you to declare in publick; and what I now seem to whisper to you, that shall you proclaim from the Tops of the Houses, that it may be heard by all.

VII. Be not afraid of Men, whose Power extends only to the Destruction of the Body, and who afterwards are not able to hurt the Soul: Stand in awe of him only, who after this Life is ended can condemn both Soul and Body to the Place of Torment. There is nothing unknown to God, nor doth any Thing happen without his Permission; and his good Providence will protect you in the Discharge of your Office. There is not so much as a Sparrow whose Price is so very trivial, killed without his Knowledge and Permission: How much rather will he take Care of you, as Men, and the Messengers of my Gospel? The very Hairs of your Head are all numbred. Take Courage then; for he that takes Care of the smallest Creatures, will be careful of you who are of so much more Value. Whosoever shall constantly profess himself to be my Disciple in Words and Actions before Men, shall be owned by me before my heavenly Father: But

whosoever

whosoever shall, to avoid Persecution, disown his being my Disciple, shall also be disclaimed by me before my heavenly Father. Do not imagine, because my Doctrine breathes nothing but Love and Charity, that Men shall lay aside all Animosities, and exercise a mutual Friendship. My Gospel, which so much recommends these Virtues, shall be the Occasion of the greatest Feuds and Dissentions, as if I had come expressly to sow Discord among Men. For, as I have already told you, Children shall quarrel with their Parents; the Mother-in-law with her Daughter-in-law; the nearest Relations shall be at variance upon this Account, and Servants become professed Enemies to their Masters and Benefactors.

VIII. Whosoever shall prefer the Advantages that may probably accrue to him from his Parents or Children, before Obedience to my Commands, shall be judged unworthy to be my Disciple. Nay, whoever does not resolutely propose to undergo all Manner of Indignities and contumelious Outrage, as I have done before him, rather than to reject my Doctrine, cannot be accounted in the Number of my Disciples. Whosoever shall reject my Doctrine out of Hopes of securing his Life, shall be often punished in this World: On the contrary, who so shall constantly profess himself my Disciple, shall not be disappointed of his Hopes, but frequently preserve his Life by those very Means which the former avoided as tending to their Destruction. Who so shall receive you as sent by me, and rely upon you as such, shall be rewarded as if he had believed on me, and received me in Person; and whoever believes on me, believes on my heavenly Father who sent me. Whoever receives a Prophet sent by me, and accounts him as a true one, though he run some Danger by it, shall be as much rewarded by me as the Prophet himself: And who so shall receive and own

No. LXIX.

a good Man, though he incurs never so much Hatred and Envy by it, shall receive as great Rewards from me as that good Man, provided he also lives in a steady Course of Virtue: Nor shall he be unrewarded, who makes a hearty Tender of the least good Office to any of my Disciples on that Account.

IX. Jesus having given this Commission to his Disciples, and sent them by two and two into different Places, went himself into another Part of the Country, with Design to publish his Gospel, and acquaint them with the Laws of his Kingdom, and the Rewards belonging to it. The Apostles accordingly entred upon their Office, exhorting the Jews to repent, and confirming their divine Mission by casting out the evil Spirits, and healing the Sick by anointing them with Oil, according to the Power conferred on them by Jesus Christ.

X. While the Gospel was thus solemnly published, Herod the Tetrarch made a great Feast for the celebrating his Birth-day, to which he invited all his Courtiers, and the chief Officers of his Army, and the Nobles of Galilee. In the midst of the Banquet, Salome, the Daughter of Herodias by her former Husband Philip, entered the Room, and danced so gracefully, and so much to the Satisfaction of the Company, and especially of Herod himself, that he commanded her to make whatever Request she had a mind to, assuring her that she should not be denied, though it were to the parting with half his Kingdom to her; which he also confirmed by an Oath. Salome, without making any Demand upon the Spot, went out of the Banqueting-Room to consult her Mother Herodias, who bore a mortal Enmity to John the Baptist for the Reason we have before related. Instructed therefore by her Mother, she return'd, and requir'd that the Head of John should immediately be deliver'd her in a Charger. Herod little dreamt of such a Request as this, and was very much concerned

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cern'd at it; yet by Reason of the Oath he had taken, and lest his Guests should think him guilty of Rashness in what he had sworn, and also that he might not seem to be perjur'd by them, he forthwith * commanded one of his Guards to repair to the Prison in which John was confin'd, and see Execution done upon him. The Officer accordingly perform'd his Task, and brought the Head into the Room, and presented it to her. She immediately carried it to her Mother, who feasted her Eyes with the horrid Spectacle, having thus gratified her Revenge by the barbarous Murder of this holy and innocent Person. The Disciples of John hearing of this Disaster, came to Herod, and begg'd the dead Body of their Master, which they buried in a Sepulchre, and afterwards came and acquainted Jesus with it, whom they knew John always look'd upon as the Messiah.

XI. About this † Time the Fame of Jesus being spread far and near, came at last

to the Ears of Herod; and several of the Courtiers suspecting that Jesus was the very Person he had not long ago ordered to be beheaded, Herod told them he was also of the same Opinion, and that he verily believ'd God had rais'd him from the Dead, and that it was he who under the Name of Jesus was the Author of the many Miracles reported to have been wrought by him in the Land of Palestine. Others there were who took him for Elias the Tishbite, whom the Jews expected before the Arrival of the Messiah, from a mistaken Prophecy of Malachi. Others thought he was a new Prophet; and some believ'd him to be one of the old ones rais'd from the Dead. But Herod, as we said, reflecting upon the Matter, was confirm'd in his Suspicion that it was John whom he had commanded to be beheaded, and who was restor'd to Life; for which Reason he greatly desired to see Jesus, that he might be satisfied of the Truth of it: But Jesus would not suffer himself to be seen by him.

* Josephus attributes the Ruin of Herod's Army to God's being angry with him for this Fact. He and Herodias were afterwards banished by Caligula to Lyons in France. As for Salome, it is reported that going over some Ice in Winter, the Ice broke, and letting her in to the Head, cut that off by its Sharpness. Thus were the Murderers of this good Man punished by God.

† The Reason why Herod was more struck with the Fame of Jesus now, than he had been before, seems to be this: The Apostles, by being dispersed, and working so many Miracles in Christ's Name, made him much more remarkable than the Miracles which he wrought in his own Person could do.





THE
L I F E
OF OUR
Blessed Lord and Saviour
J E S U S C H R I S T.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

- I. *The Apostles return. Jesus crosses the Lake. The Multitudes follow him.*
 II. *He proposes to give them Viſtuals.* III. *Accordingly he feeds five thousand Men, besides Women and Children, with five Loaves and two small Fishes.*
 IV. *He sends the Apostles across the Lake, who meet with a great Storm.*
 V. *Jesus comes to them walking on the Sea. Peter meets him in the same Manner.* VI. *Jesus stills the Wind. They proclaim him the Son of God. He cures many sick Persons.* VII. *The Multitudes follow him from Bethsaida to Capernaum. Jesus instructs them.* VIII. *They require a Miracle of him by the Example of Moses.* IX, X. *Jesus entertains them with a mystical Discourse concerning his own Body and Blood.*

I.



SHORTLY after, the twelve Apostles, whom Jesus had sent abroad to publish the Gospel, returned to him, and gave an Account of all they had said and done, and also of the

Success they met with in this their first Preaching of the Gospel. Jesus having heard them, commanded them to retire with him apart from all others into a certain Solitude to repose themselves; for in the more frequented Places such a Course of People resorted to him, and so great

great a Number of sick Persons were presented to be healed by him, that he had not so much as any Time left for his necessary Repasts. Taking Boat therefore, they put off to the Eastern Side of the Lake of *Gennesareth*, and landed in a desert Part of the Country about *Bethsaida*: But many who had seen the miraculous Recovery of an innumerable Company of sick People, would not forsake him, but taking notice of the Place he steered his Course to, went round the Lake on Foot, and repaired unto him. *Jesus* being come ashore, perceived the Multitude flock to him; and though he desired to have been only with his Apostles, yet, according to his Custom, received them kindly: And considering that a great many of them were sincerely disposed to receive Instructions, though they had none among them whose Business it was to instruct them in the Principles of Religion, he took Compassion on them, esteeming them as Sheep destitute of a Shepherd. According to his Custom therefore he acquainted them with several Things relating to the heavenly Kingdom of the *Messiah*, and cured such sick Persons as were presented to him. After which he went up into a Mountain, together with his Disciples. Now at that time the Passover, the most celebrated Festival among the *Jews*, was at hand, which happens about the Spring-time of the Year.

II. Toward the Evening, the Multitude continuing still attentive to the Doctrine of *Jesus*, the Apostles put him in mind that the Place in which they were was uninhabited, and the Time of the Day well nigh spent; that therefore he should dismiss the Multitude, that they might procure Victuals and Lodging in the neighbouring Towns and Villages. *Jesus* looking round upon the People, and perceiving a great Number of them, asked *Philip* if he knew where to get Bread that Evening sufficient for so great a Mul-

titude. This *Jesus* spake not as deliberating with himself about buying such a Quantity of Bread, for he had determin'd to feed them after the Manner we shall presently relate, but to see what Answer *Philip* would return him, who immediately replied, That two hundred Pennyworth was not enough for them, that every one might receive a small Portion to refresh himself. *Jesus* then turning himself about to his Apostles, bid 'em give them wherewith to eat. *What*, said they, *shall we go and buy two hundred Pennyworth of Bread to be distributed among them?* supposing they had not Money enough to purchase so much. *Jesus* hereupon ask'd them, What Quantity might be procur'd in that Place? *Andrew*, *Peter's* Brother, made answer, that there was a Youth in the Company that had five Barley-loaves and two small Fishes; but that this was next to nothing, in respect to the Number of the People.

III. *Jesus* then commanded them to bring the five Loaves and two Fishes to him, and to make the People sit down upon the Grass by fifties in a Company. The People accordingly seated themselves by Hundreds and Fifties in a Company. After which *Jesus*, taking the Loaves and the Fishes into his Hands, gave Thanks to God, according to his Custom, and then by the Hands of his Apostles, distributed them among the Multitude, who all had enough and to spare: And *Jesus* having commanded his Apostles to gather up the Fragments, that nothing of this miraculous Food might be wasted, they took up of the broken Pieces of the Fish and Bread as much as fill'd twelve Baskets. Now there were five thousand Men, besides Women and Children, whom *Jesus* thus entertain'd; and who perceiving this wonderful Miracle, concluded he was that extraordinary Prophet whom God had promis'd to send unto them, namely, the *Messiah*.

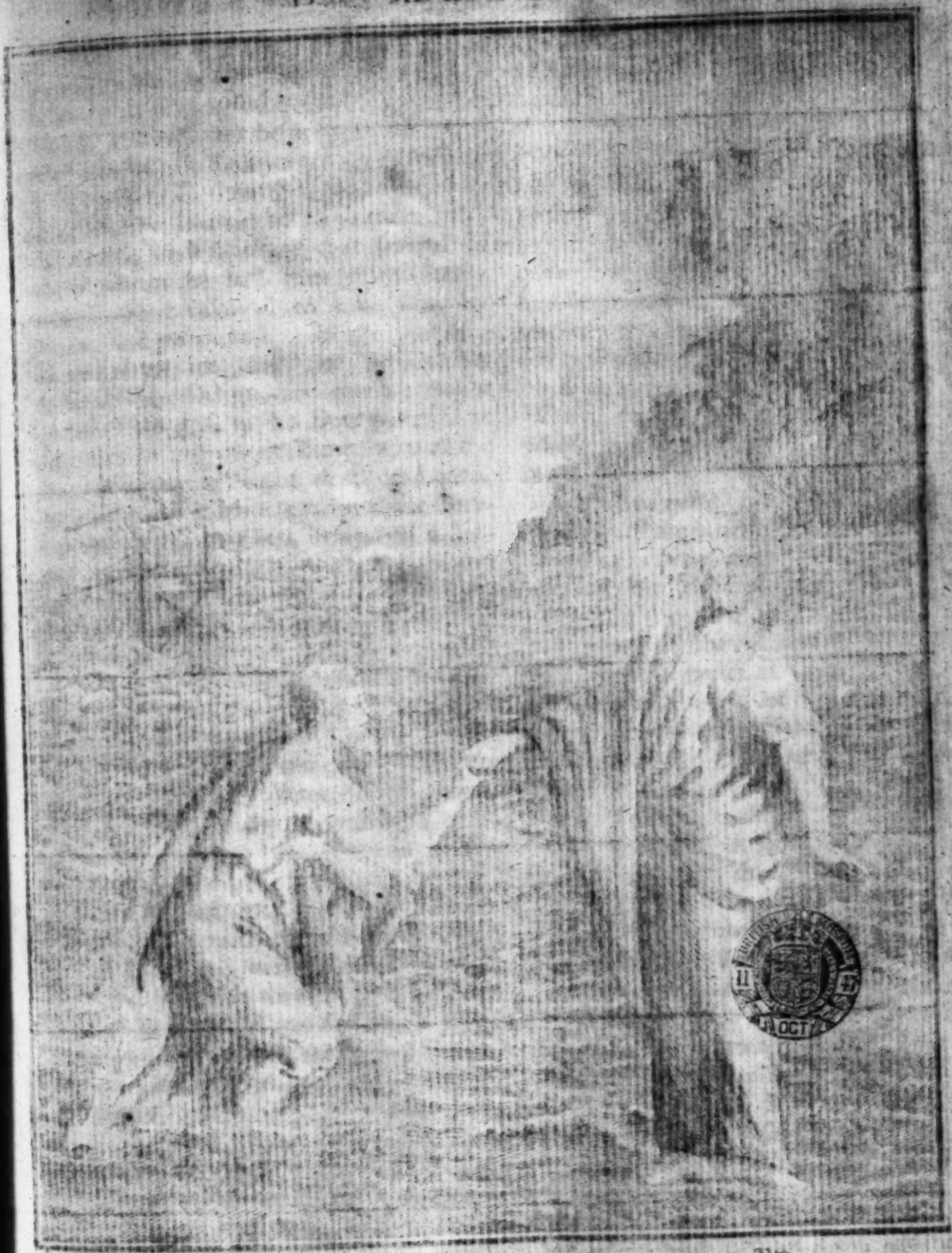
IV. *Jesus*

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CHRIST walked on the Water



ST MATTHEW 14:29-31
And Peter beginning to sink, Jesus said unto him, O thou of little faith, wherefore doubtest thou? He answered him, Lord, I know that thou art Christ, the Son of God. And he stretched forth his hand, and caught him, and said unto him, O thou of little faith, wherefore doubtest thou? He answered him, Lord, I know that thou art Christ, the Son of God. And he stretched forth his hand, and caught him, and said unto him, O thou of little faith, wherefore doubtest thou?

CHRIST walketh on the Water.



S^T MATTHEW 14. Verse 31.

And Peter beginning to sink saying, Lord save me. And immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him etc.

IV. *Jesus* immediately order'd his Disciples, (who obey'd him with some Reluctancy at parting with him,) to go on board, and sail over before him to the other Side of the Lake over-against *Bethsaida*, where he then was, while he himself staid to dismiss the Multitude. After which, understanding that several of those whom he had thus miraculously treated were resolv'd to take him by Force, and proclaim him King over them, he withdrew into a Mountain alone, to frustrate their Design, and that he might be uninterrupted in his Devotion. The Apostles in the mean Time, who at the Beginning of the Night went on board, were now in the Middle of the Lake steering towards *Capernaum*, when on a sudden the Waters began to be agitated, and their Course was hindered by a contrary Wind. Now *Jesus* was not as yet come to them. When therefore by going against the Wind they had with great Difficulty rowed about five and twenty or thirty Furlongs, near the * fourth Watch of the Night, *Jesus* came towards them walking upon the Water, no otherwise than if it had been dry Ground, and made as if he intended to pass by them.

V. The Disciples seeing him not far from their Boat, took him for † an Apparition, and cried out for Fear: For they all saw him, and were mightily astonished. But *Jesus* bid them be of good Comfort, telling them it was he himself whom they saw walking on the Water. *Peter* being in doubt whether it was *Jesus* or a Spectre, said unto him, *If thou art Jesus, command me to come unto thee, walking on the Water, as thou thyself dost.* *Jesus*

straitway commanded him; and *Peter* going out of the Boat, began to walk towards him on the Surface of the Water, as if it had been dry Ground. The Wind in the mean Time rose, and his Courage, and the Faith he had in *Jesus*, which was attended with a miraculous Power of walking on the Water, failing him; his Steps gave way; and finding himself sinking, he cried out with a loud Voice to *Jesus* to come to his Assistance. *Jesus* immediately came to him, and stretching out his Hand, rais'd him to the Top of the Water, rebuking him for his Distrust, which was the only Reason of his sinking.

VI. Afterwards *Jesus* and *Peter*, at the Request of the other Apostles, came into the Boat. Now the Wind, which, as we have already said, was contrary, fell all on the sudden, and they came in a short Time to the Place they steer'd to. Both these Miracles fill'd them with the greatest Admiration of their Master, of whom they now conceiv'd a much more noble Idea than they had before: For so stupid were they, that the miraculous feeding of five thousand Men with five Loaves and two small Fishes, had made no Impression on them: But having seen him walking on the Water, they came to him, and fell down at his Feet with this Exclamation, † *Truly thou art the Son of God!* Being landed not far from *Capernaum* in the Country of *Gennesareth*, which also gives Name to the Lake, *Jesus* was presently known by the Inhabitants, and a world of People flock'd to him from all Parts: For they that had first seen him, presently told their Neighbours, that that

* The Watches were divided into Evening, Midnight, Cock-crowing, and Morning: At the Fourth of these it must be Day-light; whence he saw them toiling from the Land, and they him walking on the Sea.

† 'Tis evident that the Jews had an Opinion of hurtful Spirits walking in the Night.

‡ It is made a Question by some, Whether the Disciples meant any more by calling him the Son of God, than to declare that they believed him to be the Messiah. But Dr. Whitby is of Opinion, That they now concluded the Divinity to be resident in him.

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strange Person who had done so many Miracles, was again come into those Parts; the Report of which occasion'd abundance of sick People to be brought unto him in their Beds; and wherever he went, in City or Country, in the Streets and High-Roads, the Sick were presented to him, and they desir'd they might be permitted to touch but the Hem of his Garment, and as many as touch'd it were cur'd of their Infirmities.

VII. The Multitude that remain'd in the Territory of *Bethsaida*, taking notice there was but one Boat on that Side the Lake when the Apostles put off from Shore and knowing that *Jesus* was left behind, they sought for him in all the neighbouring Villages, not in the least imagining he had pass'd the Lake. They were very much affected with the Supper with which *Jesus* had entertain'd 'em: And his great Liberality, together with the Hopes of yet greater Rewards, made them very earnest to proclaim him King. While they thus sought after him in vain, there came a great many Boats from *Tiberias*, not far from the Place where they had been fed by *Jesus*. Several of the People therefore, not finding *Jesus* nor any of his Apostles, came over in these Boats to *Capernaum* in quest of him. When they had found him, they told him how they had look'd for him on the other Side of the Lake, and ask'd him how long he had been on this Side. *Jesus*, who knew that many of them followed him, not because of the Miracles he wrought, nor out of a Desire of being instructed by him, told 'em they did not seek after him on Account of his Miracles, which were so many Arguments of his divine Commission, but by reason he had so plentiful-

ly fed them. Now, said he, * *your great Care should be, not after the Food which can nourish only for a short Time, but after that which will nourish your Souls to all Eternity, and which I will bestow upon you, (tho' I no way seem to differ from any other Person in my outward Appearance,) provided you prepare yourselves to receive it as becomes you. Neither can you doubt of my having such a Power, since God the Father bears witness to the Truth of what I say by the Miracles you have seen me perform among you; which are as it were so many Seals for a Confirmation of it.*

VIII. The Men, struck with this Answer, ask'd him what they were to do to become acceptable to God. Then said *Jesus*, *Believe on him whom God hath sent to you, and obey the Doctrine he brings you from the Father himself.* Hereupon, being half angry that he did not set himself up for a King over them, when they were ready to own and assist as such; as if they had quite forgot the Wonders he had perform'd among them, they ask'd him if he could shew any Miracle in Confirmation of what he said to them, and which might make them give credit to him. For, said they, *our Ancestors believ'd on Moses, as you require us to believe on you; but then he fed them with Manna in the Desarts of Arabia, which, as the Scripture speaks, was, as it were, Bread sent down from Heaven to eat.* *Jesus* replied, that, properly speaking, *Moses* could not be said to have given them Bread from Heaven, but that he would give them heavenly Bread in his Father's Name, and justly so called; that this Bread was truly divine, and sent down from Heaven; and that Men were not only nourish'd with it, but received Life

* The Massilian Hereticks abused this Place, to prove it was not lawful for them to work to sustain the present Life. But our Lord's Words are to be understood, not absolutely, but comparatively; Labour not chiefly for this; Let not this be your great and principal Care, as we have here expressed it.

from it. They not reaching the true Meaning of what Jesus said, intreated him to give them always this sort of Bread.

IX. Jesus answer'd them more openly, but still in a figurative Speech, as willing to get rid of these Men, who thought of nothing but the Conveniences of this Life, and were ready to raise a Tumult upon his Account, and proclaim him King: I am, said he, that Bread which is the Source of Life: Whoever becomes my Disciple shall partake of this Bread, and never hunger or thirst more, as those did who fed on the Manna which Moses gave them, and drank of the Water that flowed out of the Rock. These Things I have plainly declar'd unto you, and yet you do not believe: The Reason is, because you did not believe in God; for all those of the Jews who believe my Father's Testimony to me, in the Miracles which I perform, believe also in me, and are become my Disciples; nor do I reject any that seriously desire to be my Disciples. I am come from Heaven, not to do my own Will, but the Orders I am charged with by my heavenly Father; and he has commanded me to take care of those, who, having believ'd in him, are become my Disciples, that at the Resurrection they may be made Partakers of eternal Happiness. For it is the good Pleasure of God who hath sent me, that whoever sees my Miracles, and believes my Doctrine, shall inherit everlasting Life, to which I will raise him at the last Day.

X. The Jews having heard this Reply of Jesus, and not being able to bear with his telling them he was Bread came down from Heaven, mutter'd among themselves, asking one another whether he were not Jesus the Nazarene, the Son of Joseph and Mary, Persons very well known in Nazareth: How then, said they, could he come down from Heaven, as he pretends? Jesus answer'd them in these, or the like Words:

Do not murmur among yourselves at what I have said, as if I requir'd you to believe a Lye. I propose nothing as the Object of your Belief, which is not in itself most true; but the Reason why you cannot prevail with yourselves to believe in me, is, because you were never so thoroughly affected as you ought, with the reveal'd Will of my heavenly Father. Now, no one among the Jews can become my Disciple, unless he first believes the Revelation of my Father by me; and such a one will I raise from the Dead at the last Day, that I may reward him with everlasting Happiness. The Prophets have foretold, that All the Jews who will not continue obstinate in their Errors, shall be taught by God himself; and indeed whoever embraces my Doctrine, knows it is his Duty so to do by the Revelation he has received from my Father. But yet you are not to mistake me so far, as to think these Men already acquainted with all that God has determined to reveal by me to Men. This you may be assured of, that whoever believes and obeys my Doctrine, shall partake of eternal Happiness: For I am, as I told you, that Bread, which being fed on, will nourish you to everlasting Life. Your Ancestors, it is true, did eat Manna in the Deserts of Arabia, and yet were all mortal; but here you have Bread offered, which whoever feeds on, shall never die. It is I who am that Bread, come down from Heaven to that very End, that whoever feeds on it, shall be nourished to Eternity. Now the Bread I give to all that are willing to receive it, is my Body, which I will suffer to be destroyed, that by its Death I may procure Life for Men.

XI. Upon this, those that heard him, disagreed among themselves concerning the Meaning of what he had said: For none of them understood in what Sense it was he told them he would give his Body to Men to feed on. Jesus therefore, that they might not make

make slight of it, and consequently not endeavour to find out the Meaning, told them, *That unless they eat his Flesh, and drank his Blood, it was impossible to obtain everlasting Life.*---He only, said Jesus, who thus satisfies his Hunger and Thirst, can justly hope to obtain that Life which is promised on this Condition; and such a one will I raise from the Dead at the Day of Judgment: For my Flesh and my Blood are Meat and Drink indeed, and they are the Means for the obtaining of everlasting Life. Whoever thus feeds on me will thereby be so nearly allied to me, that I will account all that belongs to me and him, as belonging in common to us both. And like as I have been sent by my Father, and am here on Earth on Purpose to execute his Will; so also whoever shall feed on me, will reckon that he lives for me, that is, lives to obey my Doctrine. Therefore I tell you again, that you may be sure to take notice of it; I am that Bread come down from Heaven, to which the Manna which your Fathers eat of in the Desert of Arabia, is not to be compared: For they, as I told you, were not made immortal by it, and are all dead; but whoever feeds on this Bread I give him, shall obtain everlasting Life.

XII. *These Discourses were delivered by Jesus in the Synagogue of Capernaum; and many of his Hearers were offended at their Obscurity, because he seemed to tell them that his own Body, which was born of Mary, came down from Heaven; and that the Way to obtain everlasting Life was to eat his Flesh after it should be killed; a Thing so strange, as did not only thwart the Jewish Institutions, but was repugnant to the Customs of all civilized Nations whatever.* Jesus perceiving his Disciples murmur upon this Account, thus accosted them: Do these Things alienate your Minds from me? and cannot I persuade you to believe that I am come down from Hea-

ven; Yet this is not more hard to be believ'd than my Return thither from whence I came, which some of you shall be Eye-witnesses of within these few Months. Does what I told you concerning the eating of my Flesh offend you? Surely it was no hard Matter to perceive that these Words of mine must be understood after a spiritual Manner, since nothing is more plain than that there could no Good redound to you from the material feeding on my Body. This is therefore to be taken in a spiritual Sense for the Admission of my Doctrine, which I will confirm by my Death, and the Effusion of my Blood, that I may obtain eternal Life for all that believe it and obey it. If I have spoken obscurely to you, you ought however to be persuaded there was a sound Meaning couched under that Obscurity, though you were not able to apprehend it; but the true Reason why you thus disbelieve me is, because you have not believed on God himself. (*For Jesus knew from the beginning who it was that should betray him, and who they were that would disbelieve his Doctrine.*) I have therefore already told you, that it is impossible for any one among the Jews to become my Disciple, unless he first believes in God my Father, who will deliver him into my Hand.

XIII. *Many of his Followers were so offended at this Discourse, that they quite forsook him; which Jesus observing, asked the twelve Apostles whether they also would desert him?* Peter in the Name of the rest cried out: To what other Teacher shall we have Recourse, if we once leave thee, who only art able to direct us in the certain Way that leads to eternal Happiness? We have believed and been convinced by most certain Arguments, that thou art the Messiah, that is, the Son of the only true and living God. Jesus replied: Out of a Multitude of Disciples I have chosen but twelve Apostles, and yet there is one in this

this small Number that shall treat me like an Enemy. *This be understood of Judas surnamed Icarior, one of the Twelve, who*

would betray him, as it afterwards fell out.

CHAP. II.

I. *The third Passover during our Saviour's Ministry. He reproves the Pharisees for their superstitious Washings and inhuman Vows. II. He cures the Daughter of a Syrophœnician Woman, who was a Gentile. III. He comes to Decapolis, heals one that was deaf and dumb, and charges him, but in vain, not to publish his Cure. IV. Jesus feeds four thousand Men, besides Women and Children, with seven Loaves and a few Fishes.*

I. **N**OT long after, Jesus, according to his usual Custom, seems to have gone to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover, being the third Time of his so doing since his Baptism. But while he continued in Galilee, there came several Pharisees and Doctors of the Law to him from Jerusalem, on purpose to observe his Words and Actions. These having taken notice, that some of his Apostles neglected to wash their Hands before they sat down to Meat, could by no Means digest the Want of this Ceremony. For all the Jews, especially the Pharisees, are wont to wash their Hands with a great deal of Nicety before they offer to touch a Bit of Meat: Which Custom they observe with great Exactness, though it be only a Tradition handed down from their Ancestors, and no Law of Moses. At their Return from the Market, though they are not conscious of having touched any Thing reputed unclean, yet for Fear they might have done it unawares, they will eat nothing before they have washed their Hands. Many such Rites are observed by them, though there is no Law that lays this Obligation on them; and they are very curious in the washing of their Pots and Cups, and other Utenfils. This then being the constant Practice of the Jews, the Pharisees came immediately to Jesus, without saying any thing to

his Apostles, complaining of their Neglect in this Particular, and demanding the Reason of it. Jesus knowing their Design, told them, that *Isaiab* gave an elegant Description of such Hypocrites as themselves in these Words; *Isa. 29. 13. This People draw near me with their Mouth, and with their Lips do honour me, but have removed their Heart far from me; and their Fear toward me is taught by the Precept of Men.*—For you observe, continued Jesus, with the utmost Diligence, the Traditions of Men concerning the washing of Cups and Pots, and the like, while you break or neglect the Laws of God. But is this true Religion, to observe inviolably the Institutions of Men, though in Opposition to the Laws of God? Moses commanded Children to honour their Parents; and those that curse them, are by the Law to suffer Death for it. But your Interpretation of it is, with a Proviso that the Son tells not his Father or Mother in a Passion, that he has consecrated all his Goods to God, or that he has not taken an Oath never to confer any Benefit upon them; which impious Oath and Dedication of his Goods, with which he might have assisted his Parents in their Necessities, you esteem obligatory. Thus plainly do you make the Traditions of Men clash with the positive Laws of God: And it were easy to reckon up many more Instances of the like Nature.

II. *Jesus* from hence went into that Part of *Galilee* which borders on the Country of the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians*. Being entred the House he design'd to lodge at, he forbad them to make his Arrival known, lest by the Concourse of the *Gentiles* to him he should make himself obnoxious to the *Jews*: But it was impossible for him to conceal himself, the Fame of his coming being every where divulg'd. A certain Woman of * *Syrophœnicia* therefore, whose Daughter was possessed with an evil Spirit, hearing of it, came, and fell down at his Feet as he passed by; and calling him Lord, and Son of *David*, intreated him to have Compassion on her, and to heal her Daughter, who was grievously tormented with an evil Spirit. The Woman, as we said, was a *Syrophœnician*, and educated in the Superstition of the *Greeks*; notwithstanding which, she was so affected with the Report of *Jesus's* Miracles, that she vehemently besought him to expel the *Demon* out of the Body of her Daughter. *Jesus* not deigning to receive her Petition, pass'd by without giving her any Answer. The Woman nevertheless still followed him with lamentable Outcries; insomuch that the Apostles, to whom she was troublesome, intreated him to dismiss her, that she might no longer pursue them with her Clamours. Hereupon *Jesus* turning himself about, told her first, that it was but just for her to stay till the Children of the Family were served; and that a Parent would do very ill who should throw that Bread to the Dogs which was laid up for the Nourishment of his Sons; meaning, that she ought to wait till all the sick Per-

sons among the *Jews* had been cured. Next he told her, he was only sent to the wandering Sheep of the *Jewish* Nation; and, that his Commission was, to convert the *Jews* by his Miracles and Benefits, and not the Heathens. The Woman still urged him with her Cries; which made *Jesus* repeat that Saying to her; *The Children's Bread ought not to be given to the Dogs*. The Woman replied, She did not deny what he said to be most equitable, and that it was true that the Dogs were supposed to be sufficiently provided with the Scraps that fell from their Master's Table: *May I then*, said she, *have this one Request granted me, and after the many Benefits conferred upon the Jews, may I not be denied this one Offal, as it were, from their sumptuous Feast!* *Jesus* upon this told her, that she had so great an Opinion of the divine Power and Bounty, that according to her Desire the evil Spirit should immediately be banished from the Body of her Daughter. The Woman having heard this, returned Home, and found her Daughter lying on the Couch, and quite cured from the very Moment that *Jesus* told her she should be delivered from the evil Spirit.

III. After this *Jesus* left that Country, which bordered upon many Heathen Cities, and came to the Country about *Decapolis*, situated on the Eastern Side of the Lake of *Gennesareth*, where he frequently resided, and instructed his Followers sitting on a Mountain hard by. It happened while he was in those Parts, that there was brought to him a Man who by a violent Distemper had quite lost his Hearing, and was almost deprived of his

* St. Matthew calls this Woman, a Woman of Canaan, St. Mark styles her, a Gentile of *Syrophœnicia*. Now Canaan and Phœnicia are the same Thing: For the Seventy frequently render the Word *Canaanitish* by *Phœnician* in their Version of the Old Testament: And Phœnicia being comprehended in Syria, as Pliny asserts, the Woman that came to *Jesus* is properly called a *Syrophœnician*. Others say the Sea-coast of this Country was called Phœnicia, and the more inland Part of it *Syrophœnicia*.

Speech also. The Man being presented to him, they that had the Charge of him, besought Jesus by laying on his Hands to cure him. Jesus therefore stepping aside with the Man, put his Fingers into his Ears, and touched his Tongue with Spittle; not with a Design to cure him by that outward Application, but to give, as it were, according to his Custom, some Emblem of the invisible Power by which he acted. Then lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, he sigh'd, as being sensibly touched with the Miseries of Mankind, and said in the Syriac Language, *Be open'd*. Which Words were no sooner spoken, but the Man recover'd the perfect Use both of his Ears and Tongue. Upon which, Jesus forbid the Man that was cur'd, and those that brought him, to divulge the Matter. But the more he charged them, the more officious were they in publishing the Miracles of their Benefactor. Wherefore all Men were struck with the greatest Admiration, and readily acknowledg'd he had perform'd all the Miracles that *Isaiab* had foretold should be wrought by the Messiah, in these Words: *Isa. 35. 5. The Eyes of the Blind shall be opened, and the Ears of the Deaf shall be unstopp'd*; inasmuch as he made the Deaf to hear, the Blind to see, and the Dumb to speak. For these Reasons abundance of People flock'd to him from all Parts, and brought with them the Lame, the Blind, the Deaf, the Maim'd, and many other sick Persons, who were laid at Jesus's Feet, to be healed of their Infirmities, and all were cured by him with a Word's speaking; Inasmuch that all Men were amaz'd to hear those that a Moment before were dumb, to speak plainly; and to see Cripples immediately use their Limbs as freely as if they had never ail'd any thing; and they

glorified God, who confer'd by the means of Jesus such great Benefits on the Jewish Nation.

IV. About this Time, a great Multitude being with Jesus and his Apostles in the Desarts neat *Decapolis*, and unfurnished with Provisions, he call'd his Apostles to him, telling them, he pitied the Multitude, who had for three Days followed him, and were now destitute of Victuals. *If*, said he, *we dismiss them fasting, 'tis to be fear'd, in the Condition they now are, that many of them, who live at a great Distance, will perish on the Road*. The Disciples, who, as we have related, took not sufficient Notice of the Miracle whereby he entertained five thousand Men with five Loaves and two Fishes, told him they could not find Bread sufficient in that desert Country to satisfy such a Multitude. But Jesus ask'd them how many Loaves they had for themselves: They told him, Seven. After this he commanded the whole Multitude to sit down on the Ground; and having received the Loaves, he blessed them, and breaking them, gave the Fragments to his Apostles, to be distributed among the People. The Apostles had a few small Fishes besides, which he likewise commanded them to distribute among the Multitude; who made a full Meal of the Loaves and Fishes; and the broken Pieces and Scraps that were left, fill'd seven Baskets. Now there were about four thousand Men, besides Women and Children, who were thus miraculously fed.

VII. Jesus, immediately after this Miracle, that he might not be continually molested with such a Crowd, who 'twas likely followed him rather to be fed than to be instructed, went on board a little Vessel with his Apostles, and sail'd over to the Coast * of *Dalmanutha*, not far

* St. Matthew says, that he came into the Coasts of *Magdala*; St. Mark, that he came into the Parts of *Dalmanutha*: Which may be reconciled as above; or otherwise, either by supposing the Tract he came to, to be between these two Places, or that *Dalmanutha* was a particular Place within the Bounds of *Magdala*.

from *Magdala*, Being landed there, several *Sadduces* and *Pharisees* came and disputed with him concerning his Authority, requiring some Miracle from Heaven as a Demonstration of his divine Mission. *Jesus* replied to this Purpose: *If the Sun sets bright, and the Sky looks red, you think it a Token of fair Weather the Day after; and in the Morning, if the Sky be red and lowering, you account it the Forerunner of a Tempest. O ye Counterfeiters of Virtue, you can use your Reason and Experience in predicting the Change of Weather; Why do you seem so wholly void of Reason, as not to be able to tell, whether the Signs of those Times which you still expect, have not already happen'd according to the Predictions of the Prophets?* In which Words *Jesus* hinted at the Signs of the Coming of the Messiah. Then fetching a deep Sigh because of their Malice; *This wicked Race*, said he, *whose Minds are alienated from the Service of God, expect a Miracle in Confirmation of my being sent from Heaven, as if I had not perform'd any; but there shall be none granted to them for a Demonstration of this Truth, except something that shall happen † to me like what befel the Prophet Jonas.*

Jesus afterwards went with his Disciples to *Bethsaida*, where there was a blind Man presented to him to be cured. He resolved to gratify their Request, but would not perform the Miracle in the Town itself, either because he thought the Inhabitants unworthy because of their Incredulity, or to avoid the Concourse of People; which began now to be more frequent, and in greater Companies; lest the ill designing among them might raise some Tumult against the *Romans*, under Pretence of setting him up as King of the *Jews*, which he avoided by often removing from one Place to another: For which Purpose the Lake of *Gennesareth* was ve-

ry commodious, the Multitude not having Boats enough, nor always in Readiness, to transport themselves as often as he sailed from one Side to the other. For these Reasons he led the blind Man by the Hand out of the Town, and having rubbed his Eyes with Spittle, asked him whether he saw any Thing? The Man turning himself round, told him, he saw a little, but it was so confusedly, that he could distinguish Men from Trees only by their Motion. Whereupon *Jesus* touched his Eyes again, and perfectly restored him to his Sight, insomuch that he saw all Things plainly and distinctly. After which he dismissed him, charging him not to return to *Bethsaida*, nor to acquaint any of the Inhabitants with it, for the Reasons before-mentioned.

After this Miracle *Jesus* went a while from the Lake of *Gennesareth* into the Country about *Cesarea*, a City founded by *Philip* the Son of *Herod* the Great, not far from the Source of *Jordan*. While they were on their Journey, *Jesus* being retired with his Apostles into a solitary Place, that he might be unmolested in his Devotion, asked them, Whom the World took him for, since he did not differ from others in his outward Appearance? They told him, some thought he was *John the Baptist* raised from the Dead; others thought he was *Elias* come down from Heaven; and some took him for *Jeremiah* restored to Life, or some other of the antient Prophets. Then said *Jesus*; But who do you take me for? *Peter*, not staying for the Answer of the other Apostles, replied: *Thou art the Messiah, the Son of the true and living God.* Upon which *Jesus* congratulating his Knowledge of this Truth, told him, he had great Reason to account himself highly favoured, since it was impossible any could reveal this important Truth to him but his heavenly

† That is, in my Burial and Resurrection on the third Day, as he elsewhere explains it.

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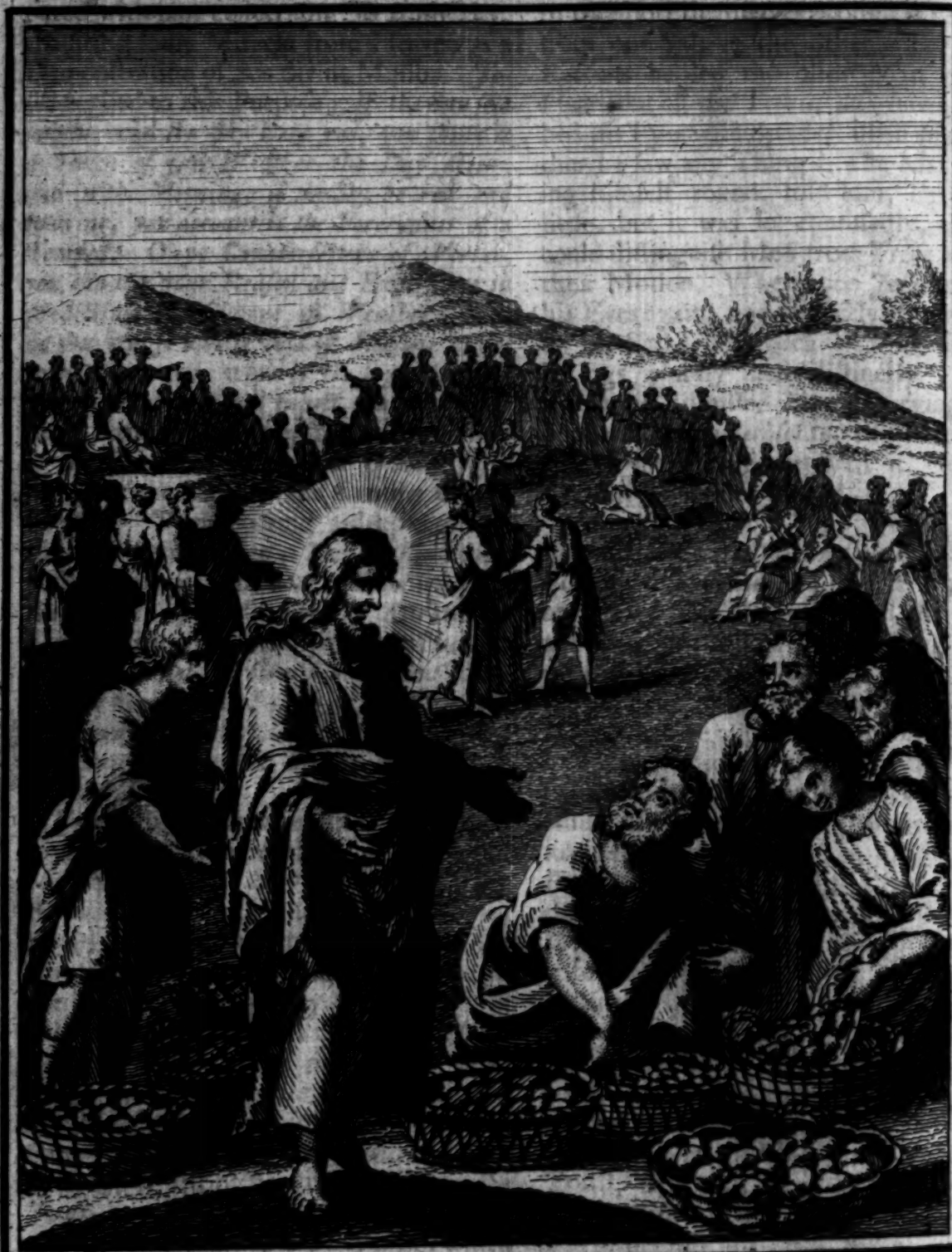
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MARK 8:1-9
The Lord Jesus Christ, who had been feeding the multitude, now turned to his disciples and said unto them, I have only five loaves and two fishes, which may not feed all these people, for they are about five thousand men.

CHRIST feedeth the multitude miraculously.



St MARK 8. Verse 8.

So they did eat, and were filled, and they took up of the broken meat that was left, Seven baskets.

W. J. Sculpt

Father, who attested it by the Miracles he gave him Power to perform. *It was not, said he, without Reason that I gave thee the Surname of Peter, (which signifies Stone or Rock,) since thou wilt in thy Preaching and constant Adherence to this Truth be like a Rock, firm and unshaken, on which I will build my Church; nor shall any Terror of Death make thee disown the Cause for which they persecute thee. Great shall thy Authority be in the Kingdom of Heaven; insomuch that whose Sins soever thou wilt have punished here on Earth, shall be forthwith punished, and whose Sins soever thou wilt have pardoned on Earth, shall immediately be forgiven.* And having thus approved this Judgment of Peter concerning him, and rewarded him with these singular Blessings, Jesus charged all his Apostles not to divulge his being the Messiah, lest such a Truth once spread abroad should tempt many of the Jews, not only the Bad, but the Well-meaning also, who still expected the Messiah should establish an earthly Government among them, to raise some Tumult on his Account, and so defame his Doctrine, as favouring rebellious Principles, among those that were not sufficiently acquainted with him.

From this Time Jesus began openly to declare to them that he must shortly go to Jerusalem, and there suffer all Manner of Indignities, and a cruel Death, by the Malice of the Sanhedrim, the Priests, and the Teachers of the Law; but that after his being three Days dead, he should rise again. And this he plainly foretold them without using any figurative Expressions. Peter hereupon embracing him with some Earnestness, cried out; *God forbid, that any such Thing should ever befall you.* But Jesus turning about, replied with Indignation; *Away from me, thou, who under a Pretext of Love and Friendship, thus opposest thyself to my Determina-*

tions, and puttest an Obstacle in my Way to hinder me from executing the Commission I received from my Father. Your Thoughts savour only of worldly Conveniencies, and not in the least of the Joys of Heaven. Then addressing himself to the Multitude, he spoke to this Effect: *Whoever desires to be my Disciple, ought (without making account of the Advantages that might redound to him if he were at free Liberty,) to give himself intirely to the Service of God, and daily resolve to adhere firmly to it, and to endure the greatest Misfortunes, rather than violate the least of his Commands. Those only that are thus disposed, shall be reputed my Disciples. And take notice moreover, that many who deny me to save their Life, shall lose it; and on the contrary, Many, who shall courageously hazard it for my Sake, shall save it. Thus, if you regard only temporal Advantages, it will be beneficial openly to profess your being my Disciples: For what will all the good Things you expect to gain by your Treachery, avail you, if at last you lose your Life, the most valuable of all human Blessings? With how much Reason then ought you to part with all these, nay Life itself, for the obtaining endless Happiness in a future State, which shall be the Reward of those only who persist in a constant Profession of being my Disciples? For whoever shall not have the Courage in this deprav'd and degenerate Age publicly to own his Obedience to my Gospel, shall not be esteem'd one of my Disciples in that Day when I shall come to judge the World with all the Pomp of Heaven and the holy Angels: For let no one doubt but there shall be such a Day of Judgment, in which I shall come surrounded with divine Majesty, and attended by the Angels as Executioners of my Decrees, to reward Men according to their Actions in this Life; nay, there are some here present, who shall not die till they have seen one remarkable Instance of this my Office executed on the Men of this Age.*

* Meaning in the Destruction of Jerusalem, which doubtless many who heard him now lived to see.

C H A P. III.

I. *Jesus goes up into a Mountain, with three of his Disciples, and is transfigured.*
 II. *Jesus descends from the Mountain, and discourses of Elias to his Apostles.*
 III. *A Youth is brought to him, who was possessed with a furious Dumb Demon.* IV. *Jesus casts out the Demon and restores the Youth.* V. *He goes into Galilee, and discourses of his Resurrection and Sufferings. The Disciples are sorrowful.* VI. *Jesus goes into Capernaum, and pays the Tribute-Money, for which he empowers Peter to work a Miracle.* VII. *He questions his Apostles, checks their Ambition, and proposes to them the Example of a little Child.* VIII. *He inculcates the Duty of forgiving others from the Example of a King and his Servant.* IX. *He speaks favourably of one that cast out Devils in his Name.*

I. **T**HE eighth Day after these Discourses pass'd, Jesus commanded Peter, and the two Sons of Zebedee, whose Names were James and John, to retire with him into a very high Mountain, where he might pray without Interruption from the Multitude. While he was at his Devotions, not far from the three Apostles just now mentioned, suddenly his Countenance chang'd, and began to shine with divine Majesty; insomuch that the Eyes of the Men were no more able to endure the Splendor of his Looks, than they could behold the Sun in its brightest Lustre. His Garments also glitter'd with so pure a White, as surpass'd the Art of Man to imitate. There were likewise with him two Men, who appear'd in the same Glory, and clad in the same Robes, who by their Discourse prov'd to be Moses and Elias, the two greatest Prophets God had formerly sent to Men. The Subject of their Discourse was concerning the Sufferings and Death which Jesus was to undergo at Jerusalem. A little before this, Peter and his two Brother Apostles were fast asleep; but now waking, they beheld this glorious Congress, and heard Part of their Discourse. Not long after, Moses and Elias began to

take their Leave of Jesus; and Peter, willing to detain them, said to Jesus, Master, it is very beneficial for us to continue here, give us Leave therefore to make three Tabernacles with the Boughs of Trees; one for thee, another for Moses, and a third for Elias. Now Peter was so astonish'd, (as were the other Apostles also,) that he scarce knew what he said; since he might easily have understood, that Moses and Elias were not come down from Heaven to make any long Stay among Mortals here on Earth. Peter had scarce made an End of speaking, when a most bright Cloud came down from Heaven, and encompassed all that were present, which increas'd the Amazement of the Apostles, who perceiv'd themselves enclos'd in it. Then the Voice of God was heard out of the Middle of the Cloud, expressing himself to this Effect: *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: Give diligent Attention to his Doctrine and Precepts.* The Apostles having heard the Voice, were so terrified, that they fell flat with their Faces upon the Ground. But Jesus coming to them, commanded them to rise and chear up. They accordingly obey'd, and looking round, saw neither the Cloud, nor the Men that had kept

kept their Master company, whom they now beheld with his usual Countenance, and the Habit he had on before his Transformation.

II. *Jesus* then came down from the Mountain with his Apostles, and by the Way commanded them not to discover what they had seen till after his Resurrection from the Dead: Which they accordingly observ'd, tho' at that Time they did not comprehend what he meant by his Resurrection from the Dead; for they thought of nothing but the general Resurrection of the Dead, and could not imagine why he had order'd them to conceal it till that Day. *Elias* having been but a little while with their Master, and being now return'd to Heaven, the Apostles ask'd *Jesus* the Reason, why the Jewish Doctors taught that *Elias* was to come before the Kingdom of the Messiah, and to prepare all Things against that Time. *Jesus* replied, It was very true that *Elias* was to be the Fore-runner of the Messiah, that he was to preach up a Reformation among the Jews, that they might receive him as became them, and that this Prophecy was no way contradictory to those that foretold the ill Treatment the Messiah should receive from them; and farther, that *Elias* was already come, and that he had actually declar'd the Necessity of Repentance, and a Reformation, tho' the Jews knew him not, and gave no Credit to that holy Person, who was also put to Death; and the same Treatment he himself expected from the Jews. The Apostles by this perceiv'd that he spake of *John the Baptist*, who, as he had upon other Occasions before told them, not obscurely, was that *Elias* who was to precede the Coming of the Messiah.

III. The Day after that *Jesus* with the three Apostles came down from the Mountain, a great Multitude flock'd to meet him; and he observ'd no less a

Crowd about the rest of his Apostles, who also, as soon as they saw *Jesus*, came and saluted him. *Jesus* ask'd the Doctors of the Law, what was the Subject of their Discourse with his Apostles. After which there came to him out of the Crowd, a Man, who falling down at his Feet, thus address'd himself to him: *Master, I have brought my Son to thee, who is possess'd with a dumb Demon; I beseech thee have Compassion on him and me, especially since he is my only Son; for every full Moon he is most lamentably assaulted by the evil Spirit, who sometimes throws him into the Fire, at other Times into the Water. The Youth makes grievous Outcries when he finds himself attack'd and cruelly tormented by the Demon, who violently hurls him on the Ground, causing him to foam at the Mouth, and gnaw with his Teeth, insomuch that he is become a mere Skeleton; and so pernicious is his Tormentor, that he scarce ever quits his Hold till the Youth's Strength is quite spent. I have indeed applied myself to thy Apostles, and they have attempted his Cure, but hitherto in vain.*

IV. *Jesus* having heard him, broke out into this Exclamation: *O perverse and degenerate Race of Men! how unworthy are you to have my Miracles perform'd among you, who have such mean Notions of the Divine Goodness and Power? How long shall I endure this Incredulity?* He then commanded the young Man to be brought to him, when the evil Spirit straight assaulted him with such Violence as to distort his Limbs, and threw him to the Ground, where he lay rolling and foaming at the Mouth. *Jesus* then ask'd the Father how long he had been thus afflicted: Who replied, From his Childhood; and told him, that the evil Spirit had often thrown him into the Fire and Water, so that his Life had frequently been in Danger, which he would undoubtedly have lost had he not been timely succour'd: He therefore humbly in-

treated

treated him to free him, if possibly by any means, and take Compassion on the miserable Youth and his Relations. *Jesus* answer'd, *If thou can'st but believe that God has endowed me with an Authority over these evil Spirits, thou wilt easily have thy Request granted; for there is nothing so difficult which they shall not obtain, who have that Honour and Esteem for the Power and Goodness of God, which is due to these his Attributes.* The Father protested with a loud Voice, that he trusted in God and him, and earnestly beseech'd him to supply by his Goodness whatever Defect he might observe in his Faith, of which he made so publick a Profession. Which Words he had no sooner spoken, but the Multitude throng'd about them, desiring to see the Event. But *Jesus* rebuking the unclean Spirit, commanded him to depart out of the Body of the young Man, and never more return into it. The Spirit hereupon came out of him, having made a hideous Howling from the Mouth of the young Man, which was as strangely distorted. On these Agitations the Youth lay upon the Ground as quite dead, inasmuch that many of the By-standers thought he had been really so. But *Jesus* taking him by the Hand, and commanding him to rise, he immediately obey'd; and being from that Time wholly freed from the Insults of the evil Spirit, was restor'd by *Jesus* to his Father.

V. After this, *Jesus* travell'd through Galilee with his Apostles only, that there might not be too great a Concourse of People in his Retinue. Mean while he inculcated the Necessity of his Sufferings, that he should be deliver'd up to the Rage of the Jews, who would put him to Death, but that the third Day after he should rise again to Life. But the Apostles

understood not what he meant by that Resurrection on the third Day, because they thought only of the last Resurrection of all Men, and had never heard that the Messiah was to be put to Death by the Jews, and to rise on the third Day again. This therefore they little thought of; but hearing *Jesus* make mention of his Death, they began to suspect that he presag'd some great Calamity that should befall him; and this indeed made them very sorrowful, though they were afraid to desire their Master to explain himself, lest he should upbraid them with their Stupidity.

VI. *Jesus* afterwards with his Apostle enter'd into Capernaum. At that Time came certain Persons, sent by the Overseers of the Temple of Jerusalem, to gather the * Tribute in this Place, which was wont to be demanded of every Person; who therefore meeting *Peter*, asked whether his Master was wont to pay that Tribute, which was paid without Constraint by such as were concern'd for the Honour of the Temple. *Peter* told them, *Yes*; and entering the House where *Jesus* lodged, to acquaint him with their Demands, *Jesus* prevented him with this Question, *Peter, what thinkest thou? from whom do Kings demand Taxes, from their own Children, or from others? From others,* answer'd *Peter*. *The Children then, said Jesus, are free from this sort of Burden; and for this Reason might I justly plead Exemption, since it is my Father that is worshipped in this Temple, and in whose Name this Tribute is collected; and for the same Reason might I acquit my Friends from any Obligation on this Score.* Nevertheless, that we may give no Offence to these Men, who will be apt to think we slight their Temple, go thou to the Lake, and throw in

* Every Jew, above twelve Years old, was obliged to pay half a Shekel per Annum to the Temple, towards the Expence of the daily Sacrifice. It was a Penny therefore, that *Peter* found in the Fish's Mouth, which was sufficient for *Jesus* and him.

thy Hook, and the first Fish thou takest shall have a Piece of Money in its Mouth sufficient to discharge both thee and me.

VII. After he was come Home, he asked his Apostles what they disputed of upon the Road. At first they held their Peace, being ashamed to own they had contended for Priority in the Kingdom of Heaven, to which more than one of them thought he had a Right. Jesus put this Question, that he might obtain a Confession from them, though he knew very well what had been the Subject of their Debate, and told them, that he that would be first in the Kingdom of Heaven, ought to behave himself here on Earth as inferior to all, in being ready to assist all to the utmost of his Power. The Apostles perceiving they were discovered, no longer demurr'd upon it, but plainly owned the Thing, and asked him who of the twelve was to be most highly honoured in the Kingdom of Heaven. Jesus then, that he might check the Ambition of these Men by something that should affect their Senses, and therefore make the deeper Impression on them, placed a little Boy in the midst of them; and taking him up in his Arms, thus spoke to them: *I tell you for a certain Truth, that unless you cast off all Ambition, * so as to be no more desirous of worldly Honours than this Infant, you shall not partake of the Happiness of the Kingdom of Heaven, much less shall you have the first Place in it. Who so shall behave himself with that Moderation, as to be as unconcerned for terrestrial Honours as this little Child, that Person shall obtain the highest Dignity in the Kingdom of Heaven. Whosoever shall kindly entertain any one upon the Account of*

his being my Disciple, shall be looked upon as if he had entertained me; and whoever does me a Benefit, shall be judged to have done it to God himself. Take notice, that it is the moderate Person, who curbs his Desires so as to be indifferent to all worldly Honours, that shall be rewarded with the greatest Dignities in Heaven, provided he discharges as he ought all the other Duties of Religion.

VIII. Peter having attentively hearkened to what Jesus said, ask'd him how often he ought to pardon a Man that should injure him? *Shall I forgive him, said he, seven Times? Jesus replied, † Not only seven, but also seventy Times Seven; intimating that Men should know no End of forgiving Injuries. You who embrace my Doctrine, continued Jesus, ought to set my heavenly Father before your Eyes, and imitate him in your Behaviour towards Men of the same Nature with yourselves: Which I will illustrate to you by this Similitude. A certain King having intrusted some Officers with the Management of his Revenue, a Day came when they were call'd to make up their Accounts; on the casting up of which, it appear'd that one was indebted ten thousand Talents: Which he not being able to pay, the King commanded him, his Wife, and his Children, to be sold for Slaves, and all his Goods to be confiscated. The Man, upon this, prostrated himself before the King, earnestly beseeching him to have pity on him, and to respite him for a while, promising to restore the intire Sum when that Time should expire. The King hereupon had Compassion on him, and freely forgave the Debt. Nevertheless this same Officer, deliver'd from so great a Danger, was no sooner out of the*

* Jesus spoke this, to drive away their false Notions of temporal Honours to be dispensed in his Kingdom, with which his Disciples seem to have been all along very full.

† The Rabbies determine, that three Offences are to be forgiven, but not the fourth. Jesus therefore in this, as in all other moral Doctrines of the Jews, carries the Obligation much farther than they did; we may say infinitely farther.

King's Presence, but he met with one who owed him one hundred Pence, on whom he laid violent Hands, peremptorily demanding the Debt. The poor Man fell down at his Feet, in like manner as his Creditor had lately done before the King, and earnestly intreated him to have Patience, promising to pay the whole Sum in a short Time. But the inhuman Officer, not in the least moved by the Supplication and Tears of the poor Man, imprisoned him till such Time as he should discharge the whole Debt, Principal and Interest. The rest of the King's Officers taking Notice of this foul Action, which was aggravated by the Clemency he himself had met with from the King's Hands, came in a Body to him, and acquainted him with it. Upon which the King sent for the Man, and thus upbraided him: Ungrateful Wretch! did not I remit a vast Debt to thee upon thy humble Supplication? oughtest thou not in like Manner to have had Compassion on thy Fellow-Servant, by giving him Time to enable him to pay thee, and forgiving the Interest? * Then revoking his former Grace, he commanded him to be thrown into Gaol, there to remain till he should pay the whole Debt, with the Interest arising from it. Thus does my heavenly Father deal with Men, by freely pardoning

their Offences against him; upon Condition, that they in like manner mutually forgive the Injuries they receive from one another.

IX. Jesus having thus express'd himself upon this Subject, John the Son of Zebedee told him, that he, together with the rest of the Apostles, had observed a Man who had cast out evil Spirits by the bare mentioning of the Name of Jesus; but inasmuch as he never followed him, they forbade him to make use of that Name any longer. But Jesus told him, that they ought not to forbid him, since it is impossible, said he, for that Man that works Miracles in my Name to speak dishonourably of me. Besides, those that do not contradict us in our Preaching of the Gospel, may be justly supposed to be Fellow-workers in the same Cause: For all that we expect from Men, is an unprejudiced Attention to what we tell them. For the same Reason, not only they who shall reap their Benefits upon you, and assist you with their Favour and Authority, shall be rewarded by me; but the slightest Duty of Humanity, such as the giving a Glass of Water to a thirsty Disciple, shall not be unrewarded, if it be done upon Consideration of his being a Disciple of the Messiah.

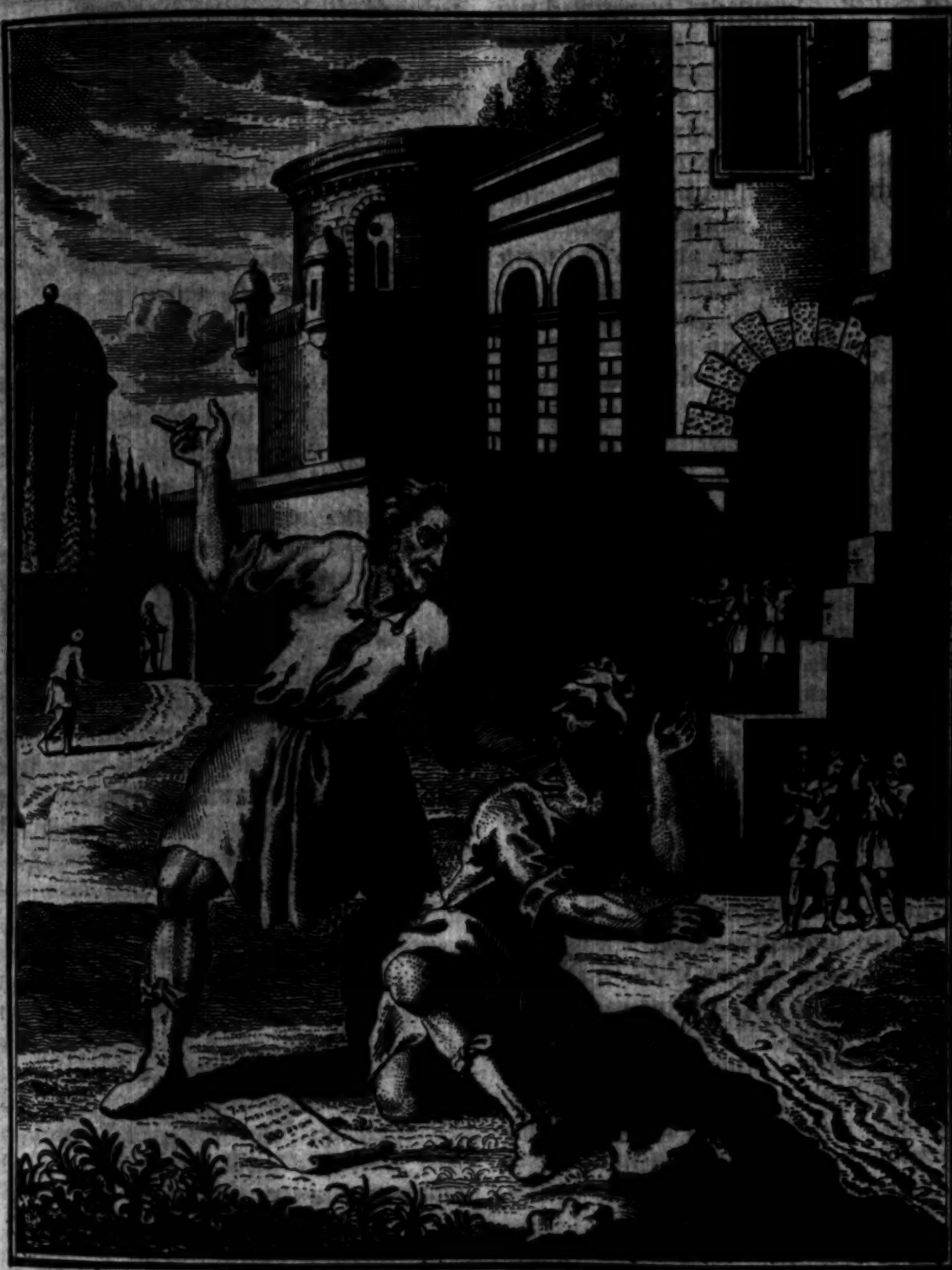
CHAP. IV.

I. Jesus, after some Continuance in Galilee, goes privately to Jerusalem to the Feast of Tabernacles. II. The Jews seek for him: He appears, and defends himself. III. The Rulers endeavour to apprehend him. IV. Jesus invites the People to himself. V. His Judgment concerning a Woman taken in Adultery. VI. He proves that Abraham foresaw his Appearance, and desired it. The Jews offended. VII. Jesus cures a Man who was born blind. VIII. The Man's Parents sent for. He persists in ascribing his Cure to Jesus, &c.

I. **F**ROM this Time Jesus continued for the most Part in the Confines of Galilee, and was but a short while in Judea, knowing that the Chief among the Jews wanted only a convenient Opportunity to put him to

* From this we may learn, says Dr. Whitby, that Sins once forgiven, may, upon our Forfeiture of that Pardon by fresh Misdemeanors, be again charged upon us, as God's Pardons in this Life are not absolute, but answerable to our dealing with others.

S^T MATTHEW CHAP. XVIII.
The wicked servant.



S^T MATTHEW 18. Verse 28.

*And the same servant went out, and found one of his fellow
servants, which owed him an hundred pence, & he laid hands on him.*

THE WICKED LEVITE.
 ST. MATTHEW CHAP. XXIII.



ST. MATTHEW 23 Verse 28

And he shall have his reward out of his fellow
 which shall be his reward for his fellow

death, whom they continually laid wait for, and look'd upon as a false Prophet. But the Feast of Tabernacles being at Hand, certain *Galileans*, the Relations of *Mary*, came to *Jesus*, and endeavoured to persuade him to live in *Judea*, and at *Jerusalem*, rather than in an obscure Corner of *Galilee*, that those Disciples of his who liv'd there, might be Eye-Witnesses of his Miracles; alledging farther, that the Way to obtain Authority with the People, was to make as publick Use of the Means conducing to it as might be. For, said they, *if you design to be esteem'd a Prophet, and for that End perform real Miracles, let it be in the most publick and frequented Place.* His Relations spoke thus, because they gave not intire Credit to him, and were desirous to have the Matter examin'd at *Jerusalem*, that they might follow the Determination of the Chief among the *Jews*. *Jesus* told them, that they might at any Time repair to *Jerusalem* without Danger, and consequently be there at the Beginning of the Feast; but that for his Part it was not as yet seasonable for him to undertake that Journey, not being willing to make any long Stay in *Judea*; that they had no way offended the *Jews*, but that he had incur'd a general Hatred for openly detecting their Vices, and freely reprovng them for 'em: They therefore, he told them, might safely repair to *Jerusalem*, and be there at the Beginning of the Feast; but he did not design to go so soon, it not being as yet convenient for him. Accordingly he staid some Days longer in *Galilee*, while his Relations took their Journey to *Jerusalem*; but not long after

he set out for that Place also, none knowing beforehand whether he would be at the Feast or no. He himself knew very well, that the Time approached in which he was to be cut off; for which Reason, though he determin'd to spend a few Days in the City, yet he did not intend to continue there all the eight Days of that Feast, that the *Jews* might not have Time enough to execute their bloody Designs against him. He therefore went privately through *Samaria*.

While he was upon the Road, it happen'd that having sent some before him to take up Lodgings in an Inn for him, the *Samaritans* refus'd to entertain him, because at that Time of the Year he seem'd to be going to *Jerusalem* to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles. Of which when the Men before sent, namely *John* and *James* the Sons of *Zebedee*, told *Jesus*, they asked him whether he would not revenge the Affront on these *Samaritans*, and pray God to pour down Fire from Heaven upon them, as *Elias* did formerly on the Officers that were sent to seize him. But *Jesus* turning himself about, told 'em, * they were not acquainted with that Temper of Mind with which the Ministers of his Gospel ought to be inducd, since they were for destroying those whom they should endeavour to preserve: For, said he, *I am not come to bring Destruction on any one, but on the contrary to offer Salvation to all.* Upon this Accident they turned aside into another Village.

While they were on the Road, there came a certain Man to *Jesus*, offering to attend him constantly whithersoever he went; but his Aim terminating in the

* 'Tis just to observe the Contradiction of this Saying to the Popish Practice of persecuting, destroying, and exterminating those whom they call Hereticks, purely upon the Account of Religion. The *Samaritans*, undoubtedly, were Hereticks then, as much as any Sect of Christians can be now.

Enjoyment of worldly Conveniences, which he expected to meet with by being in his Retinue, *Jesus* gave him this Answer, the same he used formerly on a like Occasion; *The Foxes have their Holes, and the Birds of the Air have their Nests, but I have not one Place that I can call my own, wherein to repose my self, and entertain my Friends.* Another that was present, was commanded by *Jesus* to follow him, and become his Disciple; who made the same Reply which was formerly given by another Person to the like Command; That he had a decrepit old Father, with whom he desired to continue till his Death, that he might perform the last Offices to him; and that after his Interment he would gladly become one of his Followers. To whom *Jesus* thus replied: *Leave the Management of Funeral Rites to those who are unacquainted with the spiritual Life; as for thee, be thou a Messenger of the Kingdom of Heaven.* Another frankly offering himself, provided he might have sufficient Time to settle his Affairs in the World, was put in Mind by *Jesus* of the Proverb, *No one must look backward that has once set his Hand to the Plow*: Intimating, that they who have dedicated themselves to the Ministry, ought never to forsake their most holy Vocation by betaking themselves again to the Hurry and Business of their former Lives.

'Twas in this Journey that *Jesus* † chose seventy Disciples besides the twelve Apostles, and sent them by two and two into all the Towns through which he himself designed to pass, and gave them the same Instructions he had before given to his Apostles, when he sent them to de-

clare the good Tidings of the approaching Reign of the *Messiah*. For he spoke to them to this Effect: "The Harvest is great, but the Reapers few; many are prepared to receive the Gospel, but there are very few that can be Messengers of it. Pray ye therefore to God, the Lord of the Harvest, that he would send more Reapers, that is, Preachers of the Gospel: In the mean Time do you go on courageously till God sends Assistants to you; be not dismay'd, but rely on him. I send you as Sheep to Wolves, that is, Men of an inoffensive Carriage and plain Dealing, to a rapacious, crafty, undermining Race of Men, who will slip no Opportunity of doing you an Injury. Enter immediately on your Commission, neither stay to provide yourselves with any Conveniences for your Journey, but be assured that the divine Providence will take Care that nothing needful shall be wanting to you. Let no Pretence of paying Respect and Honour to any Person by the Way, make you delay the Business with which I now charge you. Into whatever Family you come, immediately desire God to shower down his Blessings upon it; and if there be any deserving Person in it, your Prayers shall undoubtedly be heard; else, you may offer up the same charitable Requests for others that shall be more worthy of them. While you stay in any Town, do not shift your Habitation, that you may give as little Offence as possible: And whatever is set before you to eat, scruple not the free Use of it; for as it is in the Proverb, *The Labourer is worthy of his Hire*. And be not nice in your Food, but wherefo-

† Grotius says, These were chosen according to the Number of the Sanhedrim, and so were seventy two. But Selden, Lightfoot, and others, believe that neither the Sanhedrim, nor these Disciples, were more than bare Seventy, exclusive of their Head, who in the latter Case was Christ himself.

ever you come, content yourselves with a frugal and spare Diet. Intercede with God in the Behalf of the Sick of all those Places through which you pass, and he will hear your Prayers as being my Disciples; and declare ye the Approach of the heavenly Kingdom of the *Messiah*. But if the Inhabitants of any Town or Village refuse to receive you, shake off the very Dust of your Feet, and tell them that you do it as a Token that you will have no Manner of Intercourse with them; but let them take Warning, inasmuch as the Kingdom of the *Messiah* is at Hand. As for such People, I tell you that the Inhabitants of *Sodom* shall be less severely punished at the last Day."

Then calling to Mind the Contumacy of some Cities situated on the Lake of *Gennesareth*, in the Country about which he had lived so long, and performed so many Miracles, he brake out in this Exclamation: O what great Punishments remain for you, ye Inhabitants of *Chorazin* and *Bethsaida*! For if the Miracles wrought among you had been performed before the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians*, Nations over-run with Idolatry and Superstition, they would long ago have repented, sitting on the Ground covered with Sackcloth, and sprinkled with Ashes, though you have not been in the least prevailed on to amend your Lives. The *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* therefore shall not be so severely punished as you, the Professors of the *Jewish* Religion. And you, O ye Inhabitants of *Capernaum*, whom all Men have esteemed the happiest People on Earth, because of my Continuance with you, you shall hereafter be accounted the most miserable of all Men, by reason of your Contumacy and Impenitency. Then turning himself again to his Disciples, he thus continued: Go on boldly, with a Courage becoming such as know that I will account for the Usage you meet with as done to me. Those that hearken to

you shall be in the same Esteem with me as if they hearkened to me in Person; and they that slight what you preach to them, shall be judged to have contemned my Sayings, as my Father also will think himself neglected by those who refuse to receive my Doctrine.

II. At the Beginning of the Feast of Tabernacles, the *Jews* sought for *Jesus* at *Jerusalem*, well knowing he was wont to repair thither at every solemn Festival; and a great Rumour was spread concerning him among those that came to celebrate the Feast, some looking on him as a most holy Person, while others branded him with Imposture. But no one durst publickly own his Esteem of him, for Fear of the great Men among the *Jews*, who they knew were his profess'd Enemies. *Jesus* at last appear'd among them about the fourth Day of the Feast, and began to instruct the People in the Temple of *Jerusalem*. Now this was Matter of Astonishment to the *Jews*, who ask'd one another, how it was possible for him to discourse so learnedly about Religion, who had never studied under any of their Rabbies. Which when *Jesus* heard, he thus replied: *The Doctrine I propose is no Invention of mine, but given me by him that sent me. The true Worshippers of God will easily perceive whether this Doctrine proceeds from God or no, and they only are the proper Judges of this Matter. A false Prophet, who imposes upon you with Fictions of his own, seeks only his own Glory in every Thing he saith and doth; but a true Prophet directs all to the Glory of God, and for that Reason ought to find Credit with you, since he is not to obtain any Advantage from Men by it. Moses, as you boast, was indeed your Law-giver, but which of you lives up to the Rules he has prescrib'd? And how can you defend those Designs of yours to take away my Life?*

The Multitude about the Temple cried out, that surely he must be distracted to have

have such Suspensions of them, since no Body so much as thought of killing him. *Jesus answer'd: The last Passover I did something in your Presence which you were all amaz'd at, as if I had violated the Law; and from that Time you have sought an Opportunity of killing me. Hear ye then my Defence, unless you are resolv'd to condemn me without hearing what I am able to say in my Justification. Moses, among the Laws he gave you, has commanded you to observe the Circumcision as it was observ'd in the Time of Abraham and the Patriarchs, that is, to circumcise the Males on the eighth Day after their Birth: Now if that Day happens on a Sabbath, you make no Scruple of breaking the Rest upon that Day by performing this Ceremony. If then you violate the Sabbath by inflicting a Wound upon a human Body, and making use of Means proper for the Cure of it, why are you enrag'd against me for having made a Man intirely whole on that same Day? Judge not by the outward Appearance of that Action, which is invidiously term'd a Violation of the Sabbath, but make an exact Scrutiny, that you may not be guilty of a rash and unjust Judgment.*

Several of the Citizens hearing *Jesus* discourse on this Subject, inquir'd of some others, whether he were not that *Jesus* whom the Rulers had often talk'd of putting to Death. Of which when they were assur'd, they wonder'd that he talked with this Freedom in the Temple, and suspected that the Chief among them began at last to be convinc'd that he really was the Messiah: But they could not tell how to reconcile his being a Nazarene to this Opinion; "For, said they, the Learned in the Law assure us, * that when the Messiah shall first appear in Judea, the Place of his Birth will be unknown. Then *Jesus* cried out with a loud Voice:

You know me, as you say, and the Place of my Birth, and therefore deny that I am the Messiah; nevertheless I come not to you of my own Accord, and he that sent me is a Lover of Truth, and worthy to be believ'd by you, but you know him not, nor what it is he expects from you: But I know him, and his Determinations, because I am sent by him, and have receiv'd my Instructions from him."

III. When *Jesus* had spoke thus, the Rulers of the *Jews* greatly desir'd to apprehend him; but no one was willing to lay hold of him, the Time not being yet come, in which God had decreed to deliver him up to the Fury of his Persecutors. Now many of the common People believ'd on him, justly arguing his Miracles, and saying that the Messiah himself could not perform more than *Jesus* had shewn to them. Which Argument when the Pharisees heard, having consulted with the Chief Priests, they sent the Keepers of the Temple to apprehend him.---*Jesus* in the mean Time thus expressed himself: "Make use of all your Artifices; in spite of all I shall continue a while longer upon Earth: When that Time is expired, I will return to him that sent me. If at that Time you seek for me, you will be frustrated; for I shall be where it will be impossible for Men of your Stamp to find me out. *They then ask'd one another whither it was he design'd to go?* What, said they, will he travel round the Earth, and go to the *Jews* dispers'd among the Heathens? Or will he instruct the Heathens themselves in the Knowledge of the true God? *So little did they understand that Saying of his,* If at that Time you seek for me, it will be in vain; for I shall be where it will be impossible for such Men as you to come.

IV. Upon the last Day of the Feast, a

* The Rabbies owned that their Messiah was to be born in Bethlehem, but imagined that he was presently to be convey'd thence, and concealed till Elias came to anoint him.

Day celebrated with great Rejoicings, *Jesus* stood in the Temple, and cried out: *If any one thirsts, let him come to me, and I will give him Drink.* In which Words he invited all that were desirous to learn of him, to come and satisfy their Desire by listening to his Doctrine, having that Place of *Isaiah* in his Eye, where we find the same Words, or at least such as express the same Meaning. He then added, *Whoever believes on me shall be so far from thirsting, that, as the Scripture speaks, out of his Belly shall flow Rivers of never-failing Water.* In which he chiefly had Respect to another Place of that Prophet, *Isaiah* 57. 11. where we have this Description of good Men: The Meaning of which Similitude was, that whoever embraced his Doctrine, would find entire Satisfaction in it, and be able to afford the same Consolation to others, inasmuch as it was the only effectual Remedy to remove all the Disorders of the Mind: For he knew that the true Believers should after a few Months have the Holy Ghost shed upon them, which would be then given when *Jesus* should be received up into Heaven.

Many that had heard these, and other Discourses of *Jesus*, concluded him to be that Prophet who was to be the Forerunner of the *Messiah*; while others took him for the very *Messiah*; which many also thought impossible, since, as it appeared by the Scriptures, the *Messiah* was not to be born in *Galilee*, but at *Bethlehem*, the Birth-place of *David*, from whom also the *Messiah* was to be descended. The *Jews* thus disagreed, and were

divided in Opinion concerning him. Some were for seizing him, and carrying him to the *Sanhedrim*, which others disapproved of as unjust. But No-body had the Boldness to lay hold of him; and those that looked to the Temple returned to the *Sanhedrim*, without performing what they were sent for; and being asked why they did not seize him, they reply'd, that they had † never heard any one talk with a Majesty and Wisdom equal to him. But the *Pharisees* rebuk'd them, saying, *What are you also deluded by him? Have you seen any of the Rulers or Pharisees, Men skilled in the Law, and whose Example you may safely follow, give Credit to him? 'Tis only the injudicious Multitude that have been guilty of such Impiety.* It happened, however, that *Nicodemus* was present at this Assembly, he who, as we have related, came two Years before to *Jesus* by Night: This Man being himself one of the *Sanhedrim*, desiring to bring them to a better Temper, asked them whether by the Law they could condemn any Man without hearing him? Then said they to him? *Art thou a Galilean also, and a Favourer of this Man, as the common People are? If thou believest him to be a Prophet, thou mayest be convinced of thy Mistake, if thou enquirest into the Country out of which the Prophets came; for thou wilt find that none * of them ever came from Galilee.* After these Debates the *Sanhedrim* broke up, without coming to any Resolution in the Matter.

V. In the Night-time *Jesus* retired to the Mount of *Olives*, not far from the

† Here we may observe, 1st, The Power of Christ's Words to change the Frame and Temper of Men's Spirits, 2dly, The Honesty of these Men, who tho' they went prejudiced against Christ, make no Scruple to confess their Conviction of his Holiness and Wisdom.

* It is wonderful, that not the Multitude only, who had heard the Shepherds declaring from an Angel, that Christ was born at *Bethlehem*, should make this Objection, but that the Chief Priests and *Pharisees*, who knew of the Wise Men's going to *Bethlehem* to worship him, should insist upon it. This is an Instance of the great Power of Prejudice.

City, that he might avoid the Snares of the *Sanhedrim*; but every Morning he returned to *Jerusalem*, and in the Temple was surrounded with a great Multitude, whom he acquainted with the Laws of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the Rewards annexed to the Observance of them. In the mean time certain Teachers of the Law, and *Pharisees*, brought to him a Woman taken in the very Act of Adultery, and placed her in the midst, that they might have his Judgment about her in the Hearing of all that were present. In order to get an Answer from him, they told him she was taken in the very Fact, and that he very well knew such Persons by the Law of *Moses* were to be stoned to Death: But they desired him to give his Opinion in the Case. Now they put this Question, not to be informed by him, but to render him odious to the *Romans*, who had deprived the *Jews* of all Power of determining in capital Cases, if he should say they ought to stone her; and to the common People among the *Jews*, if he should affirm they were not obliged to keep one of the Laws of *Moses*. *Jesus*, to avoid their Question by Silence, stoop'd down, and made as if he wrote something on the Ground, without answering a Word. But the Men continuing to press this Question, he rais'd himself, and told them, that he who was without Sin ought to throw the first Stone at her. In which he obscurely intimated, that since the *Romans* had deprived them of the Power of putting the Law of *Moses* in Execution, they ought to be more in-

dulgent, and allow her a Space to repent; especially considering, that if God should inflict on Sinners the Punishments they have deserv'd without Delay, all Mankind must be cut off. Which Consideration ought to make Men less severe in their Dealings towards one another, and not to do that to others which they would not have God to do to them; and to reflect, that as they themselves desired Time to repent, they would allow the same Indulgence to the Guilty. *Jesus* having given this Answer, stoop'd again, and began to write upon the Ground, as if he was thinking of somewhat else. The Men having heard what *Jesus* said, being conscious to themselves of many Crimes, sneak'd off one by one, the eldest first, and then the others, so that he remain'd alone with the Woman standing before him. Then lifting himself up, and seeing none with him but the Woman, he ask'd her what was become of her Accusers, and whether any one had condemn'd her to any sort of Punishment. The Woman replied, that her Accusers were all gone off, while he was writing on the Ground; and that she had not been condemn'd by any one. Then said he, *Neither do I adjudge thee to any Punishment; go thy Way, and for the future take Care not to be guilty of the like Sin.*

Jesus afterwards thus address'd himself to the Multitude that flock'd about him: *I am a Light sent to guide Mankind, that wanders in the Darkness of Ignorance: Whoever will become my Disciple, shall have these Mists dispell'd, and be shewn the Way*

|| If she who was taken in Adultery was a married Woman, the Law required she should be put to Death, Lev. xx. 10. Deut. xxii. 22. that is, say all the Jews, that she should be strangled. But if she were only a Damsel espoused, the Law saith, *she shall be stoned*, Deut. xxii. 23. Whence Interpreters conclude, that this Adulteress was only espoused.

†† This History of the Adulteress was wanting in many Greek Copies; but the Reason of it seems to have been the Severity of the Antients against Adultery, which made them unwilling to admit a Passage in which *Jesus* acquits a Woman convicted of that Crime: They thought he might be interpreted as giving a Permission to Adultery, when he said, *Neither do I condemn thee*. It is certain, however, that the History is genuine; and therefore not to be omitted.

that

that leads to Life eternal. The Pharisees hearing this, interrupted him, saying, that he bore Witness to himself, a Testimony on which no Body could rely; and that perhaps he was blinded with Self-love. Jesus thus replied to their Objection: *The Testimony I bear to myself is worthy to be relied on, and you need not fear my judging otherwise than becomes me, out of a Principle of Vanity or Self-love; for I know who it is that hath sent me, and to whom I must return after I have executed my Office here; both of which are as yet unknown to you. You pass your Censure on me from my outward Appearance, which makes you think I am not to be credited. The Judgment I make results from the Consideration of Mens Words and Actions, and the Affections of the Mind. By the Laws that Moses gave you, the concurring Testimony of two Witnesses ought to be credited: In this Case you have two Witnesses, and the Judgment I make concerning myself is confirmed to you by the Miracles my Father has enabled me to perform among you. And thus it is that you gave Credit to the Prophets, namely, by perceiving their Commission sealed with the Miracles God has given them the Power to perform, whose Authority is above all Exception.*

The Pharisees then ask'd him where his Father was, not perceiving that it was God whom he so call'd. Then said Jesus: *You neither know me, nor him, whom I call my Father. If you knew who I am, you would presently understand who it is I stile my Father; meaning, that if they had known him to be the Messiah, the Son of God, they would at the same Time have known who it was he call'd his Father.*—This Discourse had Jesus in the Court of the Gentiles, not far from the Place where the Boxes are kept, in which is preserved the Money contributed by religious Persons for the Service of the Temple: Nevertheless, none of the Keepers of the Temple had the Boldness to

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seize him, tho' they had express Orders from the Sanhedrim; because the Time was not yet come, in which God had determined to permit the Jews to exercise their Cruelty upon him.

Some of the Jews exasperated with this Speech of Jesus, told him, that they could easily infer from his Discourses, that he was not undeservedly called a Samaritan, or an Enemy to the Jewish Nation, and that he proclaimed himself to be possess'd with an evil Spirit, by thus reviling the People of God. Jesus said, *I am not possessed with an evil Spirit, but diligently obey my Father's Will; yet you slight what I say to you, and for that Reason make this Attempt to defame me. 'Tis not out of a Desire of Reputation that I speak to you, neither is it your Opinion I value, but the Pleasure of God himself, that they to whom I am sent by him should receive me as his Ambassador; and they shall be most severely punished, who act contrary to the Will of God in this Particular. Every one that believes my Sayings shall not die for ever, but partake of endless Happiness: Whereas whoever despises my Doctrine, shall suffer eternal Punishment in the World to come.*

VI. These Men retorted, that it was plain from his Discourse he was agitated with an evil Spirit, since tho' Abraham and the Prophets, who were most holy and acceptable to God, were all dead; yet he made a Tender of Immortality to the Observers of his Precepts. They then ask'd him, whether he thought himself a greater Favourite of God than Abraham and the Prophets, who were dead. *Whom,* said they, *makest thou thyself, that thus promigest to thy Disciples what God thought not fit to grant to these pious and devout Persons?—If I spoke honourably of myself,* said Jesus, *without any Arguments to corroborate my Pretensions, such boasting would indeed be vain and trifling. But my Father, by the Miracles he has enabled me to*

perform,

perform, shews you who I am, and what Value you ought to set upon me; and him you call your God. Yet are you ignorant of that Worship which is acceptable to him: But I know it, and should I disown it, I should be a Liar like unto you. Now I profess to be acquainted with the Will of God in this Particular, and I faithfully execute his Commands. Abraham himself, whom you brag of as the Founder of your Nation, greatly desired to see those Times in which God had decreed to reveal himself to Men, which was to come to pass in this Age by my Means; and these Days he foresaw by the Good-will of God, and was greatly rejoiced at it. Now Jesus by this meant a prophetic Revelation of Things to come, which these unskilful and malignant Jews interpreted, as if he had, as a Man, made himself contemporary with Abraham. They said therefore, One may plainly see by thy Looks, that thou art not yet fifty Years of Age, how is it possible then that thou shouldst have seen Abraham? Whereas Jesus had said no such Thing, but only that Abraham had seen these Times of the Messiah by the good Pleasure of God, who revealed them to him. He therefore gave them this Answer: Wonder not, if I affirm that Abraham saw these Days; for † I existed, and God had decreed to send me to acquaint Mankind with his Laws, and the Rewards annexed to the Observance of them, long before Abraham had a Being. With which Words the Jews were so very much offended, he seeming by them to prefer himself to Abraham, that they took up Stones to throw at him. But Jesus having cast a Mist before their Eyes, saved himself through the midst of them, and so escaped their Fury.

† The Opposition between the Characters of Christ and Abraham, is not between Christ's being the Messiah, and Abraham's being the Father of many Nations, but between the Birth of Abraham and the Being of Christ.

* The Opinion of the Platonists and Pythagoreans, concerning the Transmigration of Souls from one Body to another, and being put into better or worse Bodies according to their Merit, had obtained among the Jews, being perhaps derived to them from their Brethren of Alexandria.

those

VII. As Jesus passed by, a certain Man was placed in the Way who was born blind. The Apostles taking Notice of him, asked their Master the Reason of his Blindness; Is it, said they, the Punishment of some Sins * committed by his Soul in a precedent State, or of some Sin of either of his Parents? Jesus replied: This Blindness is not the Punishment of his Parents Sins; but God did not hinder his being born blind, that my Power might one Day be manifested in the Cure of him. While the Time of my Ministry lasts, I must exert that Power of working Miracles with which he that sent me has intrusted me; for the Time draws near, in which I shall not be corporeally present among Men, nor shew those Miracles I now do in their presence. As Men therefore are solicitous to complete their Day's Work before the Night steals upon them, so must I while I am here on Earth lay hold on the Occasion, if I would have my miraculous Power be observed by Men. While I am among them I must enlighten their Minds by my Doctrine, in like manner as I shall bestow the Sense of Seeing on this Man in Presence of you all.---Having thus spoke, he spat on the Ground, and made a Kind of Clay of the Dust and Spittle mixt together, with which he anointed the blind Man's Eyes. Then said he to him, Go thy Way, and wash thy Eyes in the pool of Siloam, (which signifies sent.) The Man having done as he was ordered, returned from the Pool with the perfect Use of his Eyes.

The Neighbours of the Man, and those that had seen him before, and knew he was born blind, enquired of one another whether he was not that very Person who was wont to beg an Alms in the Road of

those that passed by? Some said it was the very same: Others denied this, and would only have it that he very much resembled him. But the Man himself plainly discovered who he was. They asked him therefore after what manner he had got his Eye-Sight, with which he had not been before endued. He replied, that he had been cured by *Jesus*, and in the Manner we have related. They asked then where *Jesus* was. He told them, he knew not, because as he parted from him, he went and washed in the Pool of *Siloam*, and had not beheld him since he had acquired his Eye-sight. Upon hearing of this, they hurried him away with them to the *Sanbedrim*, that by this Man's Testimony they might accuse *Jesus* of having violated the Sabbath: For it was on the Sabbath-day he had anointed the Eyes of the blind Man with the Clay which he made. The *Pharisees* again demanded of him in the *Sanbedrim*, by what Means he had obtained his Sight; which the Man ingenuously related to them. Upon this Occasion, some of the *Pharisees* argued that *Jesus* could not be sent by God, because he had broke the Sabbath, while others contended that they could not conceive how a bad Man, and a Violator of the Laws of God, could perform so many and so great Miracles, as it was constantly reported had been done by *Jesus*. Thus the Members of that Assembly were divided in their Opinions concerning him. Some of them then asked him that had been born blind, what his Opinion was of him; who replied, He took him for a Prophet.

VIII. The Man having made this Profession in the *Sanbedrim*, there were some who would not believe he was born blind, unless his Parents would vouch the same; who therefore were sent for, and being

asked whether this was their Son that was born blind, and by what Means he acquired his Eye-sight, replied, || That they knew very well this was their Son, and that he had been blind from his Birth, but that they were ignorant by whom and how he had been cured, being not present when the Cure was wrought: That they might examine their Son, who was of Age to answer for himself. Now the Parents of the blind Man spake thus, because they were afraid of the *Sanbedrim*, who, as they knew very well, had come to this Resolution, that if any owned *Jesus* for the *Messiah*, he should be turned out of the Synagogue. For which Reason they were afraid of speaking what they thought, but referred the *Sanbedrim* to the Examination of their Son; who as they urged, was of Age to answer in his own Cause. The Man therefore was called into the Assembly again, and commanded to speak the Truth; it appearing, as they said, after a mature Examination, that *Jesus* was a Contemner of the Law. The Man constantly replied, that truly for his Part he knew not whether *Jesus* were a Contemner of the Law or not, but he knew very well, that as he was perfectly blind before, he now enjoyed his Sight. They demanded of him again, what it was that *Jesus* did in order to cure him. The Man answered, that he had satisfied them as to that Point already, and could see no Reason for their putting the same Question again to him, unless they also were inclined to be his Disciples. The *Pharisees* upon this reviling him, told him; That he indeed was *Jesus's* Disciple, but as for them, they owned only *Moses* for their Master: That they were sure *Moses* was sent by God, but as for this *Jesus*, they knew not whence he came, nor with what Authority

|| The Parents here seem to have been faulty, in denying that which they had learned from their Son for Fear of the Jews.

he acted. The Man then told them, that it was strange they should not know from whence Jesus was, who had performed such a Miracle as the curing one that was born blind: For, said he, *it is a Thing agreed on, that God never grants the Requests of the Wicked, and that he performs his Miracles in Behalf of them only that revere him, and obey his Laws.* 'Twas never yet heard of, that the Eyes of one born blind had been opened, nor can I conceive how Jesus could do any Thing like it, unless by the divine Assistance. The Members of the Assembly were vehemently offended at the Man's Speech, and said with Indignation, *Dost thou attempt to instruct us in Matters relating to the Law, thou who, as it appears from thy having been born blind, wert punished in this Life for some heinous Offences committed in a precedent State?* Upon this they commanded him to be cast out of the Synagogue with Ignominy.

Jesus having heard of this Accident, and the Punishment inflicted on him, for having publickly owned before the Sanhedrim that he took Jesus for a Prophet, and meeting with him not long after, asked him whether he believed on the Son of God, or the Messiah? The Man replied, that he was ready to believe on him, and desired to know who he was. Jesus perceiving him to speak from his Heart; *Thou hast now seen him,* said he, *and it is he thou now talkest with.* The Man hereupon fell down at his Feet with this Exclamation, *Lord, I believe!* After which Jesus having Regard to the Cure that had been wrought upon him, thus expressed himself before a numerous Auditory: *I came here on Earth with Design to do Good to all Men; but so it happens by the Obstinacy of some Men, that they who were before blind shall become clear-sighted, and those that before saw, shall be intirely blinded.* Implying, that Men wholly ignorant, and as much in the

Dark in what relates to the understanding of the Scriptures, as that blind Man was with Respect to corporeal Light, should now be enlightened with the bright Beams of the Gospel; and that on the other Hand those who were accounted learned and clear-sighted in the Writings of the Prophets, should in a short Time be charged with Ignorance and Blindness. For which Reason some of the Pharisees who had heard Jesus, imagining he had reflected upon them, asked him whether he thought they were blind? Then said Jesus, *If you were blind you would not be culpable in this Matter: Now, as you would have it believed, being so clear sighted, your Obstinacy is altogether inexcusable.*

Then he spake to them in this Similitude: *Whoever comes into the Sheepfold any other Way than at the Door, is to be accounted a Thief and a Robber, for the Door is never shut against the true Shepherd, but as soon as ever he knocks, the Door-keeper opens it to him, and the Sheep know his Voice, and follow him wherever he pleases. But a Stranger's Voice they will fly from, so far will they be from following him.* The Jews did not comprehend his Meaning in this Parable, though he represented to them, not obscurely, that he was that Shepherd who had been invested with the Office by God himself, which he entered upon by performing his Miracles among them, quite contrary to the evil Spirits, and those possessed by them, who invading the Ministry, use all their Tricks to surprize the Sheep. Farther, the true Shepherd was easily distinguished by the sincere Lovers of Truth, who would also carefully avoid those Counterfeits that would allure them out of the Sheepfold, and expose them to the Danger of being lost in an endless Labyrinth of Error.

That the Jews might therefore perceive that he discoursed to them of himself, continuing the same allegorical Strain, *I am,*

am, said he, the only Gate at which the Sheep can enter; those that have before pretended to it, have been mere Cheats and Robbers, whose Business it was to mislead the Sheep, that is, to pervert the Good, who never gave Ear to them. I only am the Gate; whoever embraces my Doctrine shall enter into the Sheepfold, and remain in Safety, and be nourished with the Food of my Doctrine. The Thief comes only that he may steal and kill the Sheep, and the Impostor's Business is to make a Prey of those he can impose on. I am come to Mankind, as the Shepherd visits his Flock, not that they may have wherewith to supply the mere Necessities of Life, but a Plenty of it. I am that true Shepherd, who am ready to expose my Life in Defence of the Sheep. But the Hireling, who feeds the Flock of another Man, seeing the Wolf coming, forsakes his Charge, and leaves them to be devoured and dispersed by him, being only a Mercenary, and consequently thinking it not worth while to run the Hazard of his Life for them. But I am, as I said, the true Shepherd, who know my Sheep, and am known by them. My Father knows whatever I design, and I know what he expects from

me, and whenever it is necessary, will not refuse to lay down my Life for them, because it is his good Pleasure. But other Sheep I have beside those of the Jewish Nation, whom I am to bring into one Sheepfold, together with the believing Jews. They, when acquainted with the Gospel, will perceive its divine Original; and so it will fall out, that all my Sheep shall be gathered into one Sheepfold, and be under the Care of one Shepherd. And my Father loves me, because I am disposed to die, that I may bring Salvation to them: But the Life I shall lose for their Sakes, I shall also recover. No one can take it from me, if I consent not; but I will freely lay it down for a short Time, for I have the Power conferred upon me of parting with it, and resuming it again. These Commands I have received from my Father. Upon this Speech of Jesus, the Jews were again divided in their Opinions concerning him; some saying he was over-run with Melancholy, or possessed with an evil Spirit; while others said, that this was not the Speech of a Man out of his Wits, and asked one another whether the Demons could give Sight to the Blind?

CHAPTER V.

- I. The seventy Disciples return. Jesus discourses with them of their Power. II. The Parable of the good Samaritan. III. He goes to Bethany; reproves Martha, and commends Mary. IV. Jesus cures a Woman of a Spirit of Infirmary, &c.

THE Feast of Tabernacles being ended, Jesus departed from Jerusalem, and the seventy Disciples, who, as we said, were sent out into divers Places to publish the Approach of the Kingdom of the Messiah, returned to him again. They were filled with Joy, because God had been so propitious to them, as to cast out the evil Spirits at their invoking him. Jesus told them, that while they had been publish-

ing the Gospel, his Design was to destroy the Empire of those evil Spirits, which he foresaw was nigh, and that he had seen them precipitated like Lightning from Heaven, into which they had as it were exalted themselves, by the general Impiety of Mankind. But, said he, to encourage you to go on courageously in your Ministry, I give you the Power of treading upon Serpents and Scorpions, without receiving any Hurt from them, a Power which

which will secure you against all the Attempts of the evil Spirits and other Enemies of the Gospel. However, rejoice * not so much because the Demons are subjected to you, as because your Names are registered in the Kingdom of the Messiah.

Upon this, a certain Lawyer, to try whether he would say any Thing contrary to the Law, put this Question to him: *Master, what Advice do you give me to obtain this eternal Happiness?* Jesus knowing his Design, ask'd him what the Law of Moses prescrib'd in this Case? bidding him quote some Passage out of it. The Lawyer cited these Words, which comprehend the Substance of the whole Law: *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy Strength, and thy Neighbour as thyself*: Which Words, if taken in that large Sense the Gospel puts upon them, and not in the Jewish Interpretation of them, contain the Summary of the whole Duty of Man. Jesus therefore replied; *Thou answerest right; Do this, and thou shalt obtain eternal Happiness*. The Lawyer, to shew his Probity and Devotion, asked Jesus, who might by the Law be accounted our Neighbour; that, upon hearing his Answer, he might profess he had observed the Law in this Particular also: For he made no question but he should easily be believed to have observed the former Part, which enjoins the Love of God, since it was certain that not he only, but many others of the Jews, rejected the fictitious Deities and Idols of the Gentiles, applying themselves wholly to the Worship of the true God.

II. Jesus, to shew he was far from loving his Neighbour like himself, since that Appellation belonged to such also as the

Jews thought they might justly hate, made this Answer; *A Jew, travelling from Jerusalem to Jericho, was set upon by Robbers, who not only stript him, but left him on the Road half dead with the Wounds they had given him. It happened that a Priest came by that Way, and after him a Levite, who both saw the poor Man in that Condition, but gave him no Assistance, and pursued their Journey. A Samaritan that passed by not long after, saw him also, and had Compassion on him; and going to him, dressed his Wounds with Oil and Wine, and carefully bound them up: Then setting him on the Beast on which he himself rode, he conveyed him to the next Inn, where he continued to apply every Thing necessary for his Recovery. The next Day, being obliged to continue his Journey, besides the Charges he had been at the Day before, he left Money in the Inn-keeper's Hands to compleat the Cure, with a Promise, that if that were not sufficient, at his Return he would defray the whole Cost; ordering him withal to take Care of him, and see he wanted nothing.*

Having told this Story, Jesus asked the Lawyer, which of the three Travellers, the Priest, the Levite, or the Samaritan, might be thought the Man's Neighbour that was stript and wounded by the Thieves? The Lawyer answered, that he was to be esteemed his Neighbour who performed the Offices of Humanity to him. Then said Jesus, *Go thy ways, and imitate him whose Action thou hast commended*. In which Words he represented to his Hearers, that they were to account all Men their Neighbours, as such to whom they were linked by the common Tie of human Nature; and that there ought to be a mutual Intercourse of

* That the Devils were subject to the Apostles, as it tended to the Glory of God, and the Promotion of the Gospel, was just matter of Joy: But because to be thought worthy of Salvation by God, was a Blessing proper to the Saints, which the casting out of Devils was not, this was to the Apostles Matter of much greater Joy.

the Offices of Humanity between Men, of what Nation or Religion soever they were, and not only among the *Jews*; a Doctrine very different from what they vulgarly taught; and yet the Lawyer had no Reason to be offended at it, since he could not say that it was unlawful for a *Jew* to do that to a *Samaritan*, which he himself acknowledged was praise-worthy from a *Samaritan* to a *Jew*.

III. *Jesus*, being now upon his Return to *Galilee*, passed thro' *Bethany*, a Village but two Miles distant from *Jerusalem*, where lived *Martha* and *Mary*, two religious Women, together with their Brother *Lazarus*. *Jesus* being known to them, was received and entertained in their House, in which, as soon as he entered, he sat down, and according to his Custom begun to preach to them. *Mary* was so delighted with his Doctrine, that laying all other Business aside, she sat down at his Feet, diligently listening to him. Now *Martha*, who was in the mean Time busied in providing Things necessary for the Reception of her Guests, seeing *Mary* sit idly by him, desir'd him to command her to assist her. *Jesus* answered, *Martha*, *thou art disturb'd with much Care about thy worldly Concerns; whereas one Thing only is necessary, namely the Knowledge of my Doctrine, which will instruct thee in the Way to obtain eternal Happiness. Thy Sister Mary, who has made this her great Business, has chosen that Part which shall be attended with an everlasting Reward; whereas the Fruit of all other Things is perishing, and of short Continuance.*

Jesus having thus express'd himself on this Subject, there was brought to him one possessed with an evil Spirit, which had deprived him of his Speech. *Jesus* commanded the *Demon* to go out of him, who immediately obeyed, and the Man recovered the perfect Use of his Speech, to the great Astonishment of the Specta-

tors, who knew how difficult it was to dislodge these evil Spirits. But some were so inveterate against him, as to attribute this miraculous Power, not to Divine Assistance, but to *Beelzebub*, Chief of those evil Spirits. Others demanded a Miracle of him, not out of any Zeal for the Knowledge of Truth, but only to try what he would do, and upon Occasion to make use of it against him. But *Jesus*, who was not unacquainted with the most hidden Designs, defended himself against the Calumny of the former in the same Manner he did against a like Accusation, as we have already delivered, by representing to them, that every State and Family divided into several Parties and Factions, was in a fair Way of being ruined: So, said he, *if the Empire of the evil Spirits be distracted by inward Dissentions and mutual Oppositions, how should it continue to the End of all Things, according to your Opinion? But this would be the Case, if, as you pretend, I cast the evil Spirits out of the Bodies of Men by the Assistance of the Chief among them. If I, whose Doctrine contains nothing but most holy Rules for the Direction of Men in the way of Happiness, am accused of having expelled the Demons by magic Arts, what Judgment shall we pass on your own Countrymen, who endeavour to do the same? So that I need not appeal to any other Judges. But on the contrary, if I cast out these Demons by a Power conferr'd upon me by God himself, as is evident, you must needs own that I have truly acquainted you with the Approach of the Kingdom of God. A stout Man, dextrous, and well arm'd, is provided and secure against the Attempts of the Thief, till a stronger than himself overpowers him, and disarming him, makes Plunder of his Goods. Thus do I drive the Demons out of the Bodies of Men, which they had seized on as so many Dwelling-places; and from hence 'tis plainly inferr'd, I act by a superior, and consequently a divine Power.*

After

After he had spoke thus unto them, a certain Woman cried out with a loud Voice: *Blessed is the Woman that bare thee, and brought thee up!* But Jesus replied, *Blessed are they who believe in me, and who study to conform their Actions to the Rules of my Gospel, and not those that are allied to me by Consanguinity, unless they also believe my Doctrine.* And there being at the same Time a Concourse of People round about him, in Expectation of seeing some Miracle performed by him, as if he had not wrought enough among them, he cried out; *O degenerate Age, which after the many Miracles I have performed in the midst of them, still require more!* But they shall not have their Expectation answered, and hereafter they shall see none equal to that which will befall me, and which in some Sort resembles what happened of old to the Prophet Jonas: For as he was a Sign to the Ninivites, so shall I be to the Jews of this Age, though they do not distinguish me from any of the Vulgar. However, this will make no Impression on them; for which Reason the Queen of the Sabæans at the last Day shall be compared with these Men, who will be condemned on that Comparison: For she, though a Sovereign Princess in the remotest Part of † Arabia, scrupled not to take a long Journey to Jerusalem, that she might hear the wise Discourses of Solomon, whose Fame was at that Time celebrated over all the East; and having heard him, returned fully satisfied, and in Admiration of his Wisdom. The Jews have now one with them vastly preferable to Solomon, and a Preacher of far weightier Things, and yet they will scarce give Ear to him, or, if they hear him,

they despise him. The Ninivites, who repented at the Preaching of Jonas, shall be compared with them, and condemn them, who have no Regard to the Doctrine of a Prophet of far greater Authority than Jonas. I am not however to leave off preaching the Gospel, nor are my Disciples; it being the very End for which I chose them, and am myself come into the World; the Gospel being like a Lamp, which is not lighted to be hid, or put under a Bushel, but to be placed on high, to give Light to all that enter. The Eyes, like a Lamp, enlighten the whole Body: If they therefore have no ill Aspect, or envious Glance, there will be no Mark of Baseness in the other Parts; but all will shine with a promising Sweetness and Generosity. But if they betray a sordid Temper, if you look repiningly upon other Mens Happiness, the whole Body will seem clouded with these Vices. Take Heed therefore, that that which ought to be clear and bright with the Rays of Virtue, be at no Time thus obscured. Thus it is in your Power to shine out like a Light placed on high, if you are all of a Piece, and your Virtues not shaded with Vice.

After Jesus had thus recommended his Doctrine, a certain Pharisee came and invited him to Dinner. Jesus accordingly went, and sat down with him. The Pharisee was surprized to see him sit down without the usual Ceremony of washing before Meal; which Jesus observing, took that occasion to rebuke those Sort of Men for their Hypocrisy. The Generality of you Pharisees, said he, take great Care about an external Cleanliness, while at the same Time you neglect the inward Purity of the Mind, so that very

† Some imagine the Queen of Sheba to have been a Queen of Ethiopia. The Ethiopians of this Day maintain, that the Progeny of this Princess reigned a long Time over them, and that the Eunuch of Queen Candace, who was converted and baptized by Philip, was Officer to one of this Race. There seems however most Ground to believe that the Queen of Sheba was an Arabian; and the Arabians of this Day have a Tradition, which mentions the Journey of Queen Balkis from the City of Sheba, otherwise called Marib or Mareb, in the Country of Yemen, to visit Solomon.

often a rapacious sordid Disposition is cover'd with a demure and starched Appearance to the World; though this be altogether as absurd as to make clean the Outside of your Vessels, without taking Care to wash away the Filth within. O unthoughtful Men! does not the Author of your Being, whom you think to please by these ceremonial Washings, take as much Notice of your Minds which he would have in like Manner pure from all vicious Defilements, as being the Creator of both Soul and Body? Wherefore, without this great Concern for an external Cleanliness, purge your Minds first from Avarice, and every other Vice: Give Alms of your Substance, and sanctify by Charity what God hath bestowed upon you; and in so doing, however you may appear to the Eyes of Men, you will be truly clean, that is, acceptable in the Sight of God. In the mean time, consider how great Punishments you contract, by endeavouring to appear religious in the Observance of those lesser Duties, such as the paying Tithe of Mint and Rue, and other Herbs, if at the same Time you are void of Justice and sincere Devotion. First therefore, as I said, you are to love God, and exercise Justice towards Men, and then those external Rites need not to be neglected. But as the Case now stands, you highly provoke the Justice of God, by feigning yourselves Men of Moderation, while you are unmeasurably ambitious of honourable Posts, and Salutations from the People; and real Virtue is set aside as an indirect Means for obtaining the Applause you court. O ye Lawyers and Pharisees! in thus playing the Hypocrites, you make God your Enemy, and are truly like those Sepulchres under Ground, which are

filled with Bones and Rottenness, though the Men that walk over them cannot discern it. This is in short your Condition, while all your Aim is to seem good Men, though your Hearts are filled with all Manner of sinful Lusts and Vices.

After Jesus had done speaking, some of his Hearers told him of certain * Galileans, who had been murdered at the very Altar, while they were sacrificing, by Pilate the Roman Governor, inasmuch that their Blood was mingled with that of the Beasts that had been sacrificed. Having heard this, he retorted thus upon them: Suppose ye that these Galileans were permitted by God to be thus butchered, because they were more criminal than the rest of their Countrymen? If you do, you pass a wrong Censure upon them. These Men were Sinners, 'tis true, but not more than others; and if God suffered them to be thus cruelly destroyed, 'tis for an Example to you, that being thus forewarned by it, you may by a seasonable Reformation appease his most just Vengeance. What think you of those eighteen Persons that were killed by the Fall of the Tower of Siloe? Do you suppose they were greater Sinners than all the other Inhabitants of Jerusalem? No; God has suffered them to be thus destroyed, that the Rest taking Warning by their Misfortune, may avoid the like by a timely Repentance. To which Purpose he added this Similitude: A certain Man had a Fig-tree in his Vineyard, which for † three Years successively bore no Fruit. He therefore called the Dresser of his Vineyard to him, and told him it had been barren for three Years together, ordering him to cut it down, that it might not take up the Ground, which

* The Sedition of Judas Gaulonites, as it had its Rise in Galilee, found many Abettors there, who coming up to Jerusalem, insinuated that they were the Lord's People, and therefore were not to pay Tribute to Cæsar: Probably therefore these Galileans, whose Blood Pilate mingled with their Sacrifices, were Promoters of this Sedition.

† Three Years seem to be expressly mentioned here, because some Fig-trees came not to Maturity till the third Year.

might be planted with a more fruitful Tree. The Man intreated him to let him try one Year more, whether he could not bring it to bear by manuring the Ground about it; but if after all his Care it continued barren, he would willingly obey his Orders.

IV. *Jesus being at a certain Time in a Synagogue of Galilee on the Sabbath day, it happened that a Woman was there also, who had been afflicted for eighteen Years with a sore Disease by the evil Spirit, so that she was not able to stand upright. Jesus seeing her, called her to him; and laying his Hands upon her, said, Woman, be thou freed from thy Infirmary. These Words were no sooner pronounced, but the Woman recovered; and standing up, gave Thanks to God. The Ruler of that Synagogue observing it, rebuked the Multitude with Indignation for flocking to Jesus on the Sabbath-day, which they knew was a Day of Rest, and not on the other six Days, in which it was lawful for every one to follow their Employment, and consequently for Jesus also to cure them of their Distempers. Jesus overhearing him, sharply rebuked him for his Hypocrisy: O thou Pretender, said he, why dost thou dissemble what thou canst not but know full well, namely, that there are some Works which it is not unlawful to perform on the Sabbath-day? Do not all Men know it is lawful to loose an Ox or an Ass, and lead him to Water? and is it not a general Practice? Might not I then, as I may say, loose this Woman, who is a Daughter of Abraham, from that Bond with which the Devil had held her fast for these eighteen Years? This Defence confounded all his Adversaries; but the Generality of the People glorified God for the Wonders which they saw performed by Jesus.*

At that Time Jesus, reflecting on the small Number of Converts and true Believers, in Comparison of the Multitude he foresaw should believe on him, began to say, as he had done in another Place before; *To what is the Kingdom of God like, and with what shall I compare it? It is like a Grain of Mustard-seed, which being planted in a Garden, becomes a large Tree, so that the Birds find Room to build their Nests in it. To what else shall I resemble it? It is like a little Lump of Leaven, which being mixed with three Measures of Wheat, the Whole is augmented by it. So also shall the Gospel, whose Limits at present are so confined, be spread far and near throughout the Universe, and a very great Multitude be added to the little Flock of those that are as yet true Believers.*

Thus he instructed the People in every Village and Town of Galilee, through which he passed by short Marches, on the Road to Jerusalem, against the Feast of Dedication. At that Time being asked by a certain Person, whether many or few only should be saved, he replied: "That the Gate was narrow that led to Life, and that therefore Men ought to use their utmost Diligence to endeavour to enter in at it. But the Time, said he, will come, when the Master of the Family shall make fast the Doors, and then many of you standing without shall knock, and earnestly entreat to have Admission; but he will tell you he knows you not. Then shall ye reply in your Defence: Lord, we have eaten at the same Table with thee, and have heard thee preach in our Streets; but he will still tell you that he knows you not, and send you from him together with the Workers of Iniquity. Then shall you lament, and be oppressed with incredible

¶ That a Grain of Mustard Seed grows into a Tree is mentioned Matth. xiii. 32. In the Babylonish Talmud there is Mention of three Boughs of Mustard, one of which being taken off from the rest, yielded nine Kabs of Seed, and the Wood thereof was sufficient to cover a little House. There are several other-like Passages in the Jewish Writers.

Anguish,

Anguish, when you shall behold *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, the Founders of your Nation, and all the Prophets, enjoying the Glory of the Kingdom of Heaven, from which you will be excluded. Moreover, many shall come from the remotest Parts of the Earth, from the East, the West, the North, and South, and shall feast with your Ancestors in the Kingdom of God. At that Time you will see some that received the Gospel last, and seemed to be the most averse to it, obtain the first Seats of Happiness: On the contrary, those to whom the Gospel was first preached, and whom it concerned in the first Place, shall be postponed as less deserving than the others."

On the same Day, some *Pharisees* came to him, and advis'd him to depart out of *Galilee* with the first Opportunity, because *Herod* the Tetrarch of *Galilee* sought an Occasion of putting him to Death; as he had before done to *John the Baptist*. *Jesus* bid them acquaint that Fox, for so he called *Herod* by reason of his Craft, that he would for a short Time cast out evil

Spirits, and heal the Sick, and that he knew he should be put to Death afterwards; and that for this Reason he designed to go to *Jerusalem*, which City had as it were by long Prescription claimed the Privilege of murdering God's Prophets. Then turning his Discourse to the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, he cried out: O ye miserable Men, who are wont to kill and stone those that God sends unto you! how often have I endeavoured to gather you all to me, that being made my Disciples you might obtain Salvation, and that I might cover you from the Dangers you are threatened with, as a Hen secures her young ones under her Wings? But you would not attend to my Admonitions: Therefore is your House left desolate and laid waste. For my Part, when I am once gone from you, I shall not return to be seen by you, till that Time in which you would with all your Heart receive me in the Name of God, with loud Acclamations of Joy, in Hopes of being delivered from the Punishments that shall be inflicted on you.

CHAP. VI.

I. *Jesus goes to dine at a Pharisee's House, on a Sabbath-Day, and by the Way cures a dropsical Man.* II. *The Parables of the lost Sheep and the lost Piece of Money.* III. *The Parable of the prodigal Son.* IV. *The Parable of the unjust Steward, concerning the true Use of Riches.* V. *The Parable of the rich Man and Lazarus, propounded as a Caution against the Abuse of Riches.* VI. *Jesus cures ten Lepers in his Way to Jerusalem, one of whom only returns Thanks.* VII. *The Parable of the unjust Judge and the importunate Widow.* VIII. *The Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, who prayed at the same Time in the Temple.* IX. *Jesus comes to Jerusalem at the Feast of Dedication, and discourses to the Jews of himself and of their Infidelity. They endeavour to stone him, but he avoids their Fury.*

I. **O**N a Sabbath Day it happened, that *Jesus* was invited to dine with a certain *Pharisee*, a Member of the *Sanhedrim*; where were also present many of that Sect, who narrowly watched *Je-*

sus, whether he would do any thing not agreeable to the Law of *Moses*. Being therefore on the Way to the *Pharisee's* House, there was laid before him one sick of the Dropsy, who beseeched him to

have Mercy on him. *Jesus* taking notice of the Man, asked the *Pharisees* and Doctors of the Law, whether it were not lawful to cure him on the Sabbath-Day. But they held their Peace, for fear of being put to the Blush by some unwary Answer, as others had been served. But *Jesus* taking hold of him, healed him, and dismissed him: Yet knowing withal, that though they said nothing, they did not approve of that Action, he shewed them he had done nothing in the least repugnant to the Law; *since*, said he, *it is a Practice allowed of, for which No-body is blamed as acting against the Law: For if an Ox or an Ass fall into a Ditch on the Sabbath, you'll do your utmost to take him out on that same Day: How much rather is it agreeable to the Law, to rescue a Man from a lingring and dangerous Distemper on the Sabbath-Day?* To which the *Pharisee* had nothing to object.

Being now come to the *Pharisee's* House, and in the Room of Entertainment, he took notice with what Contention every one strove for the uppermost Seat, and began thus to admonish them: "When you are invited to a Wedding, do not immediately take the highest Place, lest a more honourable Person comes after, and thou be turned down with Shame to make Room for him. Rather seat yourselves in the lowest Place, that when he that invited you comes in, he may himself advance you in the Sight of the Guests, which will gain you Respect among them. So in all other Actions of your Life, not only with respect to Men, but God also, behave yourselves with that Modesty, as rather to attribute too little than too much Honour to yourselves. For the Proud shall most certainly be debased by God and Men, while on the contrary the modest Man will be in Favour with, and exalted by them." Then addressing himself to the Master of the House: "As often, *said he*, as thou makest an Enter-

tainment, if thou designest to have it pleasing in God's Sight, do not invite thy Friends, thy Brothers, thy Relations, or rich Neighbours, who can retaliate thy Kindness. It will be a greater Instance of Generosity to feast those that want more, and can make thee no Return; such as the Poor and Miserable, the Lame, and Blind, and Maim'd, who are indigent, and stand in need of thy Charity. Then blessed shall you be for your Liberality; for though these poor Wretches have not wherewith to recompense you, God himself will see you rewarded in that Day, when the Just shall after the Resurrection be admitted into the Seats of endless Bliss."

One that was at Table with him, hearing what *Jesus* said, cried out: "Happy certainly must he be who shall be feasted in the Kingdom of God." *Jesus* therefore took this Occasion to upbraid the *Jews* with their Obstinacy in this Parable. "A certain Man prepared a magnificent Entertainment, to which many were invited. The Banquet being ready, and none of the Guests come, he sent his Servant to every one of them to acquaint them with it. It happened that they all refused to come, upon various Pretences; one had bought a Farm, another five Yoke of Oxen, and a third was married, and in like manner they desired all to be excused. The Master of the Feast, vexed to be thus disappointed, and deluded by those for whom he had prepared it, commanded his Servant to go immediately into the Streets and publick Places, and invite the Lame, the Blind, and the Beggars he should meet with. The Servant punctually obeyed his Orders, but still there was Room for more than he had picked up; of which having informed his Lord, he commanded him to go out once more to the most frequented Places, and if need were, to press them by all Manner of Intreaties to come and fill his Table. For, *said*

said he, none of those that were invited were worthy, and I design to have all my Provisions spent, that if any of them should come afterwards they may be disappointed." In which Parable he plainly denoted the Condition of the Jews, to whom the Gospel had been first preached, and by whose Obstinacy the Heathens should enjoy those Benefits of which they had the first Tender.

Jesus was followed all the Way he went to Jerusalem, by a vast Multitude, who thronged about him to hear him; for he always taught in every Town and Village through which he passed. Observing them, and turning to his Disciples, he told them, that every one that designed to embrace his Doctrine should do it with a Resolution to prefer it to all worldly Considerations; and that rather than neglect the least Branch of their Duty, he ought † to forsake Parents, Children, Brethren, and Sisters, and have no more Regard for them upon the Comparison, than if he actually hated them.

II. The Pharisees and Doctors of the Law, taking notice of the Crowd of Publicans and Sinners that resorted to hear his Doctrine, and were kindly received by Jesus, were enraged against him, and defamed him, for keeping them Company, and not scrupling to eat with them. Jesus therefore, to shew how unjust their Censure was, used these Similitudes. *If one of you, who has a hundred Sheep, lose one out of his Flock, he will presently leave the ninety nine in the Wilderness, and go in Quest of that which is gone astray, and not leave off till he has found it: And when he has found it, belays it upon his Shoulders, that he may the sooner restore it to the Flock, and full of Joy acquaints his Friends and Neighbours with his good Luck, and expects to be congratu-*

tulated by them. Thus do the Angels in Heaven rejoice at the Repentance of one Sinner, more than at the steady Virtue of ninety and nine good Persons, who for that Reason stand in no Need of any such Repentance.-----If a Woman, out of her little Hoard of ten Pieces of Money, shall lose one in the Night, she will presently light her Candle, and sweep her House, and pry into every Corner till she recovers it; with a greater Concern for the Loss of that one Piece, than Pleasure in the sure Possession of the remaining nine. When she has found it, she will acquaint her Friends and Neighbours with the happy News, and expect they should all testify their Gladness on that Account, though she discovered no unusual Joy when she had the whole ten in Safety. Thus, in the like Degree, do the Angels in Heaven express their Pleasure, when they take notice of the Recovery of but one Sinner from the Error of his Ways.

III. Afterwards he spake this Parable to them: *A certain Man had two Sons; the younger being full of Fire, and unmanageable, and eager to have at his own Disposal wherewith to support his Extravagance, and gratify to the full his sensual Appetites, was never at rest till he had persuaded his Father to divide his Estate between them. Which the Father at last complied with, though without any Injury to his eldest Son. The jolly Youth, having gained this Point, and a few Days after got his Equipage ready, went travelling into a remote Country under Pretence of merchandizing, where he quickly squandered away the intire Sum. Being thus by his Lusts reduced to the utmost Beggary, and in a Country where that Year the Scarcity of Corn was next to a Famine, he was compelled, that he might preserve himself from starving, to hire himself to one who daily employed him in the vile Drudgery of look-*

† To hate Father, Mother, &c. in this Place, can signify only comparatively, that we should love them less than God: For it is certainly impious to hate our Parents and near Relations.

ing to his Swine. In this Employment he was so severely stinted, that he had not the Liberty of satisfying his Hunger with the very Husks he gave the Swine. This excessive Misery brought him at last to his right Wits, and to this Reflection; That his Father had many hired Servants who had Bread as much as they would eat, while he who was his Son, was ready to starve in the basest Servitude imaginable. He resolves therefore to return Home, and there intreat his Father to forgive him that Offence, which he had committed against God and him, when out of a youthful Confidence of his own Discretion he prevailed with him for his Share of the Estate, which he had so wretchedly abused; owning himself unworthy to be called his Son, and desiring no greater Favour than the Allowance of the meanest of his Servants.

Accordingly he undertook the Journey, and being not far from the House, his Father seeing him at a Distance in so sad a Condition, pitied him, and ran towards him, and embrac'd him with a very ardent Affection: The young Man, now thoroughly struck with Shame, cried out: Father, I have sinned against Heaven and thee, and no more deserve to be accounted thy Son, use me as a hired Servant. But the Father, instead of the just Reprimand his Son might have expected, commanded his Servants to bring out the best Apparel, to put a Ring on his Finger; and Shoes on his Feet. Then, said he, let us kill the fatted Calf, and spend this Day in Mirth and Gladness, since this our Son, who was as it were dead, is restored to me. At which Words the whole Family testified their Joy on the Occasion. It happened in the mean time that the elder Son, who had been in the Country, was now returning Home; and being at some Distance from the House, he heard the Musick and Dancing; and being informed by a Servant, whom he met accidentally, of the Reason of it, he was filled with Anger against his Father, and would not go in, till

he bearing of it, came out, and earnestly entreated him to rejoice with them. This Son began to upbraid his Father with his Unkindness to him, who had been all along with him, and had constantly obeyed him, reproaching him that whereas he has killed the fatted Calf, and made a great Feast for the Sake of his younger Brother, who had squandered away all his Patrimony in riotous and luxurious Living, he had never been so liberal to him, nor allowed him to entertain his Friends in so sumptuous a Manner. The Father then replied, that he had been always at home, and had the use of his whole Estate, to which he also was Heir; that therefore laying aside all Envy, he ought rather to rejoice at his Brother's Return, who was so strangely restored to them, when he was given over by all as lost. In which Parable he plainly enough told the Pharisees, and others of the Jews, who set up for a stricter sort of Life, that they ought to be so far from repining at his Friendship and Familiarity with Publicans, and others of their Stamp, whose Reputation was none of the best, that they ought rather to rejoice at so certain a Token of their Repentance, as being delighted with his Discourses and Company, who injoin'd them a much stricter Course of Life than formerly.

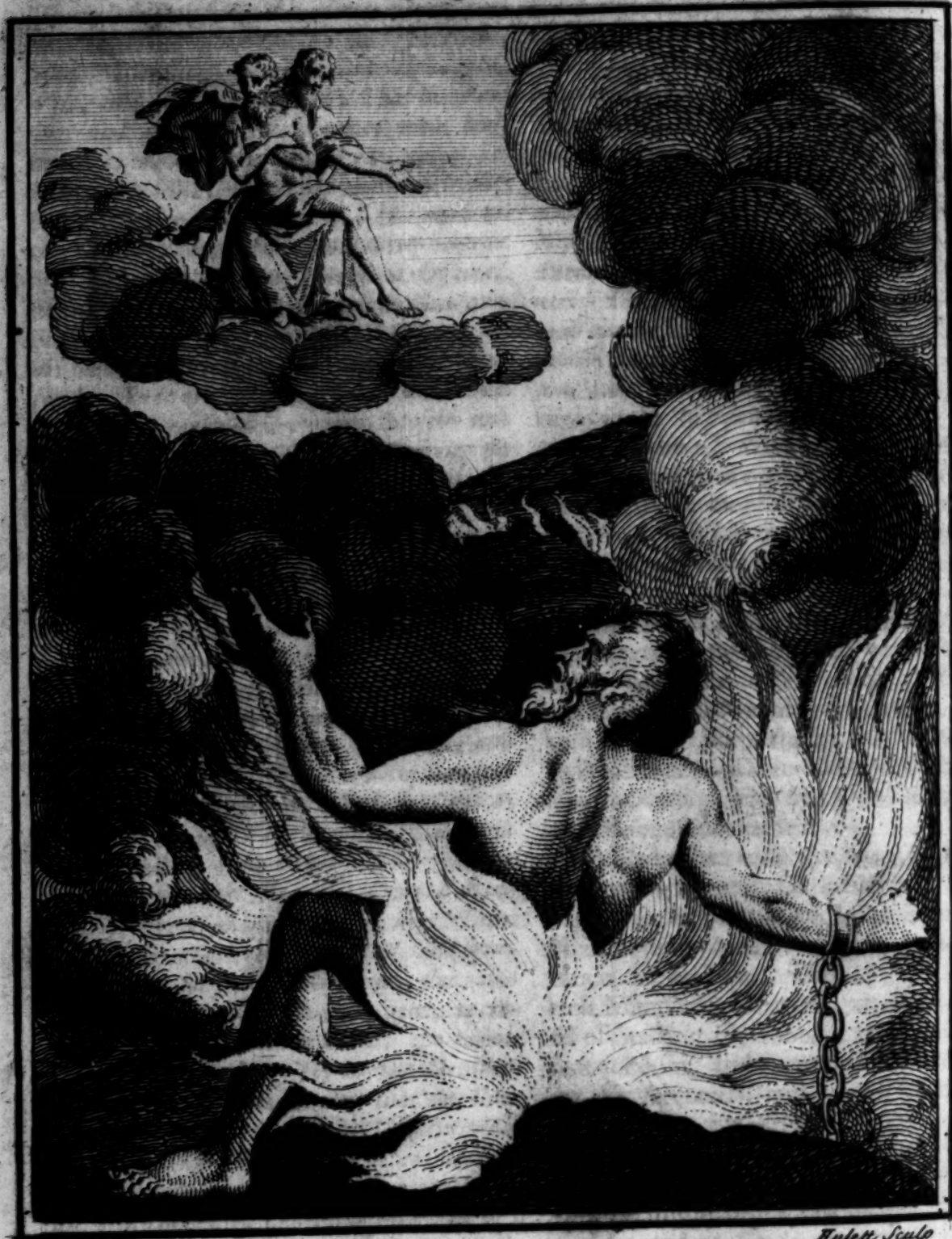
IV. Jesus afterwards spoke many Things concerning the true Use of Riches, which ought to be employ'd in relieving the Necessities of the Poor; and on this Occasion he said unto them, "A certain rich Man had a Steward, who was accused of wasting his Goods; upon which he sent for him, and order'd him to make up his Accounts, and withal told him, he had no farther need of him. The Steward perceiving he should be dismiss'd from his Employment, began to consider how he might be able to subsist, since he had learned no Trade, and could not endure the Thoughts of begging, or working for a Livelihood. To secure himself

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St. Luke 10 Verse 2
And he will be up for ever, being of comfort, and
with them that off, and forgive us our debts.

The rich man lying in torments .



ST. LUKE 16. Verse 23.

Hulet Sculp

*And in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and
seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.*

a Retreat therefore, after being turn'd out of the Family, he calls several of his Lord's Debtors to him, and ask'd one how much he was indebted to his Lord, who replied, One hundred Measures of Oil. Then, said he, take thy Bill, and set down fifty. Another being ask'd the same Question, and having answered that he ow'd a hundred Measures of Wheat, was directed to alter the Figures, and set down eighty. Hereby he got himself the Good-will of his Master's Debtors. This being told his Lord, though he did not approve the Fact, yet he could not forbear praising the Steward's Craft, for having thus purchas'd Friends against a Time of need out of another's Stock. The Truth of it is, Men who have addicted themselves intirely to the Business of this World, are more skill'd in the Management of it, than the Jews, who have a divine Light to guide them, are in reference to Things of another World. And I advise you to get yourselves Friends by means of those Goods which are very often unjustly acquir'd, that when you and your Riches shall be parted by Death, your good Deeds may convey you to the Seats of endless Bliss.

V. Jesus having thus reprov'd the Pharisees, returned to the Subject he was discoursing of, namely the true Use of Riches, which consists in Liberality to the Poor; and to shew of how great Consequence this Virtue is, he spake the following Parable to them, which may also serve for Consolation to good Men in their greatest Wants and Calamities. * " There were

two Men vastly different in their Conditions; the one abounded in Wealth, and treated himself daily with all the Effeminacy and Luxury imaginable; the other a poor despised Wretch, called *Lazarus*, sick and covered all over with Sores and Boils, who was wont to lie at the rich Man's Door, and implore his Charity. He would have thought himself happy with the meanest Scraps, and the very Crumbs of Bread that fell from a Table spread with such Profusion: But his Wants and Prayers were unregarded, and none of the Family came to give him the least Relief. The Dogs sometimes would come and lick his Sores, as if they had been touched with Compassion for a Man that was thus wholly neglected by his Fellow Creatures. The good, though miserable *Lazarus*, not long after died, and his Soul was by the Angels conveyed into those happy Seats, where the Souls of *Abraham* and other devout Persons expect the Resurrection, and was there placed next to *Abraham* himself. The rich Man also died, whose Carcase was attended with all the usual Pomp, and laid in the Grave; but his Soul condemned to the Place of Torment, from whence he beheld *Abraham*, and *Lazarus* † next him, who while he was alive had been the Object of his Scorn and Contempt.

In this miserable Situation, the rich Man loudly cried out to *Abraham* the Father of his Family, to have so much Pity as to send *Lazarus* to him, that having dip't but the Tip of his Finger in Water, he might give him at least a momentary

* That this is only a Parable, and not a real History, is evident from the Circumstances of it; such as the rich Man's lifting up his Eyes in Hell, and seeing *Lazarus* in *Abraham's* Bosom; his Discourse with *Abraham*, and his Complaint of being tormented with Flames. Those Antients who believed it to be a real History, held the Soul to be corporeal, and that it had the Shape or Resemblance of a Man after Death; and this made their Opinion consistent with itself: But those who hold the Soul to be immaterial, can no ways reconcile the Ideas given in this Relation with what they maintain for Truth in general.

† His being in *Abraham's* Bosom, intimates his sitting next him, and leaning on his Bosom, as St. John did on our Saviour's, agreeably to the Custom of the Jewish Nation at that Time.

Ease,

Ease, and affluage that intolerable Thirst he felt in the Flames to which he was condemned. But *Abraham* commanded this Son of his to remember, that during his Life he had been satiated with all Manner of Delicacies, and that *Lazarus*, though a good Man, had struggled with grievous Calamities; adding, that the Time was now come in which the Conditions of both were changed, and that it was his Turn now to mourn, and that of *Lazarus* to rejoice: Besides, that there was a vast Abyss between the Place of the Blessed and that of the Damned, which made a mutual Intercourse between them impracticable. The rich Man then intreated *Abraham* to send *Lazarus* to his Family, that he might admonish his five Brothers to repent, and take care by his Example to avoid the Place of Torment. *Abraham* replied, that they had the Writings of *Moses* and the other Prophets to direct them; and that by observing their Precepts they might escape the Punishment inflicted on him. They have indeed, said the rich Man, these Means to guide them, but they are not affected with Things as they ought: But if one were sent to them from the Dead on Purpose to reclaim them, it is impossible that such a Warning should prove ineffectual. *Abraham* replied, That those who by an evil Affection, and an habitual Course of Vice, neglected to observe the Precepts of *Moses* and the other Prophets, would for the same Reason be deaf to the Admonitions of one that went from the Dead on Purpose to reclaim them."

VI. *Jesus* in the mean Time, as we said, pursued his Journey to *Jerusalem*, not in the direct Road through *Samaria*, but round about by the Confines of *Samaria* and *Galilee*. Being arrived at a certain Village in that Country, ten Lepers met him, who stopped short at some Distance from him, (for they are not permitted to come near those that are free

from that Distemper,) and with a loud Voice beseeched him to have Compassion on their miserable State. *Jesus* looking on them, said, "Go immediately, and shew yourselves to the Priest: In doing this you shall be cured." They accordingly went, and upon the Way perceiv'd they were cleansed from their Leprosy. Nevertheless they all continued their Journey, except one, who perceiving himself cured, gave Thanks aloud to God, and return'd to *Jesus*, and fell down at his Feet, in Token of his Gratitude. Now this Man was a *Samaritan*, and all the others *Jews*. *Jesus* taking notice of him, said, "There were ten Lepers cleansed; where are the other nine? There is none come to own the Blessing they have received from God by my Means, save this one, who is not descended from the Family of *Jacob*. Then addressing himself to the *Samaritan*; Arise, said he, and depart with Joy; thy Faith was the Reason of thy Recovery.

VII. *Jesus* then represented to his Disciples in the ensuing Parable, that they ought to be constant in Prayer, and not to despond, though their Requests were not granted immediately. "There was a certain Judge, who had no Sense of Religion, and was unconcern'd for his Reputation among Men, but was wholly selfish, minding only his own Advantage. There was also, in the same Town, a Widow, that had received an Injury, who came to him, and begged him to do her Justice against her Adversary. The Judge for a while gave no Ear to her Complaints; but at last tir'd with her Importunity, he resolv'd to right her, not out of any Principle of Conscience, but merely to get rid of her. *Jesus* then making Reflection upon the Story, You perceive, said he, how that unjust Magistrate was at last prevail'd on by the Widow's Assiduity: Make no Question then but God will deliver those that serve him from

ST. LUKE CHAP. XVIII.
The Pharisee and Publican praying.



ST. LUKE is Verse 10.
The man went up into the Temple to pray,
the one a Pharisee & the other a Publican.

S^T LUKE CHAP. XVIII.
The Pharisee and Publican praying.



S^T LUKE 18. Verse 10.

*Two men went up into the Temple to Pray,
the one a Pharisee, & the other a Publican.*

from the Persecution of the Wicked, if they pour out their constant Prayers to him; though he may seem to delay it, that he may afford the Wicked a longer Space to repent in. Nay, assure yourselves that this Controversy between the Good and the Bad shall be speedily decided; though the Son of Man, when he comes to execute this Vengeance on the Jewish Nation, shall find few in that Nation to believe he comes for that Purpose.

VIII. He spake also this other Parable, concerning such as set a mighty Value on their own Perfections, and esteem themselves singular good Persons, but treat others with Contempt and Scorn. Two Men went together to the Temple to pray, the one of that austere Sect the Pharisees, and the other a Publican, that had indulg'd himself in a freer Way of living. The Pharisee standing with an erect Countenance, spoke to this Effect: I thank thee, O God, that I am not like to the generality of Men, that I am not rapacious, unjust, or a Defiler of another's Bed; nor yet like this Publican; (for it happened they were both in the same Court of the Temple:) I fast twice a Week, and pay Tithes of every Thing I have, without the least fraudulent Deduction. But the Publican standing at a Distance from the Sanctuary, durst not so much as lift up his Eyes towards Heaven, but smiting his Breast, said in a low Voice, God be merciful to me a Sinner! This Man's modest Demeanor was, I assure you, more acceptable to God, than all those Virtues the Pharisee boasted with so much Arrogance and Disdain. Hence learn that the true Way to rise, is to be humble-minded; and that the Proud shall be miserably deceiv'd in their Expectations.

IX. Jesus at last arriv'd at Jerusalem to celebrate the Feast of Dedication, which happen'd on the Nones of December; and it being Winter, he walk'd in the Porch of Solomon, and was immediately surrounded with a Multitude of Jews,

who thus accosted him: *Why dost thou keep us so long in suspense? If thou art really the Messiah, why dost thou not plainly own it?* Jesus answer'd; *I have sufficiently shewn who I am, but you will not believe me, though the Miracles I have perform'd by the Authority my Father has confer'd upon me, are unexceptionable Witnesses to the Truth of what I say, and demonstrate my divine Commission.* Yet you do not believe me, because (as I told you the last Feast of Tabernacles) you are none of my Sheep; for these, namely such as are ready to embrace the Truth whencesoever it comes, presently distinguish my Voice from the Impostor's; that is, they clearly perceive that my Doctrine is of a divine Original. I also know my Sheep, and observe the Steps they make in Imitation of me; and I will reward them with eternal Life in my Sheepfold, and securely guard them from the Insults of their Enemies. My Father is over all, and none can force them out of his powerful Protection. Now my Father and I are one, and you may as well think of wresting them out of his Hand as mine. The Jews therefore, as they did in the former Feast, took up Stones to cast at him. But with an undaunted Presence of Mind he told them, he had accumulated his Benefits upon them: Now for which of my good Deeds, said he, do you intend to stone me, for you can't accuse me of any one Crime? Then said the Jews; 'Tis not for any good Deed that we throw Stones at thee, but for Blasphemy; because thou, being a Man, makest thyself a God by stiling him thy Father. To which Accusation he thus replied: Is it not written in your Books, which you esteem the Rule of your Words and Actions, in the Person of God speaking to Magistrates, Psal. 86. 6. I have said, ye are Gods? If then these Books, in which 'tis impossible there should be any Error, call those Gods who act in God's Name, Magistrates for Instance, whose Authority is originally deriv'd from God, with what

Pretence can you accuse me of Blasphemy for calling myself the Son of God, who am immediately consecrated by God himself, and appointed to bring the good Tidings of Salvation to Men? I require you not to believe me merely for my saying so; consider the Miracles I perform, which are incontestable Proofs of the Truth of it. Since I do these Miracles, though you distrust my Say-

ings, yet your Faith is due to those Works of God my Father wrought by me, by which 'tis evident the Father is in me, and I in him. On this the Jews attempted to lay hold of him, to bring him before the Sanhedrim; but he went out, and escap'd their Violence as easily as he had done before.

CH A P. VII.

- I. Jesus departs into Galilee. II. He receives and blesses little Infants. III. Lazarus of Bethany falls sick. Jesus is informed of it. IV. He comes to Bethany, and is met by Martha, Mary, and the Jews. V. Jesus weeps. The Resurrection of Lazarus. VI. The propheticall Opinion of Caiphas, which the whole Assembly comes into.*

I. **W**HEN the Feast of Dedication was over, Jesus returned from Judea into Galilee; but continued not long there; for leaving that Country, which was under the Government of Herod, he went towards the Confines of Judea, through that Part of the Country situated nigh the Banks of Jordan; and in the Beginning of the fourth Year of his Ministry, settled in that Place where John at first baptized the Penitents. To this Place many repaired to hear him, and some also to be cured of their Infirmities: For, according to his Custom, he expounded the Laws of the Kingdom of Heaven to his Hearers, and cured all the Sick that were presented to him. Those therefore that remembered they had seen John baptizing there, and heard his Doctrine, said one to another; John indeed did no Miracle, but every Thing he foretold of Jesus is confirmed by the Event. For which Reason many believed in him.

II. At that Time certain little Infants were brought unto him, whom the Parents desired him to lay his Hands on, and bless: But the Apostles, thinking they were unnecessarily troublesome to

their Master, chid them, and would have turned them away: Which Jesus perceiving, and taking this Occasion to repeat an Admonition to them, to which they seemed not to have sufficiently attended; Take heed, said he, that you do not prohibit these little Children to be brought to me: I am to remind you, that they only whose Dispositions resemble the Innocence and Simplicity of these Babes, shall partake of the Rewards that will be distributed in the Kingdom of Heaven. I declare to you, that whoever does not shake off his Prejudices, evil Habits, and Vices, when he professes himself my Disciple, shall not be reckoned as a Denison in that Kingdom. Then taking the Infants in his Arms, he laid his Hands on them, and blessed them.

After this he departed from that Place, and upon the Road was met by a young Man of a noble Family among the Jews; who falling down at his Feet, Good Master, said he, instruct me what I shall do to obtain eternal Life. Then said Jesus, Why callest thou me Good? There is one good, namely God, who is to be believed in all Things, and for whose Sake thou oughtest to believe me, also for the Miracles I perform

form by his Authority, which testify concerning me. But in Answer to thy Question, be informed, That there is one certain Way to obtain eternal Life, namely, an universal Obedience to his Commands. The young Man asked him, what particular Commands he meant? Jesus replied; Those that are contained in the Decalogue, which forbid Murder, Theft, bearing False-witness, all Manner of defrauding; and enjoin Reverence towards one's Parents; all which are comprehended in that general Rule of loving our Neighbour as ourself. The young Man made Answer, that he had observed all these from his Youth, and demanded whether there was any thing else wanting. Jesus looking on him with great Affection, told him that there was still one thing more, and that if he would complete his Obedience, he ought to go immediately, for some certain Reasons, and sell all his Estate, that with the Money he might be able to relieve the Necessities of abundance of poor Wretches; and in so doing he should have an ample Reward in the divine Favour, a Treasure infinitely more valuable than that he should thus part with, and secure from all Danger of being lost: That then, becoming his Disciple, he should be employed in publishing the good Tidings of the Kingdom of Heaven, having prepared himself for so holy a Calling by a fixed Determination to undergo the greatest Calamities for the Sake of it. The young Man upon this went away melancholy, not being able to digest the Thoughts of thus parting with a great Estate.

Jesus observing this Disposition, and looking round to see whether his Disciples had taken any Notice of the young Man's Consternation; *How hard a Matter is it,* said he, *for rich Men to become Members*

of the Kingdom of Heaven! This Exclamation proved as great a Surprize to his Disciples, who imagined that Riches got in an honest Way were Arguments of the divine Favour, and that in the Kingdom of the Messiah they should abound in Wealth, and an Affluence of all Things. Jesus then repeating it, but more clearly; *O my Sons,* said he, *it is difficult indeed for those who place their Happiness in this World's Goods, and set their Hearts upon them, to make themselves capable of enjoying the Felicity of the Kingdom of Heaven. It is easier for a * Camel to pass through the Eye of a Needle, than for these Men to taste the Happiness of that Kingdom, while they are pressed down by these degenerate base Desires.* The Disciples admired still more and more at a Doctrine so contrary to their pre-conceived Opinions, and said to one another, *Who then can be saved, since almost all Men at least desire to be rich.*

III. While Jesus was returning from Judea into Galilee, it happened that Lazarus of Bethany, who he greatly loved, fell sick. Now he was the Brother of Martha and Mary, at whose House Jesus formerly lodged; the latter of which, anointed his Feet with a precious Ointment, and wiped them with the Hair of her Head. These Sisters, knowing how much their Brother was beloved by him, sent to acquaint him with his Sickness, that if he saw fit he might restore him to his Health. Jesus having heard it, comforted them, by assuring them they should not by this Distemper be deprived of the Brother Lazarus; but that he would not as yet cure him, that the Power of God might be the more conspicuous by a remarkable Miracle, which would raise the Wonder of many, to a no small Admiration of the Son of God. Wherefore, though Jesus had a very great Kindness

* Some read a Cable-ropes, which agrees better than a Camel with the Idea of going through the Eye of a Needle.

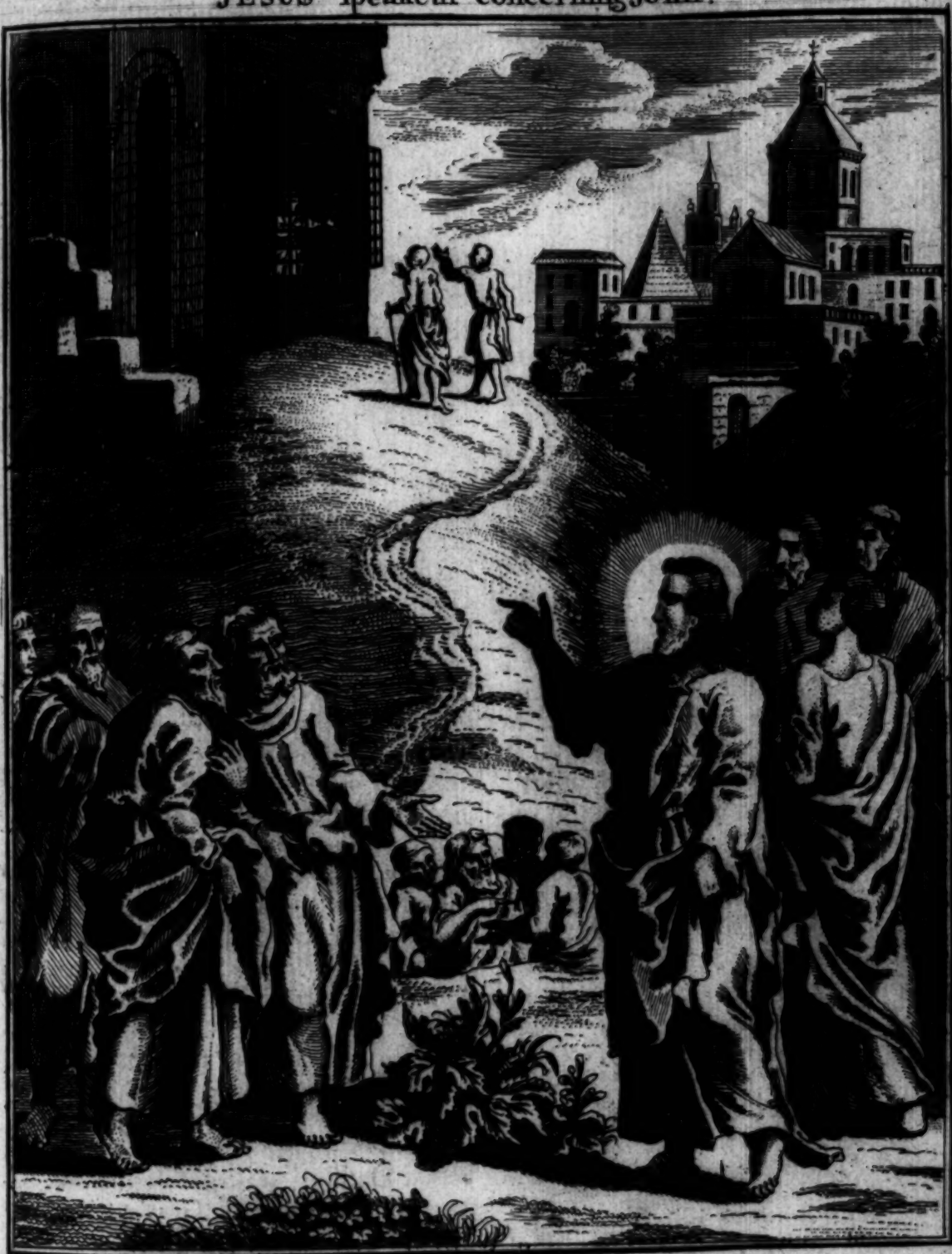
for the whole Family, and especially for *Lazarus*, yet he continued in those Parts two Days after he had received the Message.

When these were expired, he acquainted his Apostles with his Design of returning into *Judea*; who endeavoured to deter him from it, by representing that the *Jews* took all Occasion, as he well knew, to stone him, and therefore it was not safe to trust himself among them. *Jesus* replied in this Similitude: *As there are twelve Hours in the Day, in which a Man is in no Danger of stumbling, having the Light of the Sun to guide him, but is very liable to it in the Night by reason of the Darkness; so also I have nothing to be afraid of, while the Time lasts in which God has determined to secure me against all the Attacks and Underminings of the Jews; and I shall only be in Danger when that Time is expired, and the dark Powers of the Wicked unrestrained.* When he had thus spoke, he said to his Apostles, *Our Friend Lazarus sleeps, but I am going into Judea to awake him.* The Apostles answered, that if he slept, he would in all Likelihood recover, and so there would be no Occasion for his Journey; for *Jesus* having spoke concerning the Sleep of Death, they misunderstood his Words of taking Rest in Sleep. He then plainly told them, that he was dead; and that he was glad he had not been at *Bethany* during his Sicknefs, because at his Sister's Intreaty he should have cured him; whereas now he had an Occasion of shewing a remarkable Miracle, which would confirm their Faith. For which Reason, he told them, he was resolved to go thither. *Thomas*, surnamed *Didymus*, said to the rest of the Apostles; Let us go also with him, that if it be necessary, we may die together with him, rather than betray our Trust.

IV. When *Jesus* arrived at *Bethany*, the Body of *Lazarus* had been four Days buried, and many of the Citizens were come from *Jerusalem*, which was but about two Miles distant, to condole with *Martha* and *Mary* for the Loss of their Brother. *Martha*, when she heard *Jesus* was coming, went to meet him; but *Mary* remained behind with the Company. *Martha*, as soon as she saw him, cried out, O Sir, if you had been here four Days ago, my Brother had not been dead; but I know very well that whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, he will grant thee: Not daring to add, that at his Request God would not refuse to restore a Man to Life that had been four Days dead, which he was not wont to grant. But *Jesus* knowing her Thoughts, comforted her, by assuring her he would raise her Brother again to Life. *Martha* replied, that she doubted not but he should be raised again at the general Resurrection. But, answered *Jesus*, I have received Power from my Father of restoring every one to Life that believes in me; and whoever lives and believes on me, shall not die eternally. Believest thou what I say to thee? She replied, Lord, I believe whatever thou hast said, since I make no Doubt but thou art the Messiah, the Son of God, which was to come among us. Having said this, she returned Home, and told her Sister, that the Master was returned out of *Galilee*, and would speak with her. *Mary* immediately arose, and leaving the Company, repaired to *Jesus*, who was still in the same Place where *Martha* met him. The Company with her perceiving her run out in that Hast, and imagining she was going through Excess of Grief to her Brother's Sepulchre, to shed some Tears over it, and lament her Loss, followed her; but she went directly to *Jesus*, and falling

† The Faith of *Martha*, according to *Grotius* and others, was weak, in that she only believed, that Christ was prevalent with God, but not that the Fulness of divine Power resided in him.

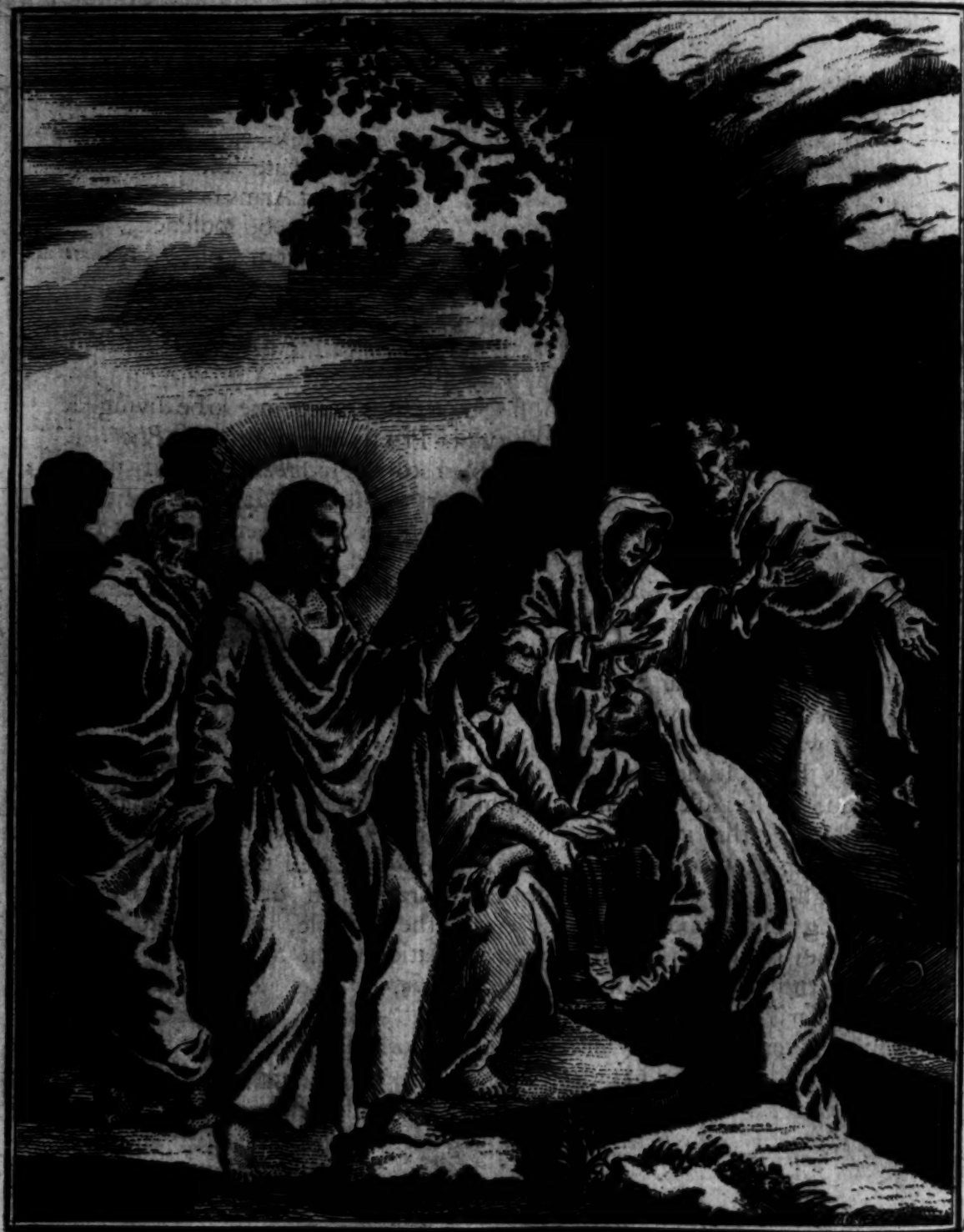
S^T MATTHEW CHAP. XI.
JESUS speaketh concerning John.



S^T MATTHEW 11. Verse 7.

*What went ye out into the Wilderness to see,
A Reed shaken with the Wind.*

ST JOHN CHAP. XI.
JESUS raiseth Lazarus from the dead.



ST JOHN II. Verse 43.
*And when JESUS thus had Spoken, he cried
with a loud voice, Lazarus come forth.*

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down at his Feet, cried out with the same Exclamation as her Sister *Martha*, Sir, if thou hadst been here, my Brother would not have been dead.

V. *Jesus* perceiving her bewail her Brother's Death with so much Concern, and the *Jews* themselves that came to comfort her lamenting, * was touched with the like Passion, and asked where they had laid him; whereupon they carried him to the Sepulchre. In the mean time considering the miserable Condition of human Life, and the great Sorrow the Death of *Lazarus* had occasioned to his Sisters, he could not refrain from weeping. The *Jews* observing his Tears, and the great Friendship he had for *Lazarus*, said to one another, with a sort of a Wonder; Could not this *Jesus*, who was able to give Sight to him that was born blind, by his Power preserve his Friend from the Grave? They came at last to the Sepulchre, which was in a Cave, the Entrance into which was closed with a great Stone, which he ordered them to remove; tho' *Martha* told him it was impossible but he must needs by this Time stink, having been four Days dead. *Jesus* ask'd, whether he had not told her, that if she relied on him she should see a remarkable Miracle, which would afford her an eminent Occasion of adoring the Goodness of God. Upon this they removed the Stone from the Mouth of the Cave in which the Corpse lay. Then *Jesus* who silently had prayed to his Father for the Resurrection of *Lazarus*, lifting up his Hands to Heaven, spoke thus: *I thank thee, O Father, that thou hast granted my Petition: I know, indeed, that thou always bearest my Prayers; but I thus speak for the Sake*

of the Multitude about me, that by observing this wonderful Effect of my Prayers, they may be convinced that thou hast sent me. Having thus spoke, he cried with a loud Voice: *Lazarus arise, and come out of the Sepulchre.* The Corpse immediately having recovered Life and Strength, rose up, his Legs and Arms being bound, which *Jesus* ordered to be loosened.

Many of the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* seeing this Miracle, believed on him; but some repaired to the Chief of the *Pharisees*, and informed them of it, that they might take care their Authority did not suffer by it, if it once came to be divulged. The chief Priests therefore and *Pharisees* assembled to the *Sanhedrim*, and made this Report to them. Many Propositions were debated in the Assembly about this Emergency, and several Expedients offered to secure the State from any Damage that might accrue to it; it being certain that *Jesus* had performed many Miracles, and many would believe him to be the *Messiah*, whom they expected to rescue them from the Tyranny of the *Romans*; and that if they neglected the Matter, it might be attended with a general Insurrection of the *Jews*; which, if it happened, it was to be feared the *Romans* would send an Army, and utterly destroy the City and the Temple, and put the whole *Jewish* Nation to the Sword.

VI. *Caiaphas* was || at that Time the High Priest, who having heard the Debates on both sides, stood up and said, That they were unacquainted with their own Interest who refused to condemn *Jesus*, because he did not appear criminal; and that they ought to take notice, that it was much more advisable that one Man

* We may learn hence, that human Affections and Commotions are not to be condemned as sinful, if they do not incline us to do any thing repugnant to Piety or Reason, but only to express our Affection to our Friend, or our Compassion to Mankind.

|| The High Priesthood, by God's Institution, was to continue during Life; but when the Power came into the Hands of the *Romans*, they changed them at Pleasure.

should be destroyed than the whole Nation cut off. Which Words were truer than he imagined: And being High Priest, it was with a divine Impulse he predicted, that *Jesus* was to be offered as a Victim to expiate the Sins of the People; and that by this Sacrifice it should come to pass, that all who desired to be reckoned in the Number of God's People, should be united into one Body.

The Sanhedrim, moved by these Words of *Caiaphas*, from that Time sought an Opportunity of putting him to Death. For which Reason *Jesus* appeared no more openly, nor in the frequented Places of *Judea*, but remained in a Part of the Country near the Wilderness of *Jericho*, not far from a little Town called *Ephraim*, where he continued with his Apostles till the next Passover.

CHAP. VIII.

I. *Jesus goes towards Jerusalem, and foretels his Death.* II. *Jesus cures the Son of Timæus, and another blind Beggar.* III. *The Jews seek Jesus at Jerusalem.* IV. *He rides to Jerusalem on an Ass, amidst the Acclamations of the People.* V. *Jesus laments over Jerusalem.* VI. *Speaks to them of his approaching Death.*

I. **A** Little before the Passover, *Jesus* left the Desert near *Jericho*, and went for the last Time towards *Jerusalem*: But his Disciples followed him at a Distance, not liking the Journey, as being convinced of the Rage and Malice of the *Jews* against their Master. He therefore took his twelve Apostles apart, and began to foretel what should happen at his Arrival. *We go now, said he, to Jerusalem, where all those Things shall be accomplished which the Prophets have foretold concerning me: For I shall be delivered into the Hands of the Sanhedrim, who will condemn me to Death as a false Prophet: But because the Romans have deprived them of passing a final Sentence in capital Causes, they will accuse me before a Roman Governor, and so after I have been made the Object of their Scorn and Derision, and spit on, and ignominiously scourged, I shall breathe my last upon a Cross, but on the third Day shall rise again.*

Notwithstanding *Jesus* had more than once foretold what should happen to him,

and now again declared it to them in express Terms, yet the Apostles could not conceive how the *Messiah*, the great Deliverer of the *Jews*, should be put to Death, and rise again; a Doctrine they never heard a Syllable of from the Doctors of the Law: And their Prejudices concerning the Terrestrial Monarchy of the *Messiah*, were the Occasion of that Controversy between the Sons of *Zebedee*, which happened in this Journey. For as they were on the Road, in the Retinue that accompanied *Jesus*, they persuaded their Mother to fall down at his Feet, and intreat a Favour of him. Being asked by *Jesus* what her Request was, she answered, She desired he would grant her two Sons the Privilege of sitting on each Side of his Throne; meaning, that he would prefer them to the greatest Places of Dignity in that Kingdom, which they expected he was going to establish among them. *Jesus* addressing himself to them, *You know not, said he, what you desire, who thus dream of a terrestrial Empire.*

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Can you drink of the same † Cup that I must drink of, and be baptized with the same Baptism that I shall be baptized with? Which Words were a Designation of the Sufferings he was to undergo. They replied, They did not refuse to suffer any thing, provided they might obtain what they sued for. Then said Jesus, *You shall indeed endure Afflictions like to mine; but as for sitting on my Right-hand or on my Left, I am not to dispose of any otherwise than as my Father has predetermined.*

II. Jesus being not far from Jericho, attended with his Apostles, and a great Multitude beside, two blind Men met him, the one a noted Beggar, the Son of Timeus, called in the Hebrew Language Bartimeus. These were laid near the Road, and begged Alms of the Passengers; and hearing now a greater Noise than usual, they inquired into the Occasion of it, and were told that Jesus of Nazareth passed by: Upon which, they cried aloud, O Jesus, descended from King David, have Compassion on us! Being thus clamorous and troublesome to the People that passed by, they rebuked them for it: But the blind Men reiterated their Cries, and vehemently urged him to pity their Case. When therefore he was come to the Place where they sat, he ordered them to be brought to him; of which being informed by others, and likewise exhorted to be of good Comfort on that Account, the Son of Timeus, that he might come the sooner to him, let fall his upper Garment. Jesus asked them, What they desired of him. They answered, that they might recover their Sight. Then taking pity of them, he touched their Eyes, and commanded them

to go away, with a full Assurance that they should be cured, by reason of the Faith they had in him. Jesus had no sooner made an End, but they recovered their Sight in an Instant, and followed him, giving Thanks to God for the great Benefit he had conferred upon them. Upon this the whole Multitude, who had been Eye-witnesses of the Miracle, joined with them in praising and glorifying God.

As Jesus passed through Jericho, Zaccheus, an Overseer of the Publicans of those Parts, a very wealthy Man, an Inhabitant of that City, being greatly desirous of seeing Jesus, and unable to satisfy his Curiosity by reason of the Crowd, and his being low of Stature, ran before the Company, and climbed up a Sycamore Tree planted by the Road's Side, that from thence he might get a Sight of him as he passed by. Jesus being come to that Place, lifting up his Eyes, spied Zaccheus in the Tree, and bid him immediately come down, telling him that he designed to go home with him. Zaccheus forthwith obeyed, and received him joyfully. Now all that took notice of it, murmured against Jesus, as if he had been guilty of some immoral Action, in permitting himself to be entertained by a Publican, which Sort of Men were generally decried for debauched Principles and scandalous Lives. Zaccheus, to wipe off the Stain they endeavoured to fix on him, standing before Jesus, said aloud, *Lord, I bestow the Half of my Goods upon the Poor; and if I am guilty of any Extortion I am ready to restore four-fold.* Which was a voluntary Offer of his; for the * Law could not compel him. Jesus hereupon

† The Word Cup, both among sacred and prophane Authors, signifies the Portion, whether of Good or Evil, which befalls Men in this World.

* When what was purloined, or taken by Fraud from another, was voluntarily restored, the Transgressor was to add a fifth Part to the principal Sum, Numb. v. 7. When it was found in his

hereupon told him, That that Day Salvation was come to him, and to his Family, if they followed his Example, since it was evident that he was to be accounted a Son of Abraham, the Father of the Faithful, who was capable of making so generous a Resolution from the Hopes of Reward in another World, though he was not lineally descended from him. Nor, said he, did I enter into this House without Design, since I am come into the World on Purpose to reclaim Men from their Errors, and set them right in the Way to Salvation.

The Multitude having heard this, imagined that Jesus, when come to Jerusalem, the Seat of their antient Kings, would publickly own his being the Messiah, and take the Government of the Jewish Nation upon him. Jesus therefore spake this Parable to them; from which it was not hard to infer, that the Jews were not ready to receive the Kingdom of the Messiah as they ought, nor prepared to make a right Use of God's Benefits; nay, that they should oppose the Messiah, and bring most heavy Judgments upon their Heads. The Son of a certain King, who was obliged to do homage to a more powerful Potentate, took a Journey to his Court, to perform this Condition, that at his Return he might be owned as undoubted Sovereign in his Kingdom. Mean while, he calls ten of his Servants to him, and divided ten Talents equally among them, commanding them to make what Profit they could by them in his Absence. Whilst he was upon the Road, some factious Persons sent Deputies to prefer an Accusation against him, that so they might get him laid

aside. But the Prince having obtained his End, and being returned, in the first Place sent for those Servants in whose Hands he had left the ten Talents, to see what Advantage they had made of them.

The first therefore that appeared, presented to him ten Talents, the Product of what he had gained by the Management of what he was intrusted with. The King, convinced of the Man's Fidelity in this his Trial, not only publickly commended him, but restored the ten Talents to him, and also made him Governor over ten Cities. Another came, and brought him five Talents; whom the King having likewise commended, he made him Governor over five Cities. A third, not to mention the rest, came and offered the single Talent he had left with him, wrapt up in a Cloth, with this Excuse; That he had been afraid of making any Venture with it, by reason of the many Accidents in the Way of Trade, and knowing withal that he was a severe Exactor, and wont, according to the Proverb, to take up that which he had not deposited, and reap what he had not sown. His Lord having heard him, replied, that he could convince him of his Fault out of his own Mouth. For since he was so well acquainted with his Temper, he ought at least to have put it into some Banker's Hands, that at his Return he might receive his own again with Interest; and then ordered the Talent to be taken from him, and given to him that had gained the ten. His Officers put him in Mind that he had already been munificently rewarded with the ten Talents, and that it would be more proper to bestow it on him that had none. But the King told them, that he would not alter his Decree,

his Hands, after he had persevered to conceal what he had stolen, the Penalty was, That he should restore double, Exod. xxii. 4. When an Ox or a Sheep was killed or sold after it was stolen, the Thief was to restore five Oxen for an Ox, and four Sheep for a Sheep, Exod. xxii. 1. The Merit of Zacchæus, compared with this last Law, seems to consist in this, That he restored for Money or Goods, what the Law required only for a living Creature; thereby carrying the Sense of the Precept as high as possible.

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and that they who had made a right Use of what they were intrusted with, should receive the more from him; but that he who abused, or made no Use of, what was left to his Charge, should lose that very Thing which was given him upon those Terms only. In this Parable Jesus set forth the future State of the Jews, who would not make a right Use of God's Bounties to them, but would reject him, and not be convinced by any Method of his being the Messiah: For which Reason they should hereafter be brought to a most strict Account, and severely punished by him in his Kingdom. At that Time, however, none of the Jews hit upon the true Meaning and Design of this Parable.

III. Mean while the Passover drawing near, many were departed from that Country in which Jesus had been last, to Jerusalem, in order to purify themselves against the Celebration of the Passover. These sought for Jesus at Jerusalem, and asked one another whether they thought he would come to the Feast. Now the Sanhedrim had ordained, that if any knew where Jesus was, they should discover him to the Council, that he might be apprehended. Jesus nevertheless went on resolutely towards Jerusalem, and six Days before the Feast arrived at Bethany, where Lazarus dwelt, whom he had restored to Life. Here he was entertained by Martha and Mary: and Lazarus sat down at Table, while Martha attended on them. During the Entertainment, Mary came behind Jesus with a Box of the richest Ointment, made of the true Spikenard, and with it anointed his Feet, and wiped them with the Hair of her Head; and the whole House was filled with the Odour of it. Judas Iscariot, who was to betray him, as we shall hereafter relate, exclaimed against this unnecessary Profusion, as he pretended; saying, That the Ointment might have been sold for above three hundred Denarii, that is, between nine

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and ten Pounds of our Money, and distributed among the Poor. This he said, not out of any Pity for the Poor; but being intrusted with the common Purse, which contained the Benevolences of well-disposed Persons, he was wont to embezzle Part of the Money, and convert it to his own Use. Then said Jesus; Disturb her not in this her pious Office: She has performed this as a fit Ceremony to solemnize my approaching Death, after which Men use to be embalmed with Perfumes and Spices. You will have Opportunities enough of shewing your Charity to the Poor: But this was the last Opportunity she could have had of expressing it to me, who am suddenly to be gone from you.

IV. The News of Jesus's Arrival at Bethany, and lodging in the House of Mary and Martha, being divulged throughout all the neighbouring Country, abundance of People came thither, not only to see him, but to see Lazarus also, whom he had restored to Life: Of which the Sanhedrim being informed, it was debated whether they should cause Lazarus to be put to Death; because many, by the Miracle Jesus had wrought upon him, were convinced that he was indeed sent by God to the Jewish Nation. Jesus having rested at Bethany on the Sabbath-day, the next Day, being the first of the Week, he continued his Journey towards Jerusalem, and passed over that Part of Mount Olivet which belonged to Bethany and Bethphage. From this Place he sent two of his Disciples into the opposite Village; where, he told them, at their coming into it, they should find an Ass tied with its Fole, which had not yet been backed; commanding them to loose them, and bring them to him: And if any Man, said he, ask you the Reason of it, tell him the Master has Occasion for him, and he will immediately let them go. Now Jesus determined to make his Entrance into Jerusalem on this Manner, that the Prophecy

phesy of *Zachariah* concerning the *Messiah* might be fulfilled: *Say ye to the Daughter of Sion, Behold thy King cometh, meek, and riding upon an Ass, or the Foal of an Ass.* The Disciples according to Order went, and found the Ass and the Colt tied by the Door without, in a Place where two Ways met. While they were untying them, some of the By-standers asked them the Reason of it, who replied as *Jesus* had commanded them; upon which they let them go, the Owner of them lending them freely upon this Occasion, being known to *Jesus*. They brought them therefore to him, and having cast their Garments on the Colt, he sat upon it.

In the mean Time, a great many of those who were come to *Jerusalem* to celebrate the approaching Feast of the Passover, having Notice that *Jesus* was coming towards the City over Mount *Olivet*, met him with Branches of Palm-trees in their Hands to demonstrate their Joy upon this Occasion by that outward Ceremony. The Multitude having met him, congratulated his coming with joyful Acclamations, in these or the like Words: *All hail! Blessed is he that cometh to us from God, the King of Israel!* Now *Jesus*, as we said, rode upon an Ass to fulfil the Prophecy of *Zachariah*; but his Disciples knew not why he chose to make his Entrance in that Manner, till after his Ascension reflecting upon the Prophecy, it was no hard Matter to comprehend the Reason of it. While *Jesus* was upon his March to the City, accompanied with abundance of People, they inquired of one another concerning the Resurrection of *Lazarus*, which Miracle was attested by many that were present at it: And their Curiosity to see one who had given such

Demonstration of the divine Authority by which he acted, occasioned a vast Resort to him; and all the Way he went, they strewed the Ground with the Boughs of Trees, and their Garments, as a Mark of their Joy on this Occasion.

Being come to the Foot of Mount *Olivet*, the whole Multitude of his Disciples that went before and after, brake forth into joyful Acclamations, giving Thanks and Praise to God for all the Miracles *Jesus* had wrought among them, and saying, *All hail to the Messiah of the Family of David, who comes to Jerusalem by God's Appointment! May his Reign be prosperous, which is thus established by the Authority of God and not of Men; and let the Angels join with us in giving Thanks and Praise to God.* God from on high continue to be propitious to us. Some Pharisees in the Retinue, heinously offended with the repeated Acclamations, came to *Jesus*, and advised him to silence the Multitude, and put a Stop to these Praises, which they looked on as undeserved and seditious. But *Jesus* replied, *If I should silence these Men, the very Stones would cry out.* The Pharisees hereupon advised the Sanhedrim, to defer no longer the putting in Execution what they had resolved against him, inasmuch as the Number of his Disciples augmented daily.

V. *Jesus* being not far from *Jerusalem*, and reflecting on the grievous Calamities which would befall that City through the Obstinacy of its Inhabitants, could not forbear weeping, and brake forth into this Exclamation: *O that thou especially, of all the Cities of Judea, wouldst lay to Heart the Things that make for thy Salvation, now thou art admonished of the Necessity of a Reformation, which even yet may be thy Safeguard against the impending Ruin!* But

† This is a proverbial Expression, signifying, That if these Followers of Christ should hold their Peace, some more unlikely Way should be found out for proclaiming the Messiah, even by those who were reckoned by the Jews the most stupid People, namely the Gentiles.

alas!

alas! thy Corruption has rendered thee unable to discern them; and the appointed Hour draws near, in which thy Enemies shall surround thee, and assault thee on every Side; nor shall they desist till they have put thy Inhabitants to the Sword, and thou be made a Heap of Ruins. All these Evils shall befall thee, because thou negligently didst let slip the Time in which God by his Ministers has invited thee to repent.

Jesus then entered Jerusalem, followed by a vast Crowd; insomuch that the whole City was in an Uproar, and enquired who this was that made his Entry with so numerous a Retinue, that flock'd to him from all Parts. The Multitude that came along with him replied, It was Jesus of Nazareth, the Prophet, that came from Galilee. Now Jesus went directly to the Temple, and perceiving a great Number of Traders there, that had brought Doves, and Beasts for Sacrifice, which they exposed to Sale in a Place consecrated to the Worship of God, began to drive them out, as he did once before, and overthrew the Tables of the Money-Changers, and the Stalls of those that sold Doves; upbraiding them with their prophane Abuse of a Place dedicated to the immediate Service of God, according to those Passages of the Prophets, wherein it is expressly said, that the Temple of Jerusalem should be esteemed by all Nations a Place consecrated wholly to the Service of God; whereas they, the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, had changed it as it were into a Den of Thieves, by permitting cunning Merchants to make an unjust Gain and Advantage of their Brethren.

Jesus's coming into the Temple being rumoured about the City, the lame and the Blind were brought to him from all Parts, all whom he cured of their Infirmities; upon which the Children in the Temple cried out, *May the Coming of Jesus, of the Family of David, be propi-*

tious to us! Which when the chief Priests and Doctors of the Law observed, they came to him, saying, *Dost thou not take notice of the importunate and idle Clamours of the Children? Why dost thou not suppress them?* Jesus replied, That he had taken particular Notice of them, and that he saw no Reason to condemn these their Acclamations; since it was said in the Psalms, Psal. 8. 3. *Out of the Mouth of Babes and Sucklings hast thou perfected Praise.* And after this Jesus, not at all afraid of their Machinations against him, continued to instruct the People that resorted to him daily in the Temple, till the Passover; though he was not ignorant that the Sanhedrim sought all Ways to destroy him. But they being afraid of the People, who admired Jesus for his Doctrine, and esteemed him as a Prophet, knew not which way to make any Attempt upon him.

There were at that Time certain Greeks at Jerusalem, who, though not circumcised, were yet Worshipers of the true God. These came thither against the Passover, to offer up their Prayers to God in the Temple; and having heard various Reports concerning Jesus, they desired Philip of Bethsaida to introduce them into his Presence. Philip, not knowing whether Jesus were willing to receive these Greeks, acquainted Andrew with it, and both came to their Master, and told him of their Desire to see him. Jesus answered them in a Manner, by which they might perceive that he would not refuse Admittance to the Gentiles; yet that they would be much disappointed if they expected to see one who affected to make himself a King, and was ambitious of a Monarchy here on Earth. *The Time approaches, said he, in which he who is generally looked on as a mere Man, and one of the Vulgar, shall be raised to the highest Pitch of Glory, and be manifested not only to the Jews, but to the Gentiles also.* As

a Grain of Wheat is unfruitful, unless it be buried in the Earth and putrefy, but if it be sown and putrefy sends forth a vast Increase of Fruit; so also is it necessary for me to die and be buried, before I can admit any of the Gentiles into the Number of my Disciples. Whoever professes himself my Disciple, must follow my Example; and such a Servant shall, after this mortal Life, be with me in the eternal Seats of Bliss: For whoever shall behave himself here on Earth as becomes my Disciple, shall be rewarded by my Father with everlasting Glory in Heaven. And that no one may think I require unequal Conditions from him, as if I were to be exempted from all Sense of the Indignities and Torments that will be inflicted on me, I readily own that I am filled with Horror and Apprehension of the Calamities that I foresee will shortly befall me. Shall I therefore pray my Father to shield me against these impending Evils?— But, for this very Purpose am I come into the World, that I might endure them. Yet, O Father! (addressing himself to God,) give some Demonstration of my having been sent by thee.

These Words were scarce propounded, when a great Noise was heard, resembling Thunder, and God expressed himself in Words to this Purpose: *I have already demonstrated this Truth by many Miracles, and will continue to do so still.* Upon which some of the Multitude, who had not heard the Words distinctly, believed it thundered; while others said it was the Voice of an Angel that spoke to him. Then said Jesus, *This Voice was not uttered by God to convince me of his Concern for me, as if I had any Doubt of it, but to let you know that I have been sent by him, and for your Sakes. The Time is now at last come, in which God will execute Judgment upon Idolaters, and all other wicked Persons; and the evil Spirit, under whose Empire they are, shall be deprived of that Authority he has usurped, while the clear Light*

of the Gospel shall be diffused through the Universe. After that this vulgar Person, as he is generally accounted, shall be lifted up, he shall draw to him, out of all Nations of the Earth, many, who, being illuminated with this heavenly Light, shall renounce the Tyranny of the evil Spirits, and free themselves from the Slavery they are under.

VI. Some of the Auditory, perceiving the Tendency of that Phrase, when he said he should be *lifted up*, that it signified after what Manner he should be put to Death, answered, that they were persuaded by the Scriptures the Messiah should live for ever: *How then, said they, is it possible that he should be lifted up upon a Cross, who thou sayest is commonly looked on as a vulgar Person, by which Circumlocution thou art wont to denote thyself, whom many believe to be the Messiah? Or is there any other Person signified by that Appellation, not as yet made known to us?* Jesus in his Answer, without replying to their vain Question, shewed why he had intimated that he should be shortly cut off: *Yet a little while, said he, the Light that you now behold shall shine among you; make use of the Opportunity now afforded you of Information in the several Branches of your Duty, to which you are to conform your Actions; for without the Direction of this Light from Heaven, you are in the greatest Danger imaginable of wandering out of the Way to Happiness. Rightly improve therefore the Means now offered you, and do nothing unworthy of this gracious Assistance.*

After this, Jesus departing out of the Temple, retired from the City, and withdrew for a while from the Company of these Men. But they, who had been Eye-witnesses of so many Miracles, refused to believe on him; So that what Isaiah formerly complained of the Men of his Age, may be justly applied to them; Isa. 53. 1. *Who hath believed our Report, and to whom is the Arm of the Lord*

Lord revealed? But the Temper of these Men was the same with theirs, whom the same Prophet described in these Words: *He has blinded their Eyes, and hardened their Hearts, that they should not see with their Eyes, nor understand with their Hearts, nor be converted, that I should heal them.* In which Words *Isaiab* signified, that there should be some of such a contumacious Temper, and obdurate Heart, that those very Things that were proper to enlighten their Understandings should have a quite contrary Effect; so as they should become more obstinate, and make no more Use of the Faculties God had given them to imploy in the Means for obtaining everlasting Salvation, than if they had been wholly deprived of them. These Passages of *Isaiab* are recorded in that Part of his Prophecy, where the future Glory of the *Messiah* is described. However, some of the *Sanhedrim* believed that *Jesus* was sent by God; though they did not openly profess their Belief on him, for fear of the *Pharisees*, who were enraged against him, lest they should, by them be expelled the Synagogue; chusing

rather to maintain their Authority among Men, than to pay the Honour due to God, by owning *Jesus* for the *Messiah*.

Towards the Evening *Jesus* returned again to the Temple, and not seeing those Men there, he began to admonish the *Jews* with a loud Voice to quit their Obstinacy, and to believe his Doctrine. "He that believes on me, *said he*, does not so much give credit to me as to God who sent me, who by the Miracles he has enabled me to perform, has demonstrated that my Commission is derived from him. Whoever reflects as he ought on these my Miracles, cannot but be convinced of the divine Authority by which I act: I am come into the World on purpose to enlighten it by my Doctrine, and to rescue such as shall believe on me from those Mists of Ignorance in which they are involved." Having thus said, *Jesus* returned from *Jerusalem* to *Bethany*, with his twelve Apostles; the Time not being yet come in which he determined to deliver himself up to the Rage of his Enemies.

CHAPTER IX.

I. *Jesus* returns from *Bethany* to *Jerusalem*, and by the Way curses a barren Fig-tree. II. The Parable of the Father and two Sons, with the Application of it to the *Jews*. III. The Parable of the Vineyard, that was let out to Husbandmen, and the Application of it, &c. IV. The Parable of the Wedding-Supper, and of the Man who was found without a Wedding-Garment, &c.

I. THE next Day, very early in the Morning, *Jesus* with his Apostles returned from *Bethany* to *Jerusalem*; and being hungry, and beholding a Fig-tree at a Distance with Leaves upon it, by which it appeared to be one of the earlier Sort of Trees, or one of those whose Figs hang all the Year, he went to gather of

the Fruit of it, but found none: Which *Jesus* perceiving, he took Occasion thence of representing the small Hopes that the *Jews* of that Age would bring forth any Fruits of Virtue: Therefore, with a Voice loud enough to be heard by his Apostles, he cried out, *Let no one eat any Fruit from thee hereafter*: Which Curse was

no

no sooner pronounced, but the Tree was dried up.

The Members of the *Sanhedrim* having heard the several Discourses of *Jesus*, in which he rebuked them for their Obstinacy and Impiety, consulted how they might destroy him; but they fear'd a Tumult, knowing he was admir'd by the People. However, *Jesus* would not trust himself among them, except in the Day-time; but every Night retir'd from the City, that he might not be oppress'd by them in the dark: And every Morning he returned to the City again. The Day after he had curst the Fig-tree, passing the same Way, the Apostles took notice of it, and wonder'd at its being wither'd: *Peter* particularly turning to *Jesus*, Master, said he, *behold how the Fig-tree that thou curst Yesterday is already wither'd.* *Jesus* replied, that they had no Reason to be astonish'd at what had happen'd to that Fig-tree by his Command, since they themselves might command Mount *Olivet* to be carried into the Sea, and it should obey them, if they had a steady Faith in God, who had promised to grant whatever they should ask him with a firm Reliance on his Power and Goodness; assuring them, that they should not fail to obtain whatever they petitioned for with that happy Temper of Mind: But withal he put them in mind, that if they expected the Remission of their Sins from his heavenly Father, they ought also to forgive the Trespases of Men to them; for it would be in vain to hope for the Pardon of their Sins, if they did not perform this just Condition on their Part.

To return now to what pass'd the Day

† By the first of these Sons is generally understood the Publicans; by the second the Scribes and Pharisees: But *Whitby* thinks the first may signify the Gentiles, with whom the Publicans were commonly ranked; the second the Jews, more particularly the Scribes and Pharisees. Our Lord's own Exposition of this Parable seems to confine it in the first Sense.

before: After *Jesus* had curst the Fig-tree, while he was walking with his Disciples, and instructing them in the Temple, several of the chief among the Jews came to him, Members of the *Sanhedrim*, and ask'd him by what Authority he drove the Merchants out of the Temple, and publicly taught the People. *Jesus* told them he had also a Question to propose to them, and after they had answer'd him, he would reply to their Demands. He then desired them to inform him, what their Opinion was of *John* the Baptist's preaching Repentance to the Jews, and washing the Proselytes; whether they believed he acted by his own Authority, or by one derived from God? The *Sanhedrim* considering with themselves that if they should say he acted by a divine Commission, *Jesus* would immediately ask why they did not believe on him; and on the contrary, if they should affirm it was only upon his own private Motion, that they should then enrage the Multitude, who generally look'd on *John* as a true Prophet, made Answer, that they knew not by what Authority he acted. *Jesus* presently retorted, that since it was lawful for *John* to baptize the Penitents, tho' they were ignorant by what Authority he did so; and since no one ever called him to Account for it, he saw no Necessity of gratifying their Curiosity, by informing them with what Authority he did those Things in the Temple, at which they cavill'd.

II. Afterwards he described the stubborn Temper of the Jews in several Parables, from which they might plainly learn their Duty. A certain Man, said he, had † two Sons, one of whom he

commanded

commanded to go and work in his Vineyard, who at first refused, but repenting afterwards of his Disobedience, went and did as his Father had commanded him: The other being also ordered by his Father to work in the Vineyard, promised immediately to do what was commanded him, but never went. What think you, which of these two obeyed his Father; They replied, the first. Jesus continued, Verily I say unto you, that the very Publicans and Harlots, who have abandon'd themselves to Profaneness and Immorality, shall in like manner excel you who set up for holy Persons, and make a show of more than ordinary Piety, as to what relates to the Kingdom of Heaven, or the true Religion: For John the Baptist came to call you to Repentance; that you might be prepar'd to embrace the Laws of the Kingdom of Heaven that was shortly to be manifested; but you did not believe on him. The Publicans and Harlots believed him, repented, and amended their Lives; but you have not been prevailed on by their Example to alter your Sentiments concerning John, and to believe his Doctrine.

III. He then spake another Parable to them: A certain Master of a Family planted a Vineyard, and hedged it in; and having built a House in it, and furnished it with a Wine-press and all other Necessaries, he let it out, and went himself into a far Country. At the Time of Vintage he sent his Servants to gather the Fruits of it; but the Man to whom he had let his Vineyard beat them, and sent them away empty. He sent a second Time other Servants, and these the Labourers stoned, and grievously wounded. Nevertheless he sent a third Time to them; but these were murder'd by them. He determin'd at last to send his only Son to them, supposing they would reverence him: But as soon as they saw him coming, they resolved on his Destruction, imagining that if he who was the Heir were slain, they should be Masters of the Vineyard. Ac-

cordingly they cast him out of the Vineyard, and murder'd him. I ask you now what Punishment the Master of the Family will inflict upon these barbarous Wretches at his Return?----He will put them all to Death, said they, as they have justly deserv'd, and put others into his Vineyard, who will more faithfully execute their Trust, and give him the Fruit of it in its Season. Jesus then told them, that the obstinate Jews should be as severely punished: Upon which they cried out, God forbid thy Threats should ever come to pass! Jesus said, he threatened them with nothing but what had been foretold them by the Psalmist in these Words: The Stone which the Builders refus'd, is become the Head Stone in the Corner; this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our Eyes. Jesus moreover told them, that because they rejected this Stone, the Kingdom of God, that is, the true Religion, by which God reigns in the Minds of Men, should be taken from them, and tender'd to another People, who would conform their Actions to the Rules prescribed by it. Then again, alluding to the foremention'd Words of the Psalmist, and others of the Prophet Isaiah, he said, Whoever falls on this Stone shall be wounded; but on whomsoever the Stone itself shall fall, it shall dash him to Pieces.

IV. The chief of the Jews, having heard these Sayings of Jesus, immediately deliberated how they might apprehend him; but durst not do it for Fear of stirring up the Multitude, who all esteemed Jesus as a Prophet; though they plainly perceived this Speech of his, and the Threatenings in it, belonged to them. Jesus intimated the same not obscurely in this third Parable: The Manner in which the Kingdom of Heaven is received, said he, resembles what happened to a certain King, who having made a Feast on his Son's Marriage, sent his Servants to acquaint those that had been invited, that all Things were ready; but they

they refused to come. However he sent a second Time to them, to let them know that his Oxen and Fattings were killed, and every Thing ready for the Entertainment; that therefore they should not delay to come. But they neglecting this repeated Invitation, went several Ways, some to their Farms, and others to their Merchandize; and some of them evilly intreated the Messengers, and slew them. The King, incensed at this their Pride and Cruelty, sent Soldiers against them, who retaliated upon these Murderers, and burnt their City. He then said to his Servants, the Feast indeed was ready, but those that were invited were unworthy of it; go out therefore immediately into the Highways, and invite all you find to my Supper. They accordingly went, and invited all they met, good and bad; so that the Banqueting-Room was filled with Guests. The King then came in to take a View of them, and finding one in mean and sordid Apparel, thus accosted him: Wherefore comest thou in hither without a Wedding-Garment? The Man, filled with Confusion, blushed, and made no Reply. The King thereupon commanded him to be bound Hand and Foot, and turned out of the Palace, which was illuminated, into a Place of Darkness, where there was Weeping and gnashing of Teeth. In like Manner we may justly say, that many have been invited to the Kingdom of Heaven, but few have received the Invitation as became them.

The Pharisees, and others who heard these Speeches, in which Jesus plainly rebuked the Chief among the Jews with their Obstinacy, stepping a little aside, consulted how they might so ensnare him as to get something from him to make him odious to the People, or for which they might arraign him before the Roman Government. Hereupon they suborned certain Fellows, Part of whom were addicted to the Pharisees, and others to the Sect of the Herodians, to get something from him of which they might ac-

cuse him before the Roman Deputy. These therefore feigning themselves well-meaning ignorant Persons, and desirous of Information, came to him with these smooth Words: Master, we know that thou art a zealous Lover of Truth, and that no Respect of Persons can prevail with thee to dissemble or oppose it, as being a strict Observer of the divine Laws: We come therefore desiring to know, what is thy Opinion concerning the Tribute we now pay to the Romans; Is it lawful for us Israelites to pay a Tribute to a foreign Potentate, as Cæsar is, since by our Law it is enacted, that we shall not chuse a King over us but out of our own Countrymen? Jesus perceiving their Dissimulation and Malice; O you Hypocrites, said he, wherefore do you lay Snares for me? Shew me the Tribute Money. Upon which they produced a Roman Denier, stamp'd with the Emperor's Name and Image. Jesus then asked them, whose was that Image and Inscription. They answered, Cæsar's. Render then, said he, to Cæsar the Things that are Cæsar's, and to God the Things that are God's. By which Words he shewed them, in no ambiguous Terms, without taking notice of their more abstruse Questions, that it was not impossible for the Jews to be good and religious Persons, and at the same Time to pay Tribute to the Authority under whose Protection they had been for a considerable Time. Thus were these Men frustrated of their Hopes of drawing something from him before the People, on which they might ground an Accusation against him, and left him, struck with Admiration at his Answer.

Then came some of the Sadducees to him, who deny the Immortality of the Soul and the Resurrection of the Body, and put this Case to him, with which they were wont to puzzle the Pharisees: Moses enacted, that if a Man dies without Issue by his Wife, the eldest Brother that remains shall marry his Widow; that in

Case *ſhe* brings forth any Children, the *First-born* may ſucceed the Deceased in his *Eſtate and Title*. Now, there were ſeven Brothers, the *Eldſt* of whom died, and left no Children. The next in Order married the *Widow*, and he alſo died childleſs: A third in like Manner, and the remaining four, who all died without having any Iſſue by her: Laſt of all, the *Woman* died alſo. Now the *Queſtion* is, which of the ſeven Brothers will be her Husband at the Reſurrection, ſince they all married her? Jeſus answered to this Purpose: O you Sadducees, who deny the Immortality of the Soul and Reſurrection of the Body, you are greatly miſtaken by not being better inſtructed in the Scriptures, and for having ſuch a mean Opinion of the Power of God; and as for your Way of arguing in this Caſe, there is nothing more vain and frivolous. Men, it is true, in this Life marry, and give their Daughters in Marriage; but when Men ſhall be raiſed to Life again, there will be no farther Occaſion of Matrimony, ſince they ſhall be like the Angels in Heaven. This Conjunction of Male and Female here on Earth was inſtituted for the Propagation of Mankind, which Reaſon will be of no Force in that immortal State, where the Good ſhall for ever enjoy an Inheritance promiſed to them by their heavenly Father. Now as for the Reſurrection of the Dead, God himſelf, whoſe Authority you dare not reject, has ſignified as much to Moſes, when he ſpoke to him out of the flaming Buſh, in theſe Words: I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; which Words, according to the conſtant Tenor of the Scriptures, denote God's peculiar Favour towards thoſe Patriarchs, and would be plainly null and void, if, as you imagine, they were dead both in reſpect of Soul and Body, never to be raiſed to Life again. Moſt certainly, God cannot be ſaid to have a peculiar Favour, and ſuch an one is worthy of an eternal Being, to Men that were to die for all Eternity; ſince this

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mortal Life is common to all Men; and of ſmall Importance if no other followed it. It is therefore neceſſary that the Souls of thoſe whom God ſo highly favours muſt exiſt; nor is it hard to perceive that he will reſtore the Body to them, ſince otherwiſe they would live but in Part; and his Promiſe of Favour to them had reſpect not to the immortal Soul only, but to the intire Man. You are then grievouſly miſtaken, when you deny the Reſurrection of the Body, and the Immortality of the Soul.

All that heard him were filled with Admiration at his Doctrine, though the Chief among the Jews ſought by all Means to undermine his Authority among the People. The Pharifees particularly, who took notice how he had ſtopped the Mouths of the Sadducees, having ſurrounded him, one of them, a Lawyer, ſtepped out, and put this Queſtion to him: Which is the chiefest Precept in the Law? Jeſus immediately replied; That was the greateſt of all, which bid the Jews remember there was but one God, whom alone they were to worſhip with all the Affections of their Soul. This, ſaid he, is the greateſt Command of all, and comprehends the whole Duty of Man towards God. The next like unto it, enjoins the loving of our Neighbour as one's ſelf, and contains, if rightly underſtood, all the mutual Offices of Men one among another; than which there was no greater Precept in the whole Law. He added, that upon the Obſervance of theſe depended the Authority of the Law and the Prophets; and upon the Neglect of them, all the Precepts contained in the Law and the Prophets would be altogether inſignificant. Then ſaid a certain Lawyer, Maſter, thou haſt rightly determin'd, ſince there is but one God whom we muſt adore; and if we love him as much as we are able, and without a Rival, and our Neighbour as ourſelves, we worſhip him much more acceptably than if we offer'd all Manner of Sacrifice. Jeſus obſerving his pious Reflection,

flection, commended him as one not far from the Doctrine of the Kingdom of Heaven. After this the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* durst ask him no more Questions.

But *Jesus* perceiving a great Multitude of the *Pharisees* got together, ask'd them, how it came to pass that the Interpreters of the Law affirmed the Messiah should be born of the Family of *David*; since *David* himself, who was inspir'd by the Holy Ghost, speaks thus concerning him, *Psal. 110. 1. The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my Right Hand, till I make thine*

Enemies thy Footstool? Now since *David* calls him his Lord, how could he be supposed to descend from *David*? In which Question he intimated the vast Disproportion between *David* and the Messiah, and consequently that the Dignity of the Messiah was celestial; since there is none among Men greater than that of King, and that *David* did not think any one superior to himself.----The Multitude listened attentively while he thus accosted the *Pharisees*, nor durst any of them make any Reply to him, nor after that Day offer any more ensnaring Questions.

CHAP. X.

I. *Jesus advises his Disciples to observe the Doctrine, but not to imitate the Manners, of the Lawyers and Pharisees.* II. *He commends the Liberality of a poor Widow.* III. *He predicts the Ruin of the Temple, and tells the Signs of the Times when it shall happen.* IV. *The Parable of the Ten Virgins.* V. *The Parable of the Talents.* VI. *A Description of the last Judgment, and Characters of those Virtues and Vices which will then be singularly rewarded or punished.*

I. **J**ESUS having, as we have related, avoided the Snares laid for him by the Chief among the *Jews*, began to admonish his Disciples, and the rest of his Hearers, not to be corrupted by their evil Example. *The Lawyers and Pharisees, said he, are appointed to instruct you in the Law of Moses: Take diligent heed therefore to what they recommend for your Observation; but be very careful not to imitate their Morals, which are by no Means conformable to their Doctrine. Whatever they do is merely out of Ostentation, and for this Reason they wear larger*

Phylacteries than ordinary, and have the scarlet Edgings of their Garments broader, and their Robes longer. Thus they think to render themselves conspicuous, and to be distinguished from the Vulgar. But they betray the true Grounds of their Singularity, by eagerly contending for the uppermost Places at Entertainments, and the chief Seats in the Synagogue; by being delighted with the Salutations of the People in the Streets, and the honourable Appellation of Rabbi, or Master; which are so far from being Marks of a religious Disposition, that they are certain Tokens of a proud and haughty Temper.

† The Word *Phylactery* comes from the *Greek*, and signifies properly a Preservative, or Charm, against Diseases, Misfortunes, &c. These were much worn by the antient Hebrews, and are so to this Day in the Eastern Parts of the World. But the *Phylacteries* of the *Jews*, of which our Saviour speaks, were certain little Boxes, or Rolls of Parchment, in which were written certain Words of the Law. These they wore upon their Fore-heads, and upon the Wrist of their Left Arm. They suppose them to be commanded. *Exod. xiii. 16.*

"O ye Lawyers and *Pharisees*, Hypocrites, you have provoked the Divine Vengeance by shutting up all the Passages to the Kingdom of Heaven, or to the Knowledge of the true Religion, which you neither aspire after yourselves, nor suffer others to search for, who else might be acquainted with it, and partake of the Happiness annexed to the due Performance of its Laws. Great shall be your Punishment, O ye Lawyers and *Pharisees*, Hypocrites, who * cheat Widows of their Estates; imposing on them by a formal Shew of Sanctity, and Zeal for their Concerns; and thus making use of Religion, the most sacred Bond imaginable, as a Cloke for your Villany. Grievous Calamities shall befall you, O ye Lawyers and *Pharisees*, Hypocrites, who compass Sea and Land that you make a Convert to the *Jewish* Religion, who by giving himself up to your Direction is made worse than yourselves, and worthy of more severe Punishments than his very Teachers."

"O ye wicked Generation of Men, who may be most justly likened to Vipers and venomous Serpents! how can you expect to escape, that eternal Punishment which God has denounced against you by the Ministry of *John the Baptist*, since you take not the least Care to appease his Vengeance by a timely Reformation of your Manners? For this very End shall I send Prophets, and Men skill'd in the Interpretation of the Law, unto you: But such is

your Temper, that some of them you will crucify, and scourge others in your Assemblies; and those that endeavour to escape your Fury, shall be pursued by you from City to City with the utmost Rage and Violence. You shall therefore suffer such Punishments as are due to those, who will be so far from making any use of the repeated Admonitions of God's Messengers and Prophets, and the many Examples of his Severity against Offenders, that they shall plainly declare their Approbation of all the Crimes committed by their Ancestors, by perpetrating others more horrid of their own; and who, by one unheard-of Barbarity, shall exceed the Guilt they have contracted by their many Murders, from the Slaughter of *Abel* the Son of *Adam*, to that of † *Zacharias* the Son of *Barachias*, who was slain between the Temple and the Altar. O ye Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*! that are wont to kill the Prophets, and stone those that are sent unto you; how often would I have gathered you together to my Discipline, as a Hen gathers her Chickens under her Wings, and you would not hear? But now your Country shall be entirely laid waste. And this I foretel you, that after I shall be taken up from Earth, you shall no more see me till the Time wherein you would willingly cry out, if that could avail towards the averting of God's impending Vengeance," *May the Coming of him that is sent by God be propitious to us!*

* These People pretending to a more exact Knowledge of the Law than others, the Women were very much subject to them, as believing them to be dear to God. They had such an Ascendant over *Alexandra* Queen of the Jews, that they placed, displaced, bound, loosed, advanced, or cut off, whom they pleased, and disposed of every Thing according to their Will. It is probable, that being in great Vogue, for their long Prayers, they sold them, as the Romish Priests do Masses, to the Devout; most of whom we may suppose were Women, and above all Widows, who being more Mistresses of their Fortunes than other Women, could be more conveniently cheated by these Hypocrites.

† Who this *Zacharias* was is a Matter of Dispute; some imagining him to be the Father of the Baptist, others denying it: We will only say, that he seems to have been put to Death about the Time in which Christ spake these Words; and so from *Abel* to *Zacharias* includes all the Ages of the ancient Church.

II. After this *Jesus* being seated over-against the Treasury, took notice of what was cast into it by religious Persons for the Use of the Temple. Among the rest there was one poor Widow, who put in two small Brass Pieces of the Value of a Farthing; which *Jesus* observing, called his Disciples, and told them, That that poor Widow had given the greatest Sum of them all; for whereas they had parted only with what they might very well spare out of their abundance, she had given all she was worth. Afterwards he departed from the Temple, with his Disciples.

III. Being upon the Way to Mount *Oliver*, some took notice of the magnificent Structure of the Temple, and those vast Stones with which *Herod* had rebuilt it. But *Jesus* told them, that all that stately Edifice, which they looked on with such Admiration, should be so entirely ruin'd, as not to have one Stone left upon another. Being now come to the Mount, and seated over-against the Temple, *Peter*, and *Andrew*, and *John*, and *James*, ask'd him privately concerning that Prediction of his, desiring him to inform them when the Temple should be destroyed, and what would be the Signs of its approaching Ruin; the rather, because they thought it was to be at his Coming to judge the Good and Bad, and to inflict the Punishments on the latter which they deserv'd. *Jesus* answered both their Inquiries, by shewing first what were the Signs that would immediately precede the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. Let no one, said he, deceive you by vain Promises; for many Impostors shall arise, pretending to be the *Messiah* and Saviour of the Jews: But be not misled by these, whatever their Pretences are. You shall hear of War and Rumours of War; be not terrified: For I foretel you these Things shall happen, but will not be the last Calamities of this Nation. There shall be intestine Discords in

Palestine between the Jews and Gentiles, and neighbouring Kingdoms shall wage war with one another. There shall be great Sedition in divers Places, which shall be followed by a Plague and Famine. There shall be Signs also from Heaven, which will create no small Terror. But all these Things, however lamentable and dreadful, will be but the Beginning of Sorrows.

Jesus having said these Things referring to the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, discouraged to them concerning Watchfulness, and the Care good Men should have to secure themselves from the impending Ruin, by avoiding those Vices which were the Cause of it, especially considering withal how uncertain the Time of the last Judgment is. "The Master of a Family, said he, who knew for certain the Hour in which the Thief designed to come, will undoubtedly watch till that Hour, and not suffer his House to be broke open. Wherefore make it your Business to continue in a steady Course of Virtue, since you know not the Time of my Coming, either to execute Vengeance on the obstinate Jews, or to pass Judgment upon the whole Race of Men. That Servant only can justly expect to be advanced above his Fellow-servants, whom his Master, though unexpected by him, shall at his Coming find faithfully imploy'd in his Vocation: He will be deemed worthy of Favour, and have the Administration of all his Master's Goods committed to his Care. But if a slothful Servant, presuming on his Master's Absence, as being gone a far Journey, shall indulge his Sloth, and tyrannically abuse his Fellow-Servants, spending his own Time in Gluttony and Drunkenness, his Master will return in a Day and Hour he is not aware of, and condemn him to the Mines and Quarries, where nothing is to be heard but Gnashing of Teeth, and the Lamentations of Hypocrites punished with continual Labour. Do not imitate so dangerous an Example, but remain

main steadfast in a virtuous Course of Life, since you know no more the Time of my Return than that Servant did of his Lord's, whether at the third or fourth Watch; lest when I come I find you sleeping; that is, negligent of my Commands, and living according to your own ungoverned Fancies; and you thereby render yourselves obnoxious to that Punishment which will be inflicted upon the Slothful and Negligent. These Directions concerning a watchful Diligence belong not only to you, but to all that shall believe in me.

IV. This Doctrine Jesus illustrated in the following Parables. The same will happen to those that are in Pursuit of celestial Happiness, as beset ten Virgins invited to a nuptial Feast. These were obliged to go forth and meet the Bridegroom, that they might attend him home, and partake of the Banquet: Accordingly they all met at the appointed Time and Place, being each provided with a Lamp. Five of them were so careful as to provide themselves with Oil, besides what they had in their Lamps: The others indeed brought their Lamps ready lighted, but forgot the Oil that was necessary to preserve them so, in case the Bridegroom tarried longer than they might expect. The Bridegroom delaying his Coming longer than ordinary, they all fell asleep; but about the third Watch were awakened, by an Alarm from the Messengers, who were sent to warn all to come forth immediately, and meet the Bridegroom. Hereupon they arose, and began to trim their Lamps: When the foolish Virgins perceiving theirs almost extinguished for want of Oil, besought the rest to lend them some; who replied, they could not, for fear they might want themselves, but their best way would be to repair speedily, and purchase a sufficient Quantity. The foolish Virgins did as they were bid, but in the mean Time comes the Bridegroom; when those others who had provided against such an Accident, having joined the Train, were admitted with the rest into the Banqueting-

Room. The Door being shut, the other five Virgins came, earnestly entreating the Bridegroom to give them Admittance to the Feast; but he regarded their Requests no more than if they had been perfect Strangers to him. So also at my Coming will I deal with those whom I shall find enslaved to their vicious Habits: Wherefore diligently take heed not to deviate from the Ways of Virtue.

V. Another Parable he spoke to them, like to one that he had made use of lately. A certain Man, said he, being to take a long Journey, called his Servants to him, and divided his Money among them in different Sums, according to their several Abilities: To one he gave five Talents, to another two, to a third one. Having distributed his Money, with Orders for them to trade with it, he departed. During his Absence, he who had received the five Talents, was so diligent as to double them against his Lord's Return; so also did he that had received the two Talents. But the Servant intrusted but with one, being afraid of making any Venture with it, buried it in the Ground. A long Time after their Lord returned, and began to account with them for the Money he had given them: And first of all came he who had received the five Talents, and brought with him five others, that he had gained by Trade; which his Lord perceiving, he told him this was a Proof of his Fidelity and Industry; and since he had shewn himself faithful in a small Sum, he would afterwards intrust him with a greater; but for the present, said he, sit down with me at Table, and let us celebrate together my safe Return. In like Manner, he who had received the two Talents, came, and brought the other two which he had gained by trafficking with them; and being commended by his Master, received the like Encouragement. At last came he who had but one Talent, and thus bespoke his Master: I knew, said he, that thou wert of an exacting Temper, that thou reapest where thou hast not sown, and gatherest where thou hast

not scattered; that is, thou art so far from being contented with thy own, that thou invade what of Right belongs to another. This Reflection made me afraid of using thy Talent, lest if I lost it, thou should require the Debt with Rigour: I therefore hid it in the Ground till thy Return, and now bring it thee just as I received it. His Lord replied: O negligent and slothful Servant, thou sayest thou art unacquainted with my Temper, and knowest I am wont to reap where I have not sown, and gather where I have not scattered: Since thou hadst this Opinion of me, thou oughtest at least, conformably to it, to have put my Money out to Use, that at my Return I might receive it with the ordinary Interest, since, as thou pretendest, thou knowest not how to trade with it. Upon this he ordered his Servants to take the Talent from him, and give it to him that had the ten Talents, (for whoever has any Gift, and makes a right Use of it, shall receive more; but who so abuses that he has, however small, it shall be taken from him,) and to turn him out of the Banqueting-Room, that he might spend the Night in Darkness, lamenting his wretched Case, while the diligent and faithful Servants were admitted to their Lord's Table in the Banqueting-Room, illuminated with Lamps and Torches.

VI. Jesus having premised these Parables, that he might the more effectually recommend the constant Practice of Virtue, thus described his Coming, and those chief Offices of which he would require an exact Account from Men. When he who is now esteemed a vulgar Person, said he, shall come from Heaven, surrounded with a most glorious Company of Angels, he shall seat himself on a lofty Throne, and proceed to judge the whole human Race. At that Time shall all Mankind be raised from Death, and brought before his Tribunal; and

he shall divide them into two Parts, as a Shepherd divides the Sheep from the Goats: The Sheep, or good Men, shall stand on his Right Hand; and the Goats, or Wicked, on his Left. Then shall the King of Men and Angels speak to those on his Right Hand: Approach, O ye, whom my Father has decreed to reward with the Possession of a heavenly Kingdom, prepared for such as you from the Beginning of all Things. For when I was hungry, you gave me Meat; when I thirsted you gave me Drink; when I was a Stranger, you courteously entertained me; when naked, you clothed me; when sick, you succour'd me; when imprisoned, you visited me, and offered me your Assistance, condoling my Misfortune. The Good will then ask him, When all these Things happened, since they never saw him in Want of their Assistance, nor could they remember they had ever bestowed any Thing upon him. But the King will reply, that he will look upon all the charitable Relief they have given those whom he esteems as his Brethren, though of the poorest Condition among Men, on the account of their Belief of him, and Obedience to his Precepts, as done to himself. Then turning to those on his Left-hand, he will pronounce this dreadful Sentence: Away from me, you condemned Wretches, into everlasting Flames, prepared for Devils and wicked Men: When I was hungry, you refused me Meat; when thirsty, Drink; when a Stranger, you entertained me not; when sick and in Prison, you disdained to come near me. Then will they say, Lord, when saw we thee hungry, thirsty, naked, a Stranger, sick, or in Prison, and refused to succour thee? But he will tell them, that he accounts their Refusal of Relief to the meanest of his Disciples a Refusal to himself. These therefore shall suffer eternal Torment, and the others enjoy everlasting Felicity.

C H A P. XI.

I. *Jesus teaches daily in the Temple.* II. *He is anointed in the House of Simon the Leper.* III. *Judas agrees with the Sanhedrim to betray him.* IV. *Peter and John, at their Master's Order, prepare the Passover.* V. *Jesus goes and sups with his Disciples, and declares that one of them shall betray him.* VI. *He washes his Disciples Feet.* His Discourse with Peter on that Occasion. VII. *He discourses to the Twelve on what he had just done, and recommends the same kind of Behaviour one to another.* VIII. *He is troubled, and discovers which of his Apostles shall betray him.* Judas goes out. IX. *Bequeaths to them Peace and Comfort, and declares his Enemies to be at Hand to betray him.*

NOW Jesus went in the Day-Time to instruct the People in the Temple, concerning the Laws of the Kingdom of Heaven, but spent the Night in Mount Olivet, or the Parts adjacent, that he might not be taken by the Sanhedrim sooner than he was willing, while shut up in the Walls of the City. But early in the Morning the People waited to hear him in the Temple, where he used to resort. Having discoursed with his Apostles, as we have related, he told them on the Tuesday in Passion-Week, that the Passover would be, as they knew, two Days after, on which Day he should be delivered up to the Romans, who would crucify him. For many of the Sanhedrim had already frequently assembled in the House of Caiaphas the High Priest, and determined by some Artifice or other to seize him, that they might cut him off. But they durst not attempt it during the † Holydays, for fear of raising a Tumult among the Multitude, who at that Time flock'd from all Parts to Jerusalem, for which they might

be called to an Account by the Roman Governor: For they were afraid that the Multitude, who esteemed Jesus as a Prophet, would rescue him.

II. While Jesus was at Supper at Bethany, in the House of Simon surnamed the Leper, a certain Woman came into the Room, having an Alabaster Box of Ointment made of the true Spikenard, which not flowing fast enough out, she brake the Box, and poured the whole upon Jesus's Hair. But some of those present blamed the Woman for that Action, knowing that Jesus was not desirous of such Delicacies; adding, that the Ointment might have been sold for three hundred * Denarii, and distributed among the Poor. They murmured therefore against the Woman, as one who by an unusual Fit of Zeal had committed a grievous Fault. But Jesus rebuked them, and bid them not trouble her for this Expression of her Good-Will towards him, putting them in Mind, that they would never want Objects of their Charity, but that he himself shall shortly

† Maimonides says, It was the Custom of the Jews to punish any notorious Criminal, at one of their three grand Feasts, because of the vast Concourse of People at those Times. Though they were willing to treat Jesus as such a Criminal, they were also willing to recede from this Custom, for fear of the Multitude: But having so fair an Offer made by Judas, they embrace that Season, which otherwise we may suppose they would have let slip.

* A Denarius was about Seven-pence Half-penny of our Money.

leave them, and therefore that they ought not to repine, if the Price of the Ointment was not bestowed on the Poor: *This Woman*, said he, *has conferred as great a Benefit upon me as she was able; nor could any Thing be more seasonable than this anointing of my Body, which will be buried in a few Days. On which Account I foretel you, that wherever my Doctrine shall be preached, the Fame of this Act of hers shall be divulged.*

III. Not long after the evil Spirit prevailed with the avaricious Temper of Judas, one of the twelve Apostles, to betray his Master to the Jews for a small Sum of Money. Accordingly he went and proffered his Service to the Chief Priests, who readily embraced the Motion; highly pleased, that they had now a convenient Opportunity of seizing Jesus, and agreed with him for || thirty Pieces of Silver. Judas having made this Bargain, waited only for an Occasion of effecting his Design without Noise and Tumult.

IV. Upon the first Day of the Feast of unleavened Bread, being the fifth of the Week, on which the Jews were compelled by the Law to kill the Paschal Lamb, the Disciples asked Jesus where he would have them get ready the Passover. On which he ordered Peter and John to repair to Jerusalem, and there make ready the Passover, which he intended to celebrate in the City together with his Apostles; telling them, that at their Entrance into it they should meet a Man bearing a Pitcher of Water, whom he charged them to follow into the House whither he went, and in his Name to borrow of the Master a convenient Room for him and his Apostles; who, said Jesus, *will immediately shew you a large Upper-room furnish'd; there make ready the Passover.* The Apostles accord-

ing to these Orders went to Jerusalem, and at their Entrance into it, what Jesus had foretold them fell out accordingly. In that Place therefore they prepared the Paschal Lamb the Day after.

V. Now when the Sun was set, and the Hour approached in which the Jews were wont to eat the Passover, Jesus repaired to the House with his twelve Apostles, and there sat down with them. Whilst they were at Table he said unto them, *I tell you of a Truth, one of you that now sup with me shall betray me to the Sanhedrim.* Upon hearing this the Apostles were sadly afflicted, not knowing whom Jesus meant; and every one asked him singly, Whether it was him that he meant? Jesus replied, that it should be one of the twelve; and that they might perceive he was not far from him, he told them it was one of those that eat out of the same Dish with him. "The Time is at Hand, said he, in which I shall be put to Death according to the Prophecies concerning me: But most dreadful Punishments shall befall the Man that will betray me; much better would it have been for him not to have been born." Then Judas asked him, Whether it was him that he meant; which Jesus owned to him in a low Voice, without giving him any Reprimand, or so much as ordering him to depart the Room.

Whilst they were at Supper, Jesus took up the Bread; and having given Thanks to God for his bounteous Liberality to Men, he brake it, and divided it among his Apostles, adding these Words: "Take, eat, this is my Body which is broken for you: Do this hereafter, which you see me now do, not as a Memorial of the Deliverance of the Jews from the Tyranny of the Egyptians, but in Remem-

|| Thirty Staters, or Shekels of the Sanctuary, amounting to three Pounds fifteen Shillings of our Money; the common Price for Slaves at that Time: So little Value did they make of the Son of God.

brance of me." Likewise after Supper he took the Cup filled with Wine; and having given Thanks to God, he delivered it to his Apostles, bidding them all drink of it, and telling them that this was his Blood, by the shedding of which God would enter into a new League with Men, and the Sins not only of them but of many others also should be expiated; adding these Words, much like what he had before said of the Bread, *As often as you commemorate me, observe this Rite which you have seen me use.* And they all drank of the Cup.

Afterwards he said unto them: *I have greatly desired to celebrate this last Passover with you before I die; for I shall no more participate of any other with you as a Memorial of a Deliverance, till you are with me in the Kingdom of Heaven, and we there celebrate together your Deliverance from the Miseries of this transitory Life.* Having thus said, he took up a second Cup of Wine; and giving Thanks again to God, he delivered it to him that sat next, and commanded his Apostles to share it amongst them, adding, That he should no more drink of that Cup with them, nor celebrate any other Deliverance, than that which they should enjoy together with him in the Kingdom of Heaven, after their Freedom from all the Evils of this mortal Life.

Jesus having all along intirely loved his Apostles, and having told them before the Passover that his Death drew nigh, and that he should shortly take his Leave of Men, and return to his heavenly Father, did not cease all the while he continued amongst his Apostles to give them evident Marks of his constant Good-Will towards them, by such Words and Actions as we shall now relate. And though he knew the Design of Judas against his Life, and was able to execute whatever he pleased by the Authority received from his heavenly Father, from whom he came, and to

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whom he knew he was quickly to return; yet he did not obstruct him in his Design, nor express himself with less Tenderness to the rest of his Apostles: Mean while Judas, having entirely given himself up to the Delusions of Satan, and being determined to proceed in his Treasons, continued still to attend him as before, waiting an Opportunity to put his Purpose in Execution.

The other Apostles now imagining, so great was their Blindness then, that the Time was come when their Master should reign as King over them, began to contend who should have the most honourable Preferment in that Kingdom, to which more than one of them laid Claim. Jesus perceiving this Contention, began to admonish them, as he had done once before on the same Subject. *The Kings of the Gentiles, said he, exercise an arbitrary Dominion over them, and are by their enslaved Subjects treated with the honourable Title of Benefactors. Do not you affect any Thing of this Nature. The true Way to Authority and Esteem is to be as serviceable as you can to the Necessities of others. Which is the more honourable Person, he that sits at Table, or he that waits? He that is seated without all doubt. But I am resolved to minister unto you, that by my Example you may learn your Duty. I mention not this as if I thought you unworthy of Honour in my Kingdom. 'Tis you that have constantly adhered to me in the worst of Times, in which wicked Men made their Attempts upon me: For this Reason, as my Father hath made me Partaker in his Kingdom, so will I communicate my Authority to you, and you shall sit down with me upon twelve Thrones, to pass Sentence on the Tribes of Israel. But that you may plainly know what I require from the greatest of you, observe what I am going to do.*

VI. Having said this, he rose from the Table, the Apostles still sitting; and throwing off his upper Garment, girt himself

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himself with a Towel: Then pouring Water into a Bason, he began to wash the Feet of his Apostles, and wipe them with a Towel which he had about him. But when he came to Peter, Master, said he, *dost thou wash my Feet?* Jesus replied, *Thou dost not yet understand the Reason of it, but thou shalt presently.* Peter answered, that he could never endure to see his Master stoop and wash his Feet. But, said Jesus, *If thou dost not suffer me to wash thee, thou canst not partake with me of the good Things in the Kingdom of Heaven.* In which Words Jesus signified, by an Allusion from that corporeal Washing, that the Mind was to be purged from its vitious Defilements before it could be capable of eternal Happiness. Peter, not comprehending the Drift of them, cried out, *If so, and it seems good to thee, wash not only my Feet, but my Head and Hands also.* Then said Jesus, *He that has once washed his Body, is entirely clean, nor needs repeated Cleansings, unless of the Feet, which are easily defiled with Dust or Dirt.---Now you are clean; but not all of you.* In which Words he intimated, that those who had already begun resolutely to throw off their vitious Habits, did no longer stand in need of a thorough Change, since they had only some Relicks of their former Vices to part with; reflecting also upon Judas, who was then present, whom he did not rank with his other Apostles, and who, as it plainly appeared, was abandoned to the most sordid Vices, and had the Impudence to continue present, and dissemble his desperate Design, though he knew that Jesus was not ignorant of it.

VII. Jesus having performed this Office to the twelve Apostles, put on his Garment, and seated himself again at the Table, asking them whether they understood the Meaning of what they had late-

ly seen him do. They continuing silent, he went on: *You call me Lord and Master, and justly: If then I, whom you own as your Lord and Master, have made no scruple to wash your Feet, which is one of the most servile Offices, you ought to do the same to one another without grudging, laying aside all disdainful and haughty Carriage.*

VIII. Whilst Jesus thus spoke to them, he began to be greatly troubled, and in the hearing of them all told them again, that one of his Apostles should betray him. His Apostles, who did not over-hear what he spake to Judas, looked earnestly one upon another, not being able to guess which of them could be guilty of so great a Villany. Peter therefore made Signs to John, whom Jesus greatly loved, and who then lay with his Head upon his Bosom, that he should ask Jesus who he meant. John accordingly asked him, Who it was that could be so wicked: To whom Jesus replied, *'Tis he to whom I shall give a Piece of Bread when I have dipped it;* at the same Time reaching the Sop to Judas Iscariot, the Son of Simon; who having received it, was more furiously agitated by the evil Spirit than before. Which Jesus taking notice of, said to him with a loud Voice; ** What thou dost, do quickly:* The Meaning of which Words none of those at the Table understood; some believing, because Judas carried the Bag, that Jesus ordered him to provide some Necessaries during the remaining Days of the Festival, or else to give something to the Poor. But having eaten the Sop his Master gave him, he forthwith departed, Night being now far advanced.

Judas being gone, Jesus began to express himself more openly before his Apostles: *Now at last,* said he, *being shortly to finish the Business for which I came into the World, I must put you in Mind that*

* This is not a Command to Judas to go on with his wicked Enterprize, but only a Declaration made by Christ of his Readiness to suffer Death.

God has demonstrated by most remarkable Miracles who I am, whom the Jews generally look upon as a vulgar Person. As I have manifested the Glory of God among Men; so also will he evidently declare by most certain Tokens, that I have been sent by him, by Miracles that will quickly come to pass, such as have not yet been seen. O my beloved Disciples, I have yet a little Time to be conversant with you; and as I told the obstinate Jews, so I now tell you, whither I am going you cannot immediately come. In the mean Time, I charge you to observe this new Command which I leave with you: Have a mutual Love for one another, and that with the same Degree of Affection which I have shewn you; for this shall be the distinguishing Mark that you are my Disciples, by which you may be known from the Disciples of other Masters.

Peter after this asked Jesus, Whither he designed to retire, since he told them his Apostles could not come where he was going? Jesus answer'd; Whither I am going you cannot yet come, but you shall hereafter. Then Peter asked him, Why he could not immediately follow him. Jesus thus replied: * Know, that the evil Spirit has requested God to permit him to make a severe Trial of thy Constancy; but I have besought him not to suffer thy Fidelity to be quite over-power'd, and therefore charge thee, when thou hast recovered thy Strength, to confirm the rest of my Disciples in their Allegiance to me by thy Example. Peter wondering at what he heard; Sir, said he, I am ready to follow thee, not only into Prison, but to suffer Death also for thy Sake. Yet, said Jesus, before the Cock crows twice, thou shalt this Day thrice deny that thou hast any Acquaintance with me.

Then turning his Discourse another

Way, that he might forewarn his Apostles of the Persecution which should shortly befall them, he asked them whether, when he sent them forth without any Preparation for a Journey, they wanted any thing, or came by any Misfortune? They replied, They wanted nothing. But now, said he, that the Number of your Enemies is increased, whoever has Money let him keep it; whoever has a Scrip, let him fill it with Provisions before he undertakes a Journey; whoever has no Sword, let him purchase one at any Rate. Which Words Jesus spoke, not as if he commanded them to get all these Things, but to intimate that the Jews would prosecute them with so deadly a Hatred, that they could no longer expect any Manner of Succour from their Country-men; concluding that the Time was now come in which he was to finish the Business he came into the World about; and as soon as the Prophecy of Isaiah, ch. 53. 12. He was reckoned among the Transgressors, that is, treated like a Criminal, was accomplished, he should have nothing left to do here on Earth. The Apostles, not sufficiently understanding what he had said, told him that they had two Swords by them. Jesus, who was now taken up with other Concerns, did not at that Time discover their Error to them, knowing they would hereafter be acquainted with his Meaning by the Event. He therefore made Answer, It is enough; willing to break off that Discourse, and comfort the Minds of his Disciples, who he saw were melancholy and terrified.

He then proceeded in this Manner: Be of good Comfort, as Men supported by the divine Assistance. From your Infancy you have believed on God, nor can you re-

* From the Words of our Lord to Peter we may note, for the Comfort of good Men, that Satan cannot afflict or tempt them without the divine Permission; and that it is the Duty of those who have truly repented of their Faults, to commiserate the Fall of others, and be solicitous for their Confirmation in the Faith.

use to believe on me who am sent by him: Do not despond then, but consider who it is that bids you be of good Comfort. My Father's House is spacious, and able to contain not only you, but all Believers also; I would else have told you, and not permitted you to undergo any fruitless Labour upon my

Account. And now I go to prepare a Place for you, being shortly to introduce you, when the Time appointed by the divine Wisdom is come, that you may be with me for ever in that happy Region. I have already sufficiently acquainted you with the Place whither I am going, and the Way to it.

C H A P. XII.

Jesus, together with his Apostles, goes to the Mount of Olives. He exhorts them to Virtue in a Similitude of a Vine and its Branches. He recommends to them a mutual Affection for one another. And persuades them, in Imitation of himself, to bear the Malice of their Enemies.

AFTER the foregoing Discourses in the Room where they had eat the Paschal Lamb, Jesus concluded the Supper with a Hymn generally us'd upon that Occasion, and then departed with his Apostles to the Mount of Olives; in which Place he thus address'd himself to his Disciples: *I and my Disciples may be justly term'd a Vine, and my heavenly Father the Dresser of it. If this Vine has any fruitful Branch, that is, if any profess himself my Disciple, and bring forth no Fruit of Virtue, my Father will cut off that Branch, and not esteem such a one as my Disciple; whereas he only prunes the bearing Branches; that is, suffers the sincere Lovers of Truth and Virtue to be spoil'd of the various Conveniences of this Life, that their Virtue might grow the stronger, and shine the brighter. But you, who have been a considerable while my Disciples, are free from superfluous vain Desires. Take care therefore, on your Part, constantly to observe my Precepts, and I will most assuredly perform what I have promis'd you on mine. As no Branch that is lopp'd off can bear Fruit, so neither can you continue in the Way of Virtue, if you renounce my Discipline. I am, as I told you, the Vine, of which you are the Branches: He that observes my Precepts constantly adheres to me, and shall*

bring forth Fruit in abundance; but if you desert me, 'twill be in vain to think of being other than a dead fruitless Branch. He that forsakes my Doctrine will resemble a Branch cut off, which consequently being dried and wither'd, is no longer fit for any thing but Fuel; for thus shall he be expell'd the Seats of Bliss, and condemn'd to suffer Torment in everlasting Flames. On the contrary, if you square your Actions constantly by the Rules which I have prescrib'd, whatever you shall ask of me you shall be sure to receive, and not meet with any Repulse. By this bearing Fruit, you will pay the Honour due to God, and be truly Disciples.

Like as my Father has loved me, so also have I loved you, and will continue to do so while you render yourselves not unworthy of it by neglecting the Rules I have set you: For this Reason 'tis that my Father has always loved me, namely, because I have kept his Commandments. These Things I have forewarn'd you of, that my Joy in you might be complete, and that yours may continue and increase, without the least Alloy of Sorrow. Now the chief of my Commands is this, That you love one another with the same Affection which I have express'd for you, than which none certainly can be greater; nor can there be a surer Demonstration

of

of the Reality of it than the laying down one's Life for a Friend. Such Friends shall I esteem you, if you do whatsoever I command you.

I have not, as I told you, conceal'd any of my Father's Decrees from you, but you have not understood many Things I have declared to you, which therefore I should repeat and unfold, were your Minds freed from those Prejudices which hinder the due Reception of them. But when the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, shall come, he will shew you the Truth of all I have said. That infallible Guide, with which you shall then be inspir'd, will bring no new Doctrine, but explain whatever was obscure in that which I have deliver'd. He shall also shew you what hereafter will come to pass. He shall demonstrate who I was, while he reminds you of what I before instructed you in, and does as it were repeat and illustrate it to you. If he reveals any thing else to you, (for Example, Things to come) I may justly term them mine, inasmuch as they are the Decrees of my Father, which he has communicated to me. A little while hence you will not see me, and not long after you shall see me again, tho' for a very short Space; for I must ascend to my Father.

The Apostles here ask'd one another what was the Meaning of his last Words, in which Jesus not obscurely signified his Resurrection and Ascension into Heaven; not comprehending particularly what that short Space meant, and being desirous to ask their Master concerning it. Jesus taking Notice of their Concern; Do you ask, said he, the Meaning of my last Words? Are they not plain of themselves? I tell you of a Truth, the Time comes in which you shall lament, and mourn, while the Jews rejoice: But this your Sorrow shall shortly be turn'd into Joy: For as a Woman in Travel no longer regards her Pains after she is deliver'd of a Son; so also shall you at my Return shake off this Melancholy and Sadness with which you are

now oppress'd, and be fill'd with a Joy of which none shall ever deprive you, at the Certainty you will have of my being risen from the Dead.

Jesus having thus exhorted and comforted his Apostles, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, address'd himself to the Father after this Manner: Father, I now perceive the Hour coming on, in which I must suffer all Manner of ignominious Usage, and Death itself. Grant that I may behave myself as becomes him whom thou ownest for thy Son, and that I may hereby increase thy Glory among Men. Thou hast authoriz'd me to reward with eternal Felicity all those whom thou hast induc'd to believe on me; for the attaining of which everlasting Happiness there is no other Way than to know Thee, who art the only True God, and Me whom thou hast sent, the Messiah. I have all along propagated thy Glory, and so finish'd the Business for which I came into the World. Re-admit me therefore now, O Father, to those Honours which I enjoy'd with thee before the World was made. I have acquainted those whom thou hast caused to believe in me, with what thou expectest from them. They believ'd before in thee, and thou hast caused them also to believe in me from the Time they embrac'd the Doctrine I propounded to them. Now they understand that all I have, I have received from thee; because I have expounded to them only those Laws which thou gavest me in Charge to recommend, and which they having embrac'd, are convinc'd that I am truly sent by thee to Men.

Now my Departure to thee is at Hand, and I speak this in the Hearing of my Apostles that their Joy may be increas'd, and their Minds not overwhelm'd with Melancholy. I have expounded to them the Laws which thou gavest me in Charge to tender unto Men; they have embrac'd them, and the obstinate hard-hearted Jews, whom neither I nor my Disciples resemble in our Actions, for this Reason hate them. I do not desire thee

to take them out of this World; but to defend them against their Enemies while they continue in it. They know how much my Way of Living is different from that of the Generality of Men, and herein they follow my Example: Grant they may be so sincerely affected with the Truth of thy most holy Doctrine, that their Actions may be always conformable to it, since this Doctrine contains only those Precepts which I have published by thy Authority. This is necessary, that they may rightly discharge the Trust which I have reposed in them: For as I have been commission'd by Thee to invite Men to render themselves capable of enjoying the Rewards annex'd to the Observance of thy Laws, so I have sent my Apostles on the same Design, for whom I offer up myself a Victim to thee, that by their Obedience to thy Commands they may become conspicuous for Integrity and Probity. These Requests I make not only for my eleven Apostles, but for all those also who shall hereafter believe on me thro' their Preaching to them, that they may be in all Things unanimous. As I intirely acquiesce in thy Commands, and thou ratifiest all my Actions, so also may they be one with us, by a perfect Compliance with the Laws of the Kingdom of Heaven. Hereby they may convert many to a Belief of my being sent by thee, when they observe the Lives of my Disciples exactly correspond with the

Doctrine they are to propagate. For this Purpose I have furnish'd them with the like Power of working Miracles, which thou hast conferr'd on me, that they may be all actuated by the self-same Spirit, and be unanimous, as I have been with thee.

I have given them the same Authority that I receiv'd from thee, that we may be all of one Mind, and Men may thereby see I was indeed sent by thee, and that thou hast hitherto loved them as thou hast loved me. My earnest Desire is, that these my Apostles, and the rest of my Disciples, may after Death be with me in the same Seats of Happiness, that they may behold the Honours which thou hast conferred on me, according to the Love thou hadst for me before the Creation of the World. O righteous Father, altho' most Men are ignorant of thy Will, yet I have been made thoroughly acquainted with it, and have reveal'd it to my eleven Apostles, who are firmly per-suaded thou didst send me, and that the Way to Happiness is to obey the Precepts which I have deliver'd to them. For I have declar'd what it is thou expectest from Men, and will continue to manifest it to them, that by their Obedience they may gain thy Favour, as I have done, and that I may continue my Affection for them, and bestow on them the Rewards which thou hast treasur'd up for them that truly love thee.

CHAP. XIII.

- I. Jesus passes over the Brook Cedron, and goes to the Garden of Gethsemane.
- II. He falls into an Agony, in the Presence of Peter, James, and John; leaves them while he prays to the Father, and at his Return wakes them from Sleep.
- III. He wakes them a second and third Time. Judas comes to the Garden.
- IV. Jesus is seized by a Band of Soldiers, with Judas at their Head.
- V. Peter cuts off the Ear of Malchus.
- VI. Jesus is led to the Houses of Annas and Caiaphas.
- VII. Peter three times denies his having any Knowledge of Jesus.
- VIII. Caiaphas examines Jesus before the Rulers.

HAVING spoken as in the preceding Chapter, Jesus departed with

his Apostles, and passed over the Brook Cedron, designing to go to the Garden on

on the other Side. Upon the Way he said unto them, *This Night you will forsake me, that the Words of the Prophet Zachariah may be fulfilled, I will smite the Shepherd, and the Sheep shall be dispersed. For I shall be put to Death, but will shortly after rise, and go before you into Galilee.* Peter replied, *Though all the rest should forsake thee, yet will I constantly adhere unto thee.* Hereupon Jesus put him in Mind, that he had already foretold him, that that very Night, before the Cock crew twice, he would thrice deny his being his Disciple. But, said Peter, *were I to suffer Death together with thee, yet would I not deny thee:* And the same Protestations made the rest of the Apostles. In the mean while they arrive at the Garden of Gethsemane, which being entered, Jesus ordered the Apostles to tarry in a certain Place, while he retired for a while to pray; advising them to recommend themselves to God by Prayer, that he might not suffer them to have too severe a Trial of their Constancy.

II. Jesus did not, however, leave them all at the Entrance into the Garden, but commanded Peter, and the two Sons of Zebedee, to go along with him. In their Presence he began to be extremely sorrowful and melancholy, at the Apprehension of the Torments he was to endure within a few Hours; telling them, that he was in a perfect Agony, and commanding them to tarry with him, and watch. Then being withdrawn from them about a Stone's Throw, and prostrating himself upon the Ground, he cried out in a loud Voice; *O Father Almighty! thou art able if thou wilt to remove the Indignities and cruel Death I shortly expect to suffer; nevertheless, if thy eternal Wisdom has unalterably decreed me to this End, I entirely resign up myself to thy Disposal.* Being in this Agony, an Angel came down from Heaven, and comforted him; and the more he was oppressed with Sorrow, the more earnest-

ly he had Recourse to God by Prayer: And so great was his Anguish, that the Sweat run down his Body as if it had been Drops of Blood falling to the Ground. Afterwards he arose, and returning to his Apostles, found them in a profound Sleep, which sometimes succeeds an intense Grief and Melancholy. Jesus beholding them, thus awakened them: Peter, and you the Sons of Zebedee, *do you now sleep? Am I so little regarded by you, that you cannot watch for one Hour with me in my Affliction? Arise, and pray to God that he suffer you not to be overwhelmed in the Trial which will shortly be made of your Constancy and Fidelity: For tho' you are sufficiently satisfied that it is your Duty to be inflexibly constant in your Profession of being my Disciples, yet such is the frail Nature of Men as scarce to be able to withstand the Shock, when disturb'd by Fear, or any other Passion; in such Cases they are easily apt to give Ground, and despond.*

III. Jesus having thus admonish'd them, retir'd a second Time from his Apostles, and put forth the same Petitions to God: But being return'd, he found them again fast asleep; for their Eyes were heavy. Having once more awakened them, and rebuk'd them for so great Negligence, they had nothing to alledge in their Excuse. Then he went the third Time; and having repeated the same Requests, and obtained nothing of his Father, he acquiesced, and return'd fully resolv'd to encounter courageously the Torments that were to be inflicted on him. Finding his Apostles the third Time asleep; *Sleep on now,* said he, *and take your Rest; I no longer want your Company or Watching with me, being firmly resolv'd to endure with Resignation whatever the Rage of my Enemies shall inflict upon me. The Hour is at Hand in which I shall be deliver'd into the Power of wicked Men, Romans and Jews; at which if you have a Mind to be present, arise, let us go meet the Traitor, who is already*

already upon the Way to seize me. For Judas knowing very well the Places to which Jesus used to resort by Night with his Disciples, came directly to the Garden with a Company of Roman Soldiers, and the Officers of the Sanhedrim, with Lamps and Torches, that they might find him out in Case he should attempt to hide himself in the obscure Places of the Garden.

Jesus had scarce pronounced these Words, when they saw the Soldiers, and Judas at the Head of them, who had given them for a Sign, that whoever he saluted was the Person they were to seize on, and carry away safely to the Sanhedrim. Coming therefore near to Jesus; *Hail! Master,* said he, *and kissed him.* Jesus replied, *Friend, wherefore comest thou with all this Guard about thee? Dost thou betray me by a fawning Salutation?* Then turning to the Soldiers, as one who knew what would be the Event, he said, *Whom seek ye?* They answer'd, that they sought for Jesus of Nazareth. He immediately own'd, He was the Man. Judas was now retir'd into the Company of the Soldiers, who no sooner heard the Words of Jesus, but they were struck with Amazement, and fell back upon the Ground. At which Time Jesus was so far from endeavouring to escape, which he might easily have done, that he went a second Time directly to them, and ask'd them again, whom 'twas they sought for. They having again answered him, that they sought for Jesus of Nazareth? *I have already,* said he, *own'd myself to be that Jesus of Nazareth you seek after: If then it be only me that you want, pointing to his Apostles, let these Men alone.* Which having obtained of them, it happen'd that in this Sense also was fulfilled what he had before said, *Of them which thou hast given me, have I lost none.*

V. The Tribune then advancing with his Cohort, took him, and bound him;

which the Apostles resenting, two of them, who, as we have related, had Swords, ask'd Jesus whether they should draw upon the Enemy, and repel the Violence that was offer'd him. One of them, by Name Peter, without staying for his Master's Answer, drew his Sword, and cut off the right Ear of one of the High-Priest's Servants, whose Name was Malchus. Jesus immediately commanded him to forbear, and put up his Sword, assuring him, that all who had taken up Arms against him, should fall by the Power of their Enemies; adding moreover, that if he had design'd to resist the Jews and Romans, he could have obtain'd of his heavenly Father, not a Guard of Men against them, but twelve or more Legions of Angels: But that his Purpose was to fulfil all the Prophecies that foretold his Death, by drinking the Cup, however bitter it was, which his heavenly Father reach'd out unto him. Then touching the Ear of Malchus, he immediately heal'd the Wound.

Afterwards addressing himself to the Chief Priests and Ministers of the Sanhedrim, he ask'd them, why they came so arm'd to take him, as if they were to apprehend some publick Robber. *I have daily taught in the Temple,* said he, *and you have not offer'd to lay hold on me. But the Time is come in which God has permitted you and the Angels of Darknes to execute your Designs against me, that the antient Prophecies concerning my Death may be accomplished.* Which Words were not spoken, before the Apostles, according to his Prediction, all left him, and fled. But a certain young Man, who came to see what the Matter was, having a Linen Cloth about his Body, was taken by the Soldiers: However he escap'd from them naked, leaving his Garment in their Hands.

VI. The Soldiers having thus seiz'd on Jesus, led him away first to the House of Annas,

Annas, who was Father-in-Law to *Caiaphas*, the High Priest for that Year. Now this *Caiaphas* was he, who in the *Sanhedrim*, when they had the Debate concerning *Jesus*, gave his Opinion that it was necessary that one Man should die for the whole People; which was truer than he imagined, as we have already said. But *Annas* ordered him to be carried before the High Priest, in whose Palace many of the *Sanhedrim* were assembled. To this Place *Peter*, and *John* the Son of *Zebedee*, followed him at a Distance. *John* being acquainted with the High Priest and his Family, went in after *Jesus* into the Hall: But *Peter* staid without, being denied Admittance by the Women that looked to the Door; till *John*, perceiving his Company was not let in, went out, and prevailed with the Porter to admit him.

VII. *Peter* being got in, sat himself down by the Fire in the Hall with the Priest's Servants, to observe the Issue of the Business. While he was there, the Woman that let him in, looking stedfastly upon him, asked him whether he were not one of the Disciples of *Jesus* of *Nazareth*. *Peter* told her, he was not, and that he could not imagine why she should accuse him. A little while after, he went out of the Hall into the Porch, and the Cock crew. Then returning to the Company that were seated about the Fire in the Hall, another Woman, that had seen him go into the Porch, asked him whether he were not one of the Disciples of *Jesus* of *Nazareth*; which *Peter* again denied with an Oath. About an Hour after, another Servant of the High Priest, related to him whose Ear *Peter* had cut off, affirmed he had seen him together with *Jesus* in the Garden of *Gethsemane*; the rest saying, it was not unlikely that he was one of his Followers, since by his Language they might perceive he was a *Galilean*. *Peter* then denied, with

No. LXXVIII.

Oaths and Imprecations, that he had any Acquaintance with him; and immediately after the Cock crowed a second Time. *Jesus* then, who was at that Time in the Hall, turning to him, by a silent Look upbraided him for the Crime he had committed: With which *Peter* was so sensibly affected, that remembering the Admonition of *Jesus*, wherein he had forewarned him that before the Cock crowed twice he should thrice deny him, he went out of the Hall filled with Grief and Anguish, and with a Flood of Tears lamented the Fault he had committed.

VIII. *Jesus* afterwards, being sent for into the Room where the High Priest was seated, with several Members of the *Sanhedrim*, was by *Caiaphas* examined concerning his Disciples and Doctrine. To whom he thus replied: *I have at no Time taught in secret, but have openly delivered my Doctrine in almost all the Synagogues of Judea, and in the Temple itself, where there is always a great Resort of People. There is then no Reason why you should examine me concerning my Doctrine, since you may be informed of it by those who heard me.* Upon this one of the Officers that stood by struck him, for not speaking reverently, as he pretended, to the High-Priest. To whom *Jesus* said, *If I have spoken amiss, shew wherein; if not, why dost thou strike me undeservedly?* The Chief Priests, and the whole Assembly, were now at a Loss for a Witness against him: For though many were ready to testify against him, yet their Depositions were not sufficient to prove him guilty of any capital Crime, because they did not agree among themselves. At last there appeared two false Witnesses, who alledged, that they had heard *Jesus* say, he would destroy this Temple made with Hands, and build another in three Days time, without any humane Help. But neither was this Accusation strong enough to condemn him to Death; which made

the Chief Priests and *Jews*, assembled in the House of *Caiaphas*, at a Loss how to destroy him.

IX. The next Day, early in the Morning, the whole *Sanhedrim* being assembled in the usual Place, *Jesus* was brought before them by those who had been in the House of *Caiaphas*, and the Witnesses were again examined; to whose Accusations *Jesus* making no Reply, the High Priest arose, and asked him the Reason of his Silence. But *Jesus* returning no Answer, many other Members of the *Sanhedrim* asked him, Whether he were the Messiah or not, and commanded him to give an Answer to their Question. Then said *Jesus*, *If I should here profess myself the Messiah, you would not believe me; and if I should propose any Questions to you, you would not dismiss me, though you would be unable to reply to what I could propound: For which Reason I think it not necessary to make any Defence, or plead for myself before this Assembly.* This, however, did not give them Satisfaction; for the High Priest, that he might get an Answer from him, began to adjure him by the true God, to tell them whether he were the Messiah, the Son of God; and the

others also urged him to the same Purpose.

X. At last, perceiving himself bound by so religious a Tie, *Jesus* made this publick Profession: *I am indeed him you mention, The Messiah; and hereafter you shall see me seated at the Right Hand of that inaccessible Light, by which God manifests his Presence in Heaven, and descending in the Clouds from Heaven, so as you shall no longer doubt whether I am the Messiah or not.* Upon hearing of which Words the High Priest rent his Garment, exclaiming against *Jesus* as a Blasphemer: And turning himself to the *Sanhedrim*; *What need, said he, of any further Witness? You yourselves have heard his Blasphemy, what think you?* They replied, They thought he deserved to die. At that Time the Guard set over him began to spit on him, and to buffet him; and having blindfolded him, they struck him with the Palms of their Hands, bidding him guess who it was that struck him, since being the Messiah, as he said, he must needs be a Prophet also. After this Manner did these miserable Wretches revile him; while the *Sanhedrim*, without any more to do, agreed among themselves, that he was worthy of Death.

C H A P XIV.

I. *Jesus* led before Pilate. II. *Their Accusation.* III. *Jesus* confesses himself a King. Pilate would have released him, but the *Jews* prevent it. IV. Pilate sends *Jesus* to Herod, who, after hearing his Accusers, sends him back again. V. Pilate gives the *Jews* their Choice of *Jesus* or Barabbas to be released. VI. Judas relents, carries back the thirty Shekels, and hangs himself. VII. Simon the Cyrenian compelled to carry the Cross. VIII. He is crucified between two Malefactors, and his Garments are divided.

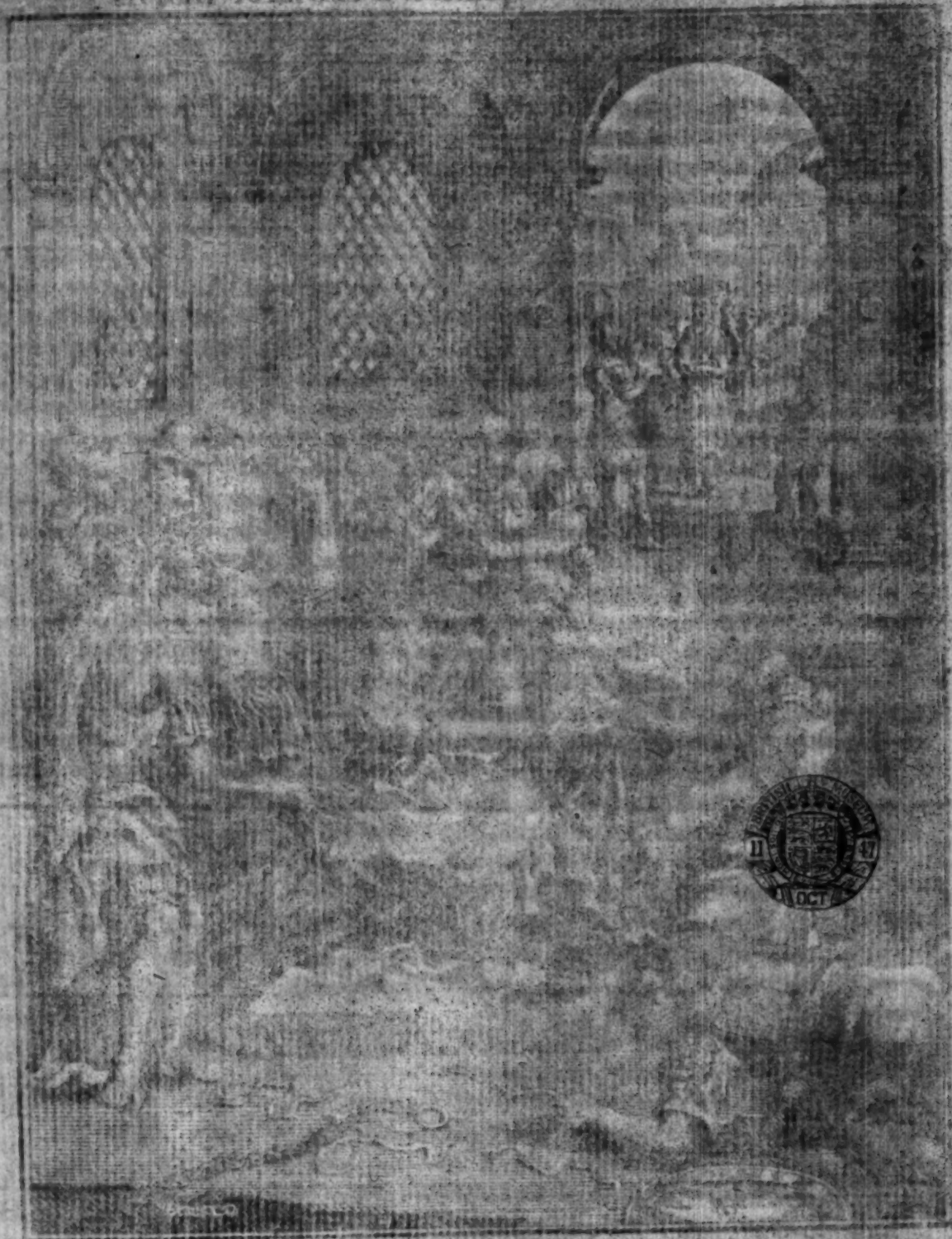
JESUS having been thus examined by them, the whole *Sanhedrim* arose, and went directly to the Judgment-Hall, to impeach him before Pontius Pilate, the Roman Governor. Thither they led *Jesus*. However, they them-

selves went not in, that they might not be defiled by going into the House of a Heathen Man, and thereby be excluded from eating of the Victims that were that Day to be sacrificed, and which were wont, as the other Sacrifices offered up during

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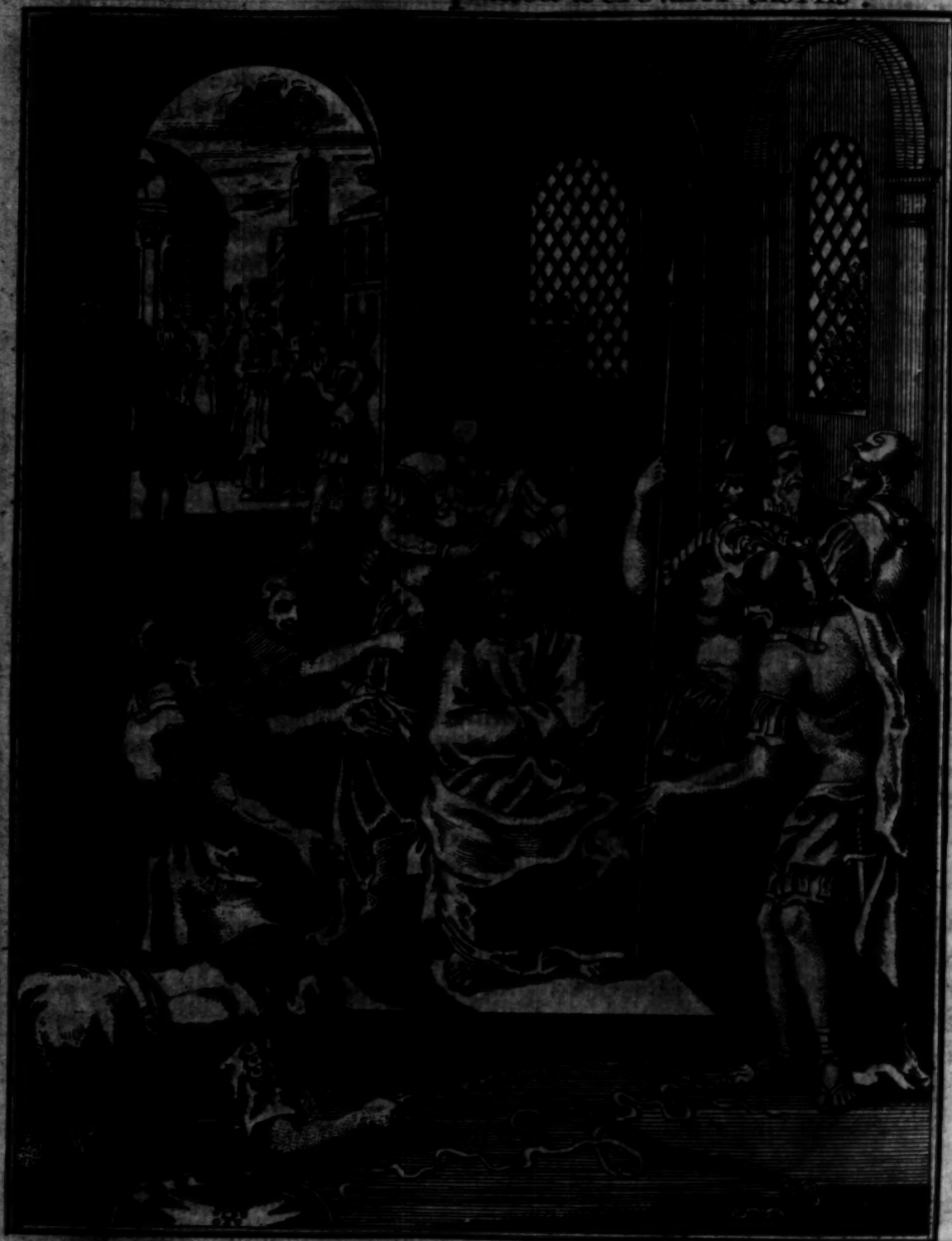
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And here it can be seen that the Jews
had put it on the head of Jesus and said
Hail King of the Jews.

S^T JOHN CHAP. XIX.
And the Soldiers platted a crown of thorns.



S^T JOHN 19. Verse 2, 3.
*And put it on the head of JESUS, and said, Hail KING of
the Jews: and they smote him with their hands.*

during the eight Days that the Feast lasts, to be called, *The Passover*. But *Pilate* being informed that the *Jews* waited without with a Man bound, whom they designed to deliver into his Hands as worthy of Death, indulging their Superstition in this Particular, came out and asked them what Crime they accused him of. They replied, (half angry that *Pilate* should suspect them as designing to destroy an innocent Person,) that if he had not been a Malefactor, they would not have brought him before him. *Pilate* then bid them take him, and judge him according to their Law. They answered, they had already examined him, and found him worthy of Death, which the *Roman* Laws prohibited them to put in Execution. By which Means came to pass what *Jesus* had foretold concerning the Death he should die; the *Romans* being wont to crucify such Strangers as were condemned to Death, which was contrary to the Custom of the *Jews*, who, besides, could not then execute any one, unless upon some sudden Tumult.

II. The *Jews* then urged against *Jesus*, that they knew he endeavoured to foment a Tumult, and raise an Insurrection against the *Roman* Government, by † forbidding the People's paying Tribute to *Cæsar*, affirming that himself was King of the *Jews*. *Pilate* then asked *Jesus*, who stood before him, whether he were the King of the *Jews*, which he owned without the least Concern. In the mean Time the Members of the *Sanhedrim* alleged many Crimes against him, which *Jesus* disdained to answer, not willing to do or say any Thing that might argue a Desire to escape Death. *Pilate*, who knew not his Design, asked him why he

took no Notice of what they laid to his Charge, and whether he did not hear what he was accused of. But *Jesus* continued still silent, which made *Pilate* greatly wonder.

III. Then coming again to the Judgment-Hall, he sent for *Jesus*, while the *Jews* were without, and asked him a second Time, whether he were indeed the King of the *Jews*. *Jesus* asked him in his Turn, whether he put the Question to him of his own Accord, or being instigated by the *Jews*? To whom *Pilate*, in a sort of Passion; *I am no Jew*, said he, *nor desirous to be acquainted with any of their Customs: Thy own Countrymen, and the Chief Priests, have delivered thee into my Hands: Wherein hast thou offended them?* *Jesus* then told him, that he was truly called the King of the *Jews*, but that his Regal Dignity was not of that Nature, as to create the least Jealousy among the *Romans*, his Kingdom not being terrestrial like that of the *Roman* Empire. For had his Kingdom been of this World, he should have raised Men to defend him against the Power of the *Jews* his Enemies. But, said he, *my Kingdom, as I have told thee, is not of this World*. Which when *Pilate* heard, he said, *Thou art then a King however*. To whom *Jesus* made Answer, *Thou sayest I am a King, and that truly; for this Purpose was I born, that I might found an Empire; and I am come to Men on purpose to shew them the Truth, which whoever loves, easily assents to me*. *Pilate* then presently enquired, what that same Truth was that *Jesus* taught; but without staying for an Answer, and perceiving plainly that *Jesus* was no Way disposed to cause a Rebellion, he went out to the

† That they here lie against their own Consciences is evident from *Matth. xxii. 21*. But this Lye had two specious Pretences. 1st, That he professed himself King of the *Jews*. 2^{dly}, That he was a *Galilean*, and probably of the Opinion of *Judas Gaulonites*. On either of which Accounts it was not likely that he would own the Authority of *Cæsar*.

Jews, and told them, that he found no manner of Crime in him. But they the more vehemently urged against him, that his Doctrine tended to stir up the *Jews* to Rebellion, as that he had spread it abroad all over *Judea*, not excepting *Jerusalem*, having begun in *Galilee*.

IV. *Pilate* hearing *Galilee* mention'd, enquired whether he were a *Galilean*: Which being informed of, he commanded him to be carried before *Herod Antipas*, who at that Time was in *Jerusalem*, as one born and educated in his Province; requiring his Accusers also to repair thither, and impeach him; *Herod* being better acquainted with the Business. *Herod* at the Sight of *Jesus* was extremely pleased, hoping to see some Miracle performed by him in his Presence. To which End he put several Questions to him, to which *Jesus* disdained to make any Reply, not willing to satisfy a vain Curiosity, or shew any Reluctancy against the Death he knew he was to suffer. In the mean while several Members of the *Sanhedrim* prefer'd their Accusations against him. But *Herod* not being able to get any Answer from him, nor judging him any Way formidable to the *Roman* Government, he and his Courtiers had him in Derision; and having caused him to be cloathed in a white Robe, as a Token of his Innocency, he sent him back to *Pilate*. Before that *Herod* and *Pilate* had been at Variance, but upon this Occasion were that Day reconcil'd.

V. *Jesus* being brought back to *Pilate*, he summoned the *Sanhedrim*, and the rest of the *Jews*, whom he thus accosted: *You have brought*, said he, *this Man before me, as one turbulent and seditious, and affirmed that he has endeavoured to raise a Mutiny against the Roman Government. I have examined him, and find him not guilty of what you lay to his Charge: And Herod the Tetrarch of Galilee, in whose Jurisdiction you say he was born and bred,*

has also acquitted him. I will therefore chastise him, and set him free. Now it was customary for the Governors of *Judea*, to gratify the *Jews* with the Release of a Prisoner during the Festival of the *Passover*. And at that Time having a notorious Robber, whose Name was *Barabbas*, that was taken with several seditious Persons in a Riot, and had likewise committed Murder; and the Multitude importuning *Pilate*, that according to Custom he would release a Prisoner, as he had always done since he had govern'd *Judea*; *Pilate* therefore demanded which they would rather have set free, *Jesus* called the Messiah, and King of the *Jews*, or *Barabbas*? For *Pilate* having before heard of the Fame of *Jesus*, knew very well that the Chief Priests sought his Death out of Envy to the great Esteem he had gain'd amongst the People by his Doctrine and Miracles, and not because they thought him guilty of any capital Crime. While these Things were transacting, *Pilate's* Wife sent for him; as he was sitting upon the Tribunal, intreating him to spare that innocent Person whom the *Jews* accused, affirming she had been greatly troubled in a Dream wherein he seemed to condemn him.

Pilate having thus left it to the Choice of the Multitude, the *Sanhedrim* instigated them to desire that *Jesus* might be put to Death, and to have *Barabbas* freed, who was accused of Robbery and Murder. But *Pilate* chusing rather to set *Jesus* free because of his Innocency, and his Wife's Dream, asked them again aloud, whom they chose, *Jesus* or *Barabbas*? The Multitude incensed, and urged to it by the *Sanhedrim*, again replied, *Barabbas*. *Pilate* then asked them, what they would have done with *Jesus*, who was called the Messiah, or King of the *Jews*. They told him, They were so far from being willing to have him set free, that they desired he might be crucified. *Pilate*, still

still endeavouring to soften their Rage, told them that he had not upon Examination found him guilty of any Thing that deserved Death according to the *Roman Laws*: *Wherefore*, said he, *I will chastise him, and dismiss him*. But the *Jews*, notwithstanding, continued their Clamours to have him crucified. *Pilate*, however, was not yet prevailed with to gratify their Request, but commanded *Jesus* to be scourged, hoping by that Punishment to appease the Malice of his Enemies. The Soldiers not only did what they were commanded, but made a Mock of him, putting a Crown of Thorns upon his Head, and a Purple Robe about him. Having thus a while derided him, and saluted him King of the *Jews*, they abused him more outrageously by striking him.

After this *Pilate* came again into the Judgment-Hall, and commanded *Jesus* to follow him, telling the *Jews* he came on purpose to testify to them, that he had not found *Jesus* guilty of any Crime, and that if he had offended in any Particular, by being scourged he thought he had sufficiently atoned for it. At the same Time *Jesus* also appeared, having the Crown on, and the Purple Robe; whom *Pilate* shewed to them, that he might excite their Compassion, by a View of the Punishment and ignominious Usage which one of their own Countrymen had suffered undeservedly. When the High Priests and their Followers, who came on purpose to incite the Multitude, beheld him, they again cried out, *He ought to be crucified*. *Pilate* then bid them take him, and crucify him if they would; but as for his Part, he saw no Manner of Crime in him. The *Jews* then told him, that by their Law he ought to be put to Death, inasmuch as he made himself the Son of God, or the Messiah. Which *Pilate* hearing, who was not ignorant of the many Miracles that *Jesus* was said to perform, he began

the more to be afraid, lest he should be forced by their Clamours to condemn not only an innocent Person, but one begotten by a God, as many among the Heathens were by them supposed to have been.

Being in the Judgment-Hall, he again interrogated *Jesus*, that he might know who that Man was, and from whence he came, of whom he had heard so many strange Relations, and on whose Destruction the *Jews* were so eagerly bent. But *Jesus* made him no Reply, that he might not seem to shun the Death he was to suffer. Whereupon *Pilate* said to him, *Knowest thou not that I have Power to crucify thee, or to set thee free, notwithstanding all the Malice of the Jews against thee? Why then answerest thou me nothing?* *Jesus* told him, He could have no such Power, but by the divine Permission. *But of these Things*, said he, *and many others with which the Jews are acquainted, thou art ignorant: They therefore offend more against the divine Justice than thou dost; though thou hast greater Respect to the Favour of the Jews than to the Laws, since thou hast commanded me to be scourged, whom thou thyself hast openly declared innocent*. *Pilate* reflecting on this Reply of *Jesus*, greatly desired to absolve him; upon which the *Jews* redoubled their Cries to have him crucified, saying, If he dismissed him, he was none of *Cæsar's* Friend; since whoever set himself up for a King in a *Roman* Province, without *Cæsar's* Appointment, was to be accounted an Enemy to *Cæsar*. *Pilate* was not yet so terrified, but that he was still desirous to rescue *Jesus*. He therefore brought him out to them again, and sat down on the Judgment Seat, in a Place called the *Stone-Pavement*, in *Hebrew*, *Gabbatha*. (Now this happened on a Friday, one of the Paschal Days, which according to the *Jewish* Custom are reckoned from the preceding Evening, about

about three Hours after the Sun was risen.) Then said he to the *Jews*, *Behold your King*: The divine Providence instructing them what they ought to think of him by the Mouth of a Heathen. But they with greater Fury demanded to have him crucified. *What then, said Pilate, shall I crucify your King?* God by him seeming to upbraid them with their nefarious Cruelty. The Chief Priests replied, *They had no King but Cæsar.*

Pilate perceiving he could no way mitigate their Rage, but that they were more and more inflamed, to shew that he gave him up unwillingly, he called for a Bason of Water to be brought into Court; and having washed his Hands before them all, he said unto them, *I am no way the Author of this innocent Man's Death; Look ye to it.* Whereupon the whole Multitude cried out, *If he be innocent, may the Punishments due for the shedding of his Blood light upon us and our Children.* *Pilate* then, willing to gratify the *Jews*, commanded *Barabbas*, who was committed for Murder and Sedition, to be released according their Desire; and having already commanded *Jesus* to be scourged, he now delivered him up to the Soldiers to be crucified; who having gathered a whole Cohort, carried *Jesus* into the common Hall, and began to mock and deride him in the same Manner as they had done before, clothing him with the Purple Robe, and putting the Crown of Thorns on his Head, and a Reed for a Scepter into his Hand. Having thus disguised him, they bowed their Knees before him, and saluted him with, *Hail, King of the Jews!* After they had thus for a while ignominiously scoffed at him, they took the Purple Robe off, and the Reed out of his Hand, with which they struck him; and having clothed him with his own Garments, they led him out to the Place appointed for his Crucifixion.

VI. Now *Judas*, who perhaps never thought Things would have been pushed on to that Extremity, perceiving *Pilate* had condemned his Master, touched with Remorse at the Villainy he had committed, and to give a publick Demonstration of it returned to the *Sanhedrim*, with the thirty Shekels which he had received according to his Bargain, saying, *I have sinned in that I have betrayed my innocent Master.* But they, as wholly unconcerned, and no way partaking of the Crime, replied, *That is nothing to us, do thou look to it.* *Judas* then throwing down the Money in the Middle of the Temple, went out and hanged himself; and the Rope breaking, by his Fall to the Ground he burst, and all his Bowels gushed out. The Chief Priests secured the Money; but looking on it as polluted, having been employed for betraying a Man that was to suffer Death, they would not put it in the Treasury, but with it bought the *Potter's Field*, for a Burying-Place for Strangers that should die at *Jerusalem*. And this was so notorious to all the Inhabitants of that City, that from thence that Field was called in their Language *Hakeldama*, which signifies, *The Field of Blood*. Thus happened to him something like what we read in the Prophecy of *Zechariah*, where he is said to receive the thirty Pieces of Silver, the Price he was valued at by the *Jews*, and to cast it out to the Potter.

VII. Now *Jesus* bearing his Cross, was led forth to the Place called *The Place of a Scull*, in the Hebrew *Golgotha*: But being unable to support the Weight of it, by reason of the continued Fatigue he had endured all the preceding Night and that Day, the Soldiers compell'd one *Simon a Cyrenian*, who by chance was returning that Way Home out of the Country, to carry the Cross for him. This *Simon* was the Father of *Alexander* and *Rufus*, two Persons well known in their

their own Country. In the mean time a great Multitude of all Sorts of People were gather'd together, who followed him, as is usual on all such Occasions, to be Spectators of the Tragedy that was to be acted. Among them were several Women belonging to Jerusalem, who greatly bemoaned his Misfortune. But Jesus turning about to them; *Do not lament my Death, said he, but the Calamities that shall befall you and your Children: For the Time approaches, in which Jerusalem shall be reduced to so great Straits, that those Women only shall be judg'd happy who are barren, and have no Children to take Care of. At that time, the Inhabitants of Jerusalem shall be driven to such Despair, that they shall wish for the Hills and Mountains that are within their Walls to cover them, rather than fall into the Power of their Enemies. For if the Jews, who are now quiet and submissive under the Roman Government, are yet so severely used by their Governors, what severe Vengeance will they execute against them, when they shall have broke out into open Rebellion?*

VIII. There were also led, together with Jesus, two Malefactors to be crucified. Being arrived at the Place appointed for the Execution, the Crosses being fix'd, and all Things ready, the Soldiers offer'd Jesus a Drink made of Vinegar and Myrrh; of which having tasted, he refused to drink. Afterwards having stripped him naked, and divided his Clothes into four Parts, so that each of the Quaternion, who were his Executioners might have a Share, they fastened him to the Cross. But the Coat, which was all of a Piece, and without Seam, they cast Lots for; by which that truly befall Jesus, which David spoke figuratively concerning himself, *Psal. 22. 9. They divided my Garments among them, and cast Lots for my Vesture.* Now the Soldiers, after they had crucified those who were condemned, sat by the Crosses to

guard them, lest their Friends should attempt their Rescue.

Upon the Top of the Cross on which Jesus hung, there was an Inscription fixed by Pilate's Order, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, in these Words: **THIS IS JESUS OF NAZARETH, THE KING OF THE JEWS.** Thus was fulfilled that Prophecy of Scripture, which foretold that the Messiah should be reckoned among the Malefactors. Now the Place where Christ was crucified, commonly call'd Mount Calvary, being not far from the City, it was read by many of the Jews; the Inscription being, as we said, in three Languages, that it might be understood by any that were skill'd in either of them. For which Reason the Chief Priests accosted Pilate, and desired him to alter the Form a little, and to order it to be written thus: *This is Jesus of Nazareth, who said, he was the King of the Jews.* But Pilate refused to alter a Tittle of what he had commanded to be written; Providence so ordering it, that the Jews might be acquainted by a Heathen with the real Dignity of that Jesus, whose Death they had with so much Fury solicited.

It was about the third Hour after the Sun rose that Jesus was crucified, and the two Thieves with him, one on his Right Hand, and the other on his Left. The Ignominy and Cruelty of such barbarous Usage were so far from working their usual Effects in Jesus, that instead of Curses, and direful Imprecations, he pray'd to God to forgive his hard-hearted Enemies, since many of them sinned through Ignorance. Notwithstanding, the insolent Rabble, who were got together, reviled and jeer'd him, shaking their Heads at him, and saying, *O thou that usedst to boast, that thou wouldst destroy the Temple of Jerusalem, and rebuild it in three Days, now save thyself, and come down from the Cross, if thou*

thou art the Messiah. In like Manner the Chief Priests, and others of the greatest Quality among the Jews, upbraided him, saying, *If he has indeed cured so many of their Distempers as is commonly reported, let him now exert that Power in his own Behalf: But we see he is no Ways able to save himself from Punishment: The Miracles therefore attributed to him, deserve no Credit among us. If he be the Messiah, the Deliverer of our Nation, let him first deliver himself from the Danger he is now in: Let this King of the Jews come down from the Cross in our Presence; at Sight of such a Miracle we shall no longer distrust the Truth of his Pretensions. He seemed to acquiesce in a firm Reliance on God's Favour to him; let God then set free his beloved Son.* The Soldiers also offering the Vinegar, scoffing at him, saying, *If thou art the King of the Jews, come down from the Cross, and save thyself.*

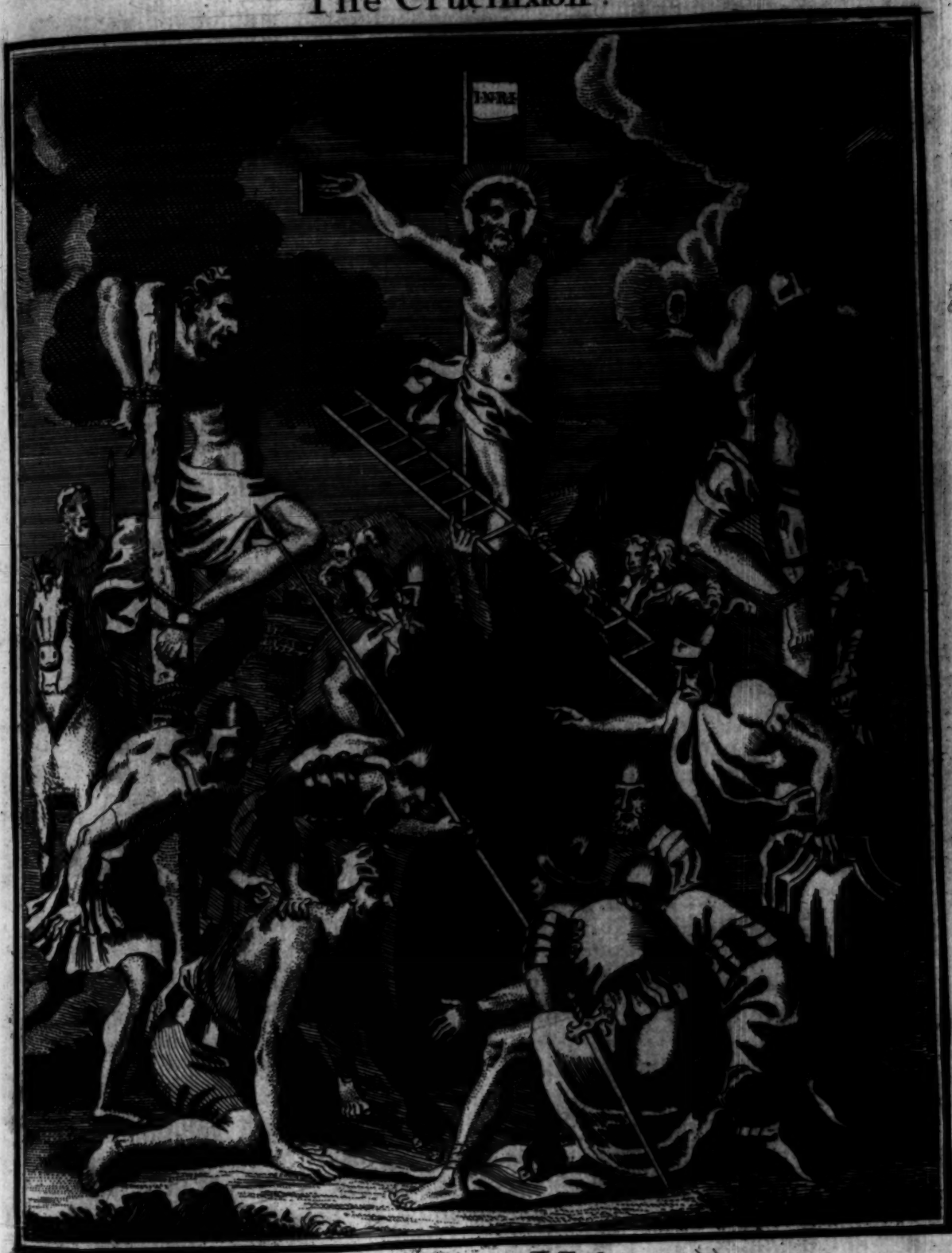
One of the Thieves also, that were crucified at the same Time with him, thus contumeliously upbraided him: *If thou art the Messiah, save thyself and us.* But the other, who before his Crucifixion was penitent, and acquainted with the Doctrine and Miracles of Jesus, rebuked his Companion, saying, *Hast thou no Reverence for God, not even yet when thou art almost ready to expire on the Cross? To which we indeed by our Crimes are justly fastened; but as for him whom thou jeerest, he has done nothing that can deservedly be blamed: Nor do I in the least doubt but that God, who has given him the Power of working so many Miracles, will deliver him in a Manner suitable to the divine Wisdom, although he now hangs on the Cross like one of us.* Then turning himself to Jesus, Lord, said he, when

thou shalt enter upon the Possession of thy Kingdom remember me. Jesus immediately replied, that for the Sake of his extraordinary Faith, he should that very Day be together with him in those Seats of Bliss, whither the Souls of the Just are translated after their Separation from the Body. At that Time there stood by the Cross of Jesus, Mary his Mother, and Mary the Daughter of Cleopas, his Mother's Sister, and Mary Magdalene, with John the Son of Zebedee; whom Jesus beholding, he thus comforted his Mother: Woman, said he, *this Man † shall be instead of a Son to thee.* Then looking on that Disciple, he commanded him to reverence her as his Mother. From that Time John took Mary Home with him, and had the same Affection and Kindness for her as if she had been his own Mother.

Now when Jesus had hung three Hours on the Cross, about the sixth Hour a dark and thick Vapour hover'd over all the Land of Judea, so that the Light of the Sun was obscured! and about the ninth Hour Jesus cried out with a loud Voice in the Jewish Language, *Elohi, Elohi, Lammah Sabacthani?* Which signifies, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* From which Exclamation might be understood the Greatness of the Pain he endured. But some of the Spectators, not sufficiently heeding it, and mistaking the Words, thought he had invoked the Prophet Elias. One of them therefore filled a Sponge with Vinegar, and having fastened it to a Reed, reached it to Jesus to refresh him, till Elias should come, whom he imagined Jesus had called upon, and whom he and many other By-standers imagined would come and rescue Jesus. But Jesus now per-

† Hence it is gathered, that Joseph the Husband of Mary was then dead; whence Christ takes Care she should not be destitute, by committing her to the Charge of his beloved Disciple.

S^T JOHN CHAP. XIX.
The Crucifixion.



S^T JOHN XIX. VERSE XVIII.

There the Jews Crucified him, and two other with him, on
either side one and JESUS in the midst.

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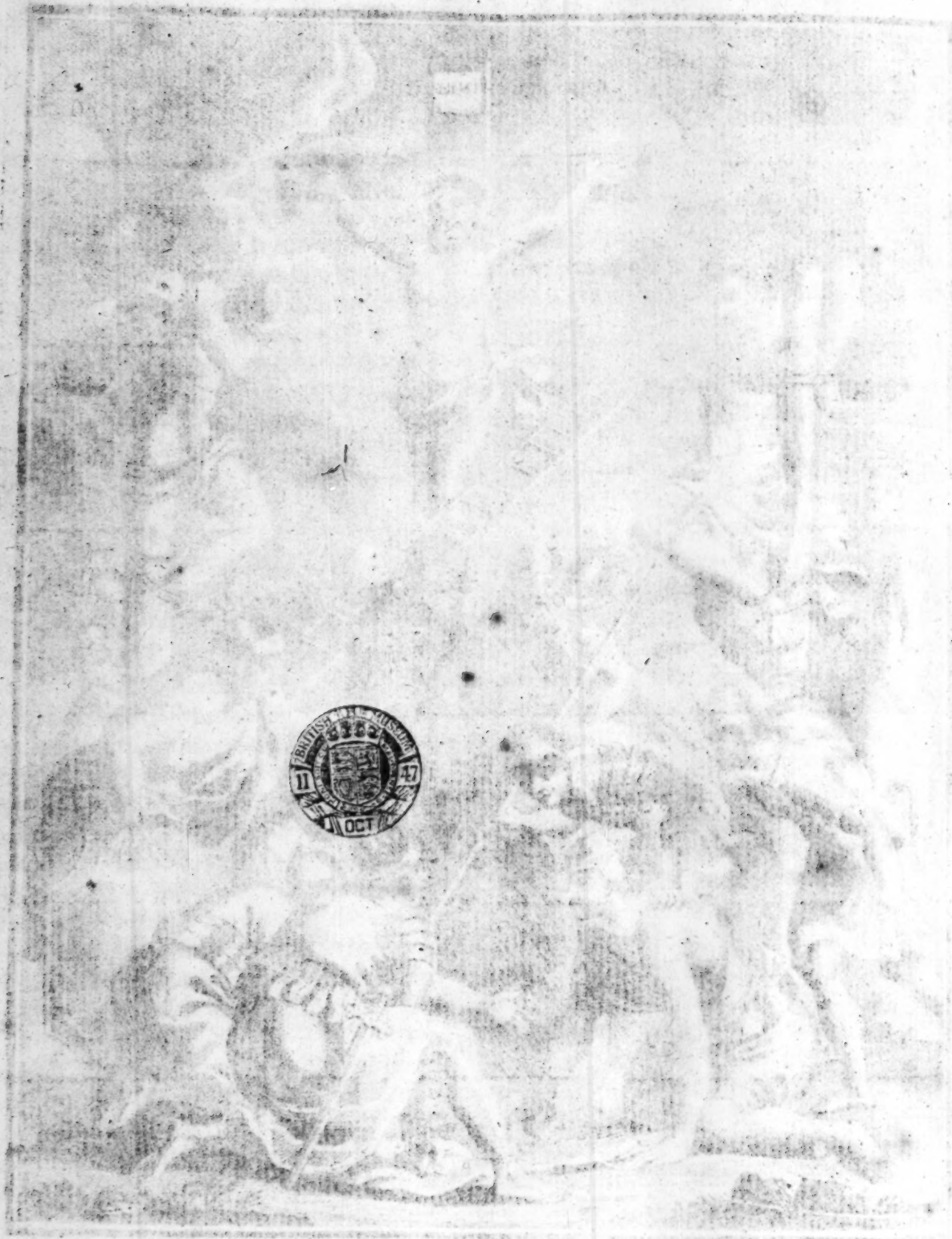
S^T JOHN CHAP. XIX.
The Crucifixion.



S^T JOHN XIX. VERSE XVIII.

There the Jews Crucified him, and two other with him, on
either side one and JESUS in the midst.

JOHN THE BAPTIST
THE CRUCIFIXION



JOHN THE BAPTIST

There the Jews crucified him and one other with him
when Jesus was crucified in the middle

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ceiving the End of his Sufferings to draw near, recollecting his Spirits, said, *I thirst.* Now there was placed by the Cross a Vessel filled with Vinegar, mixed with Myrrh, in which one of the By-standers dipping a Spunge, and fastening it to the End of a Blade of Hyssop, reached it to him; so as that beset Jesus which David said of himself, *In my Thirst they gave me Vinegar to drink.* Jesus having tasted it, said, *It is finished;* and then with a loud Exclamation thus recommended his Soul to God, *Into thy Hands, O Father, I commend my Spirit.* After which bowing down his Head, he breathed out the last Gasps.

At the same Time there were many strange Prodigies, for the Veil of the Temple was rent in two; and there was so great an Earthquake, that the Rocks split, and the Monuments of the Dead were opened; and the Bodies of many holy Persons arose, and were after Jesus's Resurrection seen by many in Jerusalem. The Centurion and the three Soldiers that guarded the Crosses, perceiving the Earthquake that immediately succeeded the last Groans of Jesus, and his Expiring, together with the Darkness that continued for three Hours, cried out, *Truly this Man was innocent, and the Son of God.* The Multitude also observing these Prodigies, were greatly astonished, and returned home, striking their Hearts, and filled with Grief and Indignation against those that had caused Jesus to be crucified. There were several Women at a Distance among the Spectators, particularly *Mary Magdalen, Mary the Mother of James and Joses, Mary the Wife of Zebedee,* and Mother of two of the Apostles, and *Salome,* who had all attended on Jesus in his Progress through Galilee, and were wont to minister to him, and his Apostles; besides many others, who believed on Jesus, and were now at Jerusalem, because of the Passover.

No. LXXIX.

It being now *Friday,* and the Preparation for the Sabbath, as the Jews are wont to call that Day, and the following Sabbath being to be celebrated in a more solemn Manner than ordinary, as falling upon one of the eight Paschal Days, the Jews came to *Pilate,* and intreated him to order the Legs of the Condemned to be broken before the Sabbath begun, that their Country might not be polluted by their hanging all Night on the Cross. *Pilate* granted their Request, and Soldiers were appointed to put it in Execution, who accordingly having found the two Thieves yet alive, brake their Legs to hasten their Death; but perceiving Jesus already dead, they did not break his Legs, but one of them pierced his Side with a Lance, and out of the Wound issued Blood and Serum: Of which *John* the Son of *Zebedee* was an Eye-witness; and this is recorded by him to ascertain the Reality of Christ's Passion, whose Testimony is of unquestioned Authority, as being one who would not be himself imposed on in so remarkable a Particular, and who could have no Design to impose on others. Now this beset Jesus, not without the singular Providence of God, That that might be fulfilled in him which God has promised to the Pious, *That not a Bone of them shall be broken* without his Permission. There is also another Scripture in Part fulfilled by this piercing of Jesus's Side, in which the Inhabitants of Jerusalem are said to look on him whom they had pierced.

Towards the Evening, the Sabbath now drawing near, *Joseph* of *Arimathea,* a Man of Probity and Religion, and a Member of the *Sanhedrim,* a Disciple of Jesus also, though in private, for Fear of the other Members of that Assembly, and who was in Expectation of the Kingdom of the *Messiah,* came boldly to *Pilate,* and begged the Body of Jesus. There came along with him *Nicodemus* also, whose

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Discourse with *Jesus* we have formerly related, and who had prepared an hundred Pounds of Ointment, composed of Myrrh and Aloes, to embalm his Corpse. *Pilate* being at the same Time informed that *Jesus* had been some Time dead, wondering it should happen so soon, enquired of the Centurion whether it were truly so or not; of which being certified, he permitted them to take down the Body, and dispose of it as they pleased. *Joseph* therefore immediately hastened to Mount *Calvary*, and took down the Corps of *Jesus* from the Cross; and having wrapp'd

it up in a clean Sheet, with the Spices and Ointments that *Nicodemus* had prepared, they carried it to a Sepulchre which *Joseph* had caused to be hewn out of a Rock, and in which no Corps yet had been deposited, in a Garden adjoining to Mount *Calvary*: For *Friday* being almost ended, they had not Time to remove it farther, by reason of the approaching Festival. *Joseph* having taken Care to have the Entrance into the Sepulchre closed with a great Stone, returned into the City.

CHAP. XV.

I. Women observe the Interment of Jesus, and buy Spices to embalm him. II. They see two Angels, one of whom tells them that Jesus is risen. Peter and John run to the Sepulchre, and find the Body gone. III. Mary continues there, and sees Jesus, who sends her to the Apostles. IV. Jesus joins himself to the two Disciples on the Road to Emmaus, and discourses with them concerning himself.

THERE were present at the Interment of the Corps of *Jesus*, *Mary Magdalen*, and the Mother of *Jesus*, and other Women who followed *Jesus* out of *Galilee*, who in the mean Time sat opposite to the Sepulchre, that they might see in what Place, and after what Manner they buried him. Of which having taken exact Notice, they returned in all Haste to *Jerusalem*, and bought Spices and Ointments, wherewith to embalm his Body after the Sabbath should be ended, which they kept exactly according to the Letter of the Law.

Upon the Sabbath Day the Chief of the *Jewish* Nation came to *Pilate*, telling him, they remembred how that Impostor (so they termed *Jesus*) who was crucified the Day before, boasted while he was alive, that he should rise again to Life within three Days. They therefore be-

sought *Pilate*, that he would command the Sepulchre to be guarded during that Time, lest his Disciples should steal away his Body, and that last Error be of more dangerous Consequence than the former. *Pilate* replied, that they had a Cohort, who kept Guard in the Porches of the Temple; and that they might take from them what Number of Soldiers they pleased. The *Jews* having obtained what they requested, repaired to the Tomb with some Soldiers, whom they placed about it, and sealed up the Stone that lay at the Entrance, charging them to have a watchful Eye over it till the End of the third Day.

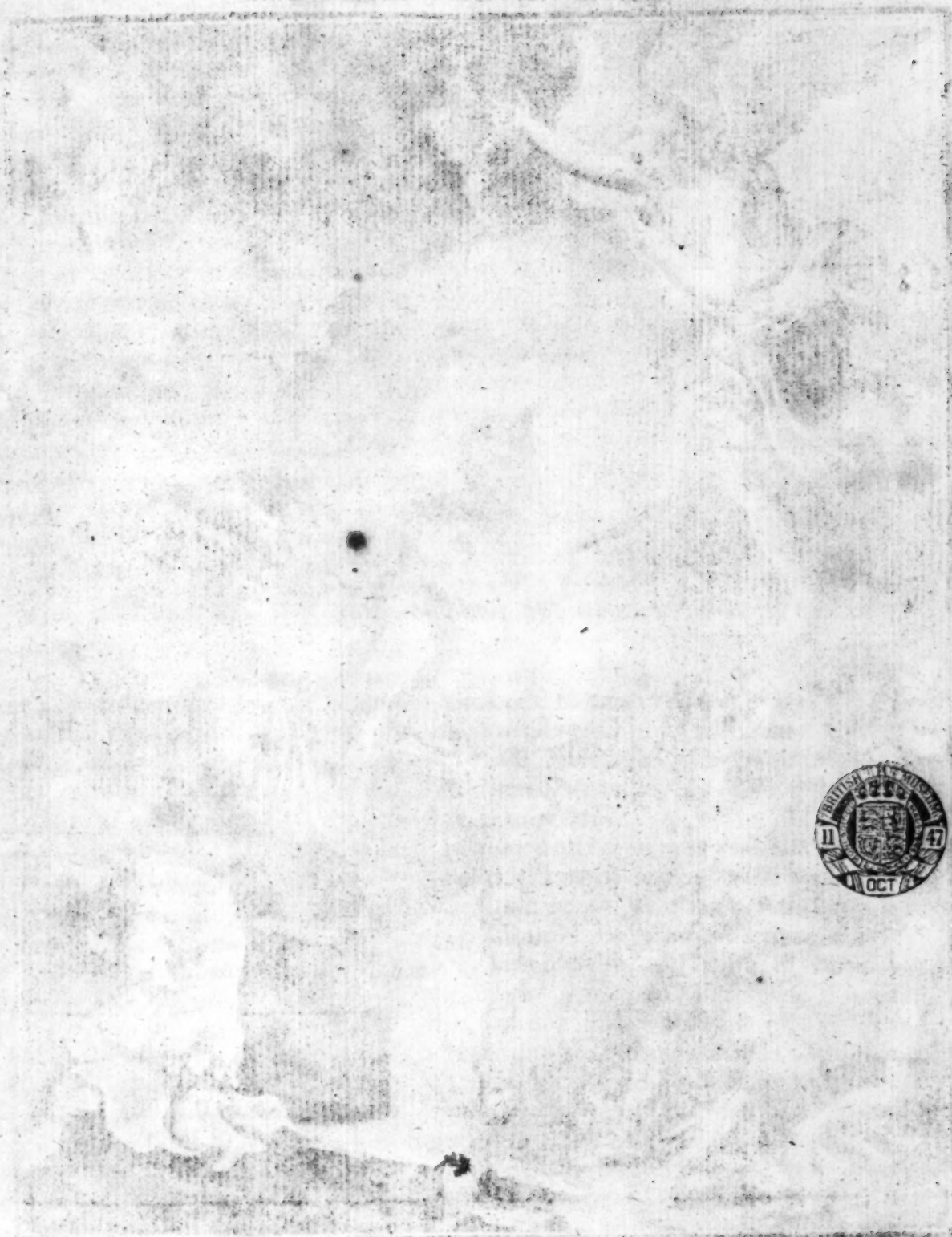
On *Sunday*, early in the Morning, before the Sun was up, and about six and thirty Hours after *Christ's* Body had been laid in the Sepulchre, *Mary Magdalen*, *Mary* the Mother of *James*, and *Salome*, and

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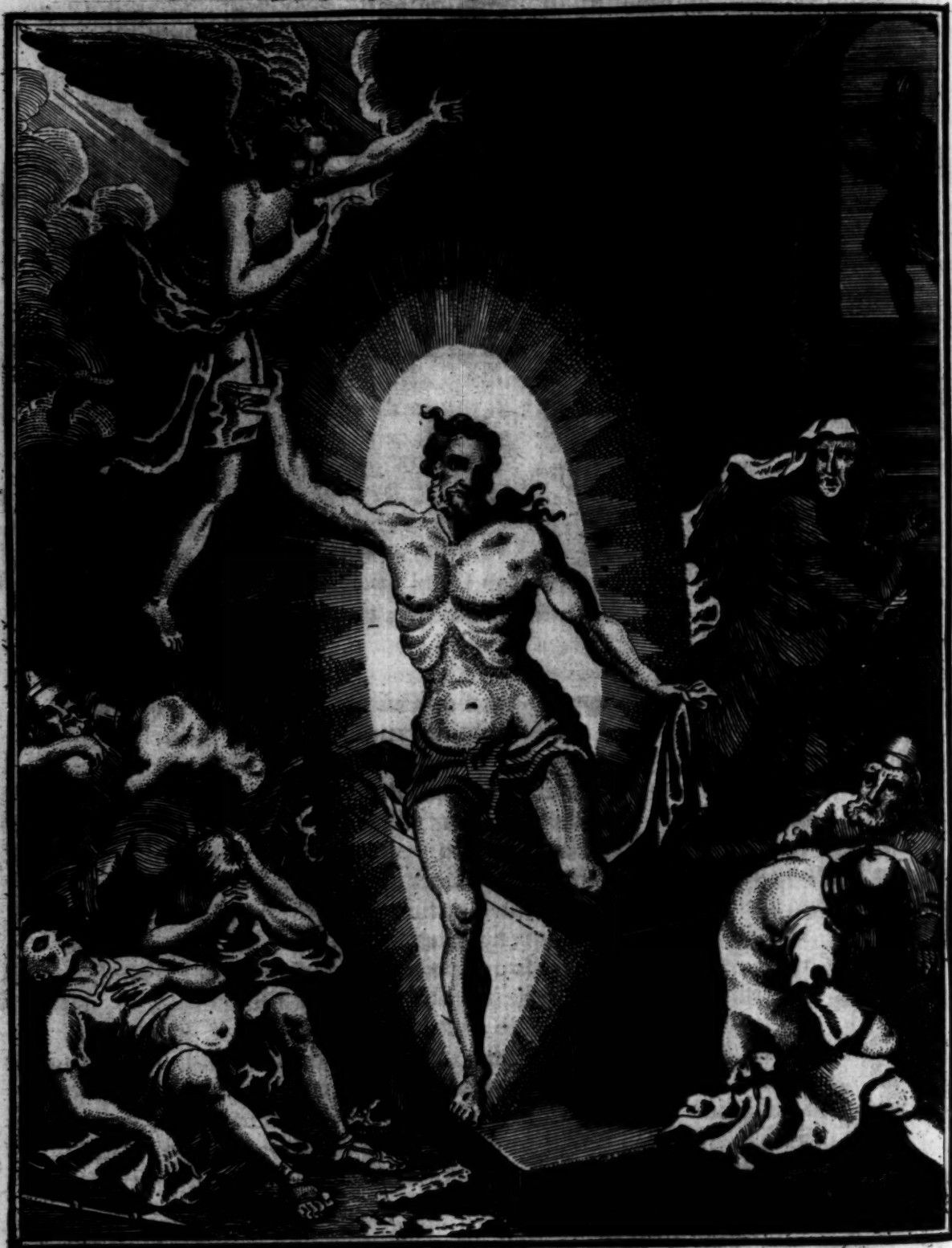
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ST. JAMES AND VICTORIA
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to show the words "ST. JAMES AND VICTORIA"

ST. LUKE CHAP. XXIV.
The Resurrection of Christ.



ST. LUKE XXIV, VERSE VII.

*The Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of
sinfull men, and be Crucified, and the third day rise again.*

and the other Women, taking the Spices and Ointments with them, which they bought, as we related, on Friday, to embalm the Body of Jesus, came to the Monument just about the Time of Sun-rising. As they were going, they ask'd one another how they should get the Stone removed, which they saw roll'd against the Entrance into the Cave. But in the mean while there arose a sudden Gust of Wind; and an Angel coming down from Heaven, removed the Stone, and sat upon it. After that Jesus, leaving his Sheet in which he was wrapped, being revived, arose, and went out of the Tomb.

II. The Women finding the Passage free, went into the Sepulchre, but found not the Body, and saw only a young Man in white Raiment, sitting on the right Side of the Sepulchre. At their Return therefore out of it, while they were wondering at what had happened, and not knowing to what Place they might have removed the Corps, two Men appeared to them in white Apparel; who indeed were Angels; the one of which, as we said, removed the Stone, and sat upon it, and the other was on the Cave; at the Sight of whom the Watchmen were so terrified, that they looked rather as if they had been dead, than living. Nor were the Women a little astonish'd at the Apparition. But one of the Angels thus accosted them: *Fear not, I know you seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified, and buried in this Tomb; he is no longer here, but is risen to Life again, as he himself foretold. Examine the Sepulchre as di-*

ligently as you please, but be mindful you do not seek for the Living among the Dead. He is revived, and has left this Place, according to what he himself predicted while he was yet in Galilee, which you must needs remember. For he plainly foretold, that he should be delivered up into the Power of the Gentiles, that he should be crucified, dead and buried, and rise again to Life on the third Day. But now make Haste to his Apostles, and acquaint them, especially † Peter, with the News, and tell them he will go before them into Galilee, where they shall again see him, according to his Prediction. Take Notice of what I say unto you, and remember to execute the Message you are charged with.

The Women then recollected, that he had actually foretold his Resurrection on the third Day; and making Haste from that Place, being divided between Fear and Joy, they imparted their News to none upon the Way, for Fear of the Sanhedrim, but made what Haste they could to acquaint the eleven Apostles with these joyful Tidings. *Mary Magdalen* therefore, as we said, and *Joanna*, and *Mary* the Mother of *James*, and some others, related what they had heard and seen to the Apostles, who were still so stupid as not to remember the repeated Prediction of *Christ* concerning his Resurrection; or at least not rightly understanding it, they * looked upon this Relation of the Women as a Dream or Vision. Then *Mary Magdalen* assured *Peter* and *John* apart, that she had been in the Tomb, which she found empty; and that if *Jesus* was not risen to Life again, they had how-

† *Peter* is here named, not as the Prince of Apostles, but for his Consolation, to take off the Scruple which might lie upon his Conscience, whether, after his threefold Denial of his Master, he had not forfeited his Right to be one of *Christ's* Disciples.

* The Difficulty with which the Apostles believed their Master's Resurrection, takes away all Probability of their being imposed on. Hence one of the Antients say, Their Doubtings is the Confirmation of our Faith, and the more Difficulty they shewed in believing *Christ's* Resurrection, the greater Reason have we to believe it.

ever removed his Body, nor could she possibly guess where they had lain him. Upon this *Peter* and *John* ran both to the Sepulchre; and *John*, the youngest of the two, being got thither first, stooped down, and looked into the Tomb, where he saw only the linen Clothes in which the Body had been wrapped, but went not in. *Peter* shortly after came, and went in, and took notice of the linen Clothes, and besides of the Napkin with which his Head had been covered, lying apart from the Clothes. *John* then went in also, and having narrowly viewed the Sepulchre, doubted no longer of the Truth of what *Mary Magdalene* had told them, namely, that Somebody had removed the Body of their Master. For as for his Resurrection, they did not yet understand the Prophecies concerning it. They returned therefore from the Sepulchre, greatly wondering what was become of their Master's Body. But *Mary* continued at the Monument bemoaning herself, for not being able to see *Jesus* either dead or alive.

Peter and *John* being, as we said, departed, *Mary* again went into the Tomb, to alluage, if possible, the Violence of her Grief, and there again beheld the two Angels, one of them sitting at the Place where *Jesus's* Head lay, the other at his Feet, who thus accosted her: *Woman, why weepest thou?* She replied, *Because they have taken the Body of my Lord from hence, and I know not where they have laid it.* As soon as she had said this, she turned about, and saw *Jesus* himself standing by her; but knew him not. *Jesus* asked her, why she wept, and whom she sought? *Mary*, supposing him to be the Gardener, answered, *Sir, if thou hast taken away the Corps, tell me, I pray, where thou hast laid it, that it may be transferred to a more convenient Place, and no more removed.* *Jesus* said unto her, *Mary!* This Surprise made her look more attentively on *Jesus*, whom she now owned

to be the same, her Lord and Master, and fell down at his Feet to embrace them. Then said *Jesus*, *Touch me not, neither lose Time by tarrying here to demonstrate thy Reverence and Love for me; make haste to my Disciples, whom I esteem as my Brethren; tell them thou hast seen me, and that I have assured thee, I shall quickly leave this World, and ascend to the God and Father of us all, unto those happy Mansions, where he manifests his Presence in a most especial Manner, according as I told them before my Death.* *Mary*, according to his Command, immediately departed to acquaint the Apostles with this joyful Message.

Thus *Mary Magdalene* was the first that saw *Jesus* early on the Sunday Morning, after his rising from the Dead. This was the same out of whose Body *Jesus* had cast seven evil Spirits; for which Benefit she afterwards constantly attended on him. But when she delivered her Message to the Apostles and Disciples, they gave no Credit to her strange Relation, so blinded were they, or so unmindful of the Promises of their Master. The other Women also, whom we mentioned, having in like Manner gone a second Time to the Sepulchre, which they found empty; upon their Return to the Apostles, to assure them that they could no where find the Body of their Master, *Jesus* himself met them, and first saluting them, was immediately known to them. They immediately prostrated themselves at his Feet, altho' they were greatly afraid. But *Jesus* bid them not fear, but go to his Apostles, whom he honoured with the gracious Appellation of his Brethren, and tell them that he would go before them into *Galilee*, and that they should see him.

Mean while some of the Soldiers, who had been placed for a Guard to the Sepulchre, having seen the Angels, and *Jesus's* Resurrection, went into the City, and acquainted the Chief Priests with it, who imme-

immediately convening the *Sanbedrim*, advised the Bribing of the Soldiers; and accordingly a great Sum was paid them down, upon Condition they should give out, that his Disciples had stolen away his Body while they slept; telling them also, that if this should come to the Governor's Ear, they would secure them harmless. The Soldiers performed their Part, having received the Money; and this Rumour, which was then divulged, was believed for many Years after. *Jesus* also appeared to *Peter*, tho' the Circumstances are not recorded.

IV. The same Day two of the Disciples went from *Jerusalem* to *Emmaus*, a Village about six or seven Miles off the City; and discoursing concerning *Jesus* and his Crucifixion, *Jesus* himself came up to them, and bore them Company; nevertheless they knew him not, as not in the least expecting any Thing like it. He then asked them, what was the Subject of their Discourse, and the Occasion of their Sadness. One of them, named *Cleopas*, replied, he wondered how a Man who seemed to come from *Jerusalem*, should be ignorant of what had been transacted there but the last Friday. *Jesus* demanded, What *Cleopas* and his Companion made answer, That they meant the Crucifixion of *Jesus* of *Nazareth*, a Man who certainly was a Prophet, and in great Esteem among the People, by Reason of his Doctrine and Miracles, whom the *Sanbedrim* delivered up to *Pilate* as a Malefactor, who commanded him to be crucified by the *Roman* Soldiers: That for their Parts, they trusted it had been he who was to deliver them from their Subjection to the *Roman* Nation, namely the Messiah: Nevertheless, that it was now the third Day since his Decease, so as that they had no Hopes left; altho' certain Women, Disciples of *Jesus*, who had been early at the Sepulchre that Morning, reported they had seen a Vision of An-

gels, who affirmed that *Jesus* was alive. But some of the Disciples going thither also, found the Sepulchre indeed empty, as the Women had done, but saw neither *Jesus*, nor the Angels.

Jesus then having upbraided them for their Stupidity and Obstinacy, as not having a clear Notion of the Prophecies so often explained to them, nor yet giving a full assent to them, he shewed them how by God's Appointment, and the Prophecies concerning him, the Messiah was to be put to Death, and after that to take Possession of his Kingdom; citing and expounding all the Passages relating to himself in *Moses* and the Prophets. In these Discourses they passed the Time till they were come unto *Emmaus*, when *Jesus* pretended he was to go further, that he might experience their Good-will to him. But they urged him to stay with them, because Night was now come on. Being therefore, as it were, prevailed on by their Intreaties, he went in with them, as if he designed to tarry there. While they were at Supper, *Jesus* took Bread, and having broke it, divided it among them; at which Time they took Notice of him, and plainly perceived it was their Master, who presently vanished out of their Sight. They then confessed to one another, that they felt a more than ordinary Commotion in their Minds while he was discoursing with them, and expounding the more difficult Passages of Scriptures; which had they reflected on, they might have known that none but *Jesus* could interpret so clearly to them.

Hereupon they returned immediately to *Jerusalem*; and having met the Apostles with the other Disciples, who were informed of his Resurrection, not only by the Women, but by *Peter* also, who as we have related, had also seen him, they acquainted them with all that had happened to them upon their Journey, and how he was known to them by breaking of

of Bread and Prayer, But they gave no Credit to them, notwithstanding there were many, both Men and Women, that had now seen him. On that same Day, late in the Evening, the Doors being close shut for fear of the Jews, and all the Apostles, except Thomas, discoursing about these Affairs, while Cleopas was yet speaking, the Doors on a sudden opening as of their own accord, Jesus appeared in the midst of them, and saluted them according to his Custom, reprehending them for their Obstinacy, in not believing the many Eye-witnesses of his Resurrection. Yet they were still so blinded with Prejudice, as not to believe their own Eyes, but thought it was some Angel in his Shape that appeared to them.

Then said Jesus, *Why are you disturb'd at my Appearance, and why do you entertain such vain Imaginations? Look upon my Hands and my Feet, behold the Marks of my Crucifixion, and no longer doubt whether I am your Master or no. Angels, 'tis true, appear sometimes in a bodily Shape, but have neither Flesh nor Bones, as you see me have.* Having thus spoke, he shewed them his Hands and Feet, and his Side wounded with the Lance. Several of them perceiving this Accomplishment of his Prophecy, which foretold his Resurrection, were filled with exceeding Joy; but some yet hesitating thro' an Excess of it, and standing amazed at the Greatness of the Miracle, he asked them whether they had any Thing to eat. They then set before him a Piece of a broil'd Fish, and a Honey-Comb, of which he eat in their Presence. *You see now, said he, the Accomplishment of what I told you before my Death, that it ought thus to happen to me, that the Prophecies in the Scriptures might be fulfilled.* Then he expounded to them those Passages relating to himself, which foretel that the Messiah must be put to Death, and rise again to Life on the third Day. *The same, says he, shew you that*

you are now to go to preach Repentance, and the Consequence of it, Pardon and Remission of Sins, to all Nations, by my Command and Authority: Nor can there be any more proper for this Employment than you, as having constantly attended on me in the whole Course of my Ministry: And to enable you to acquit yourselves as becomes those that are commissioned by me, I will send you the Holy Ghost, whom my Father has promised shall be conferred upon you, and whom you shall receive at Jerusalem: To which End continue here till you have received this Divine Influence, after your Return out of Galilee, before Pentecost.

After this, to assure them by an outward Symbol of the Mission of the Holy Ghost, he breath'd on them, and said, *Receive the Holy Ghost*; as if he had said, that within a few Days they should be influenced by that Divine Spirit, as certainly as he had now breath'd upon them: Adding, that whosoever Punishments for Sin, such as are Distempers inflicted by God, they should desire to have remitted, God would accordingly remit them; and whomsoever they desired should be punished, should not be cured of their Diseases till pardoned by them. Now Thomas, surnam'd Didymus, was absent when Jesus appeared to the other Apostles; and being informed by them of his appearing to and conversing with them, he told them, he should never believe their Story, unless he himself saw him, and the Wounds he had received upon the Cross, and could touch and handle them.

After this the eleven Disciples went into Galilee, where Jesus promised to visit them again. Upon the eighth Day after his Resurrection, the Apostles being met, and Thomas also with them, the Doors being close shut, for fear somebody might overhear them, and inform against them to the Sanhedrim, on a sudden, no one opening the Doors, Jesus stood in the midst

midst of them; and having saluted them, he turned about to *Thomas*, and said to him, *Behold my Hands and my Side; touch them, and convince thyself of the Reality of my Resurrection.* *Thomas*, after this so sensible Demonstration of the Truth of it, cried out, *Thou art the same Master I attended on before thy Death: Thou art also my God, who by thy Resurrection hast over-*

come Death. *Jesus* replied, *Thou, O Thomas, believest after this Evidence to thy Senses; much more noble will be their Faith, and more worthy of Reward, who have not seen, and yet believe the Reality of my Resurrection.* These Words spake *Jesus* at that Time before his Disciples, and then withdrew out of their Company.

CHAP. XVI.

- I. *Jesus appears to his Disciples at the Lake of Tiberias.* II. *Jesus appears to his Disciples in Galilee, and gives them farther Instructions concerning their Ministry.* III. *He appears to five hundred at once, to James alone, and frequently to all the Apostles, whom he orders to stay at Jerusalem.* IV. *Jesus ascends into Heaven.* V. *The Holy Ghost descends on the Day of Pentecost.* VI. *Conclusion of the Whole.*

Afterwards *Jesus* met his Disciples at the Lake of *Tiberias*. The Occasion was this. *Peter, Thomas, Nathanael of Cana in Galilee*, the two Sons of *Zebedee*, and two other Disciples being together, and *Peter* telling them, that he designed towards the Evening to go a Fishing, the rest promised to bear him Company. Whereupon they all went on board a small Vessel, and launch'd out upon the Lake, but that Night caught nothing. Very early in the Morning they saw a Man standing on the Shore, (who indeed was *Jesus*, tho' they did not know him at first View;) who asked them, as if he wanted something to eat, whether they had caught any Fish: To which they answered, *No.* *Jesus* then bid them throw their Nets on the right Side of the Ship, where he said they would find some Fish. They immediately followed his Directions, tho' they knew not yet that it was *Jesus*; and

on a sudden they inclosed † a vast Number of Fishes, so that they were not able to pull their Nets out of the Water. *John*, at the Sight of this wonderful Success, told *Peter*, that undoubtedly the Stranger to whom they were so much beholden for it, was *Jesus* their Master. *Peter* then throwing on his Upper-Garment, leap'd into the Sea, hastening with a pious Zeal to be with him before the Ship could possibly come to Land, which was about two hundred Cubits off; the rest making to the Shore in the Vessel, and dragging their Nets after them.

When they were landed, they saw upon the Shore some live Coals, and a little Fish broiling upon them, with a Piece of Bread by, as if *Jesus* had prepared it only for himself, who then bid them reach out some of the Fish they had caught. *Peter* then returned to the Vessel to help them draw up their Net, which was filled with

† Christ being absent, they caught no Fish; but when he was present, the Net was full at his Command; To shew them, that though in preaching the Gospel they were sufficient of themselves, they should be wonderfully successful through his Assistance.

an hundred and fifty three large Fishes, and yet was not in the least broke. The Disciples having told out their Fishes, *Jesus* invited them to partake of the Fish he had already broil'd; nor durst any of them ask him who he was, being well assured he must be *Jesus*, though his Countenance was a little altered. But he taking up the Bread, brake it, and * divided it among them, as he also did the Fish. In this Manner *Jesus* appeared a third Time to several of his Disciples, after his Resurrection.

After their Repast, *Jesus* asked *Peter*, whether he loved him more than the rest of his Disciples. *Peter* told him, he had a sincere Love for him, and that he must needs know it. Then said *Jesus*, *Feed my Lambs, whom I will commit to thy Care.* *Jesus* asked him a second Time the same Question; and having received the same Answer from *Peter*, he repeated the same Words, *Feed my Sheep.* Having asked again a third Time the same Question, *Peter* grieving to be so often interrogated concerning the same Thing, of which he thought *Jesus* could not be ignorant, replied, That since nothing was hid from him, it was impossible but he must know how much he loved him. *Jesus* said a third Time unto him, *Feed my Sheep*; that by thrice repeating the same Question, and thrice receiving this publick Testimony from him of his Love for his Master, *Peter* might at one for his former Denial of him thrice successively; and by having so great Authority openly conferr'd upon him, he might have a solemn Assurance that *Jesus* had forgiven him. He then told him, that whilst he continued in his Youth and Vigour he should gird himself, and go whither he pleased; but in his declining Age he should stretch out

his Hands, be bound, and led whither he would by no Means desire to go. In which Words *Jesus* signified, by what sort of Death *Peter* should confirm the Truth of the Gospel. Then stepping forward, he bid *Peter* follow him; by which Sign also he intimated to him, that his Death should be like that of his Master.

Peter immediately followed, as he was bid: But looking behind him, he saw *John* coming also; whereupon he asked *Jesus*, whether that Disciple also was to go along with them. *Jesus* answered, *If I will have John tarry till I come, what is that to thee? At present, do thou follow me.* Now this Saying of *Jesus* being but in Part understood by his Disciples, there was a Rumour spread abroad that *John* should never die. However, *Jesus* did not say, he should be exempted from the general Necessity of Dying, but only those Words which we just now mentioned. This *John* is the same Apostle who recorded this Saying, as also many other Discourses of *Jesus*, together with some of the most remarkable Passages of his Life; nor is there any Doubt of the Truth of his History, as having been all along a Man of unspotted Integrity.

Afterwards, the eleven Apostles went to a certain Mountain in *Galilee*, where *Jesus* had appointed to meet them. At his Approach they all bowed down and worshipped him, not excepting him who before doubted the Resurrection. *Jesus* then coming near to them, thus bespake them: *I have now received Power from my Father to do whatsoever I please both in Heaven and on Earth; and you I send as my Messengers throughout the World, to gain Disciples over to my Doctrine, whom you are to admit into my Church by the*

* That Christ eat himself, is not said: But as *Peter* informs us, Acts 10. 21. and Luke 24. 42, 43. that he did eat and drink with his Disciples after his Resurrection, we may well suppose he did so now.

ST MARK CHAP. XII

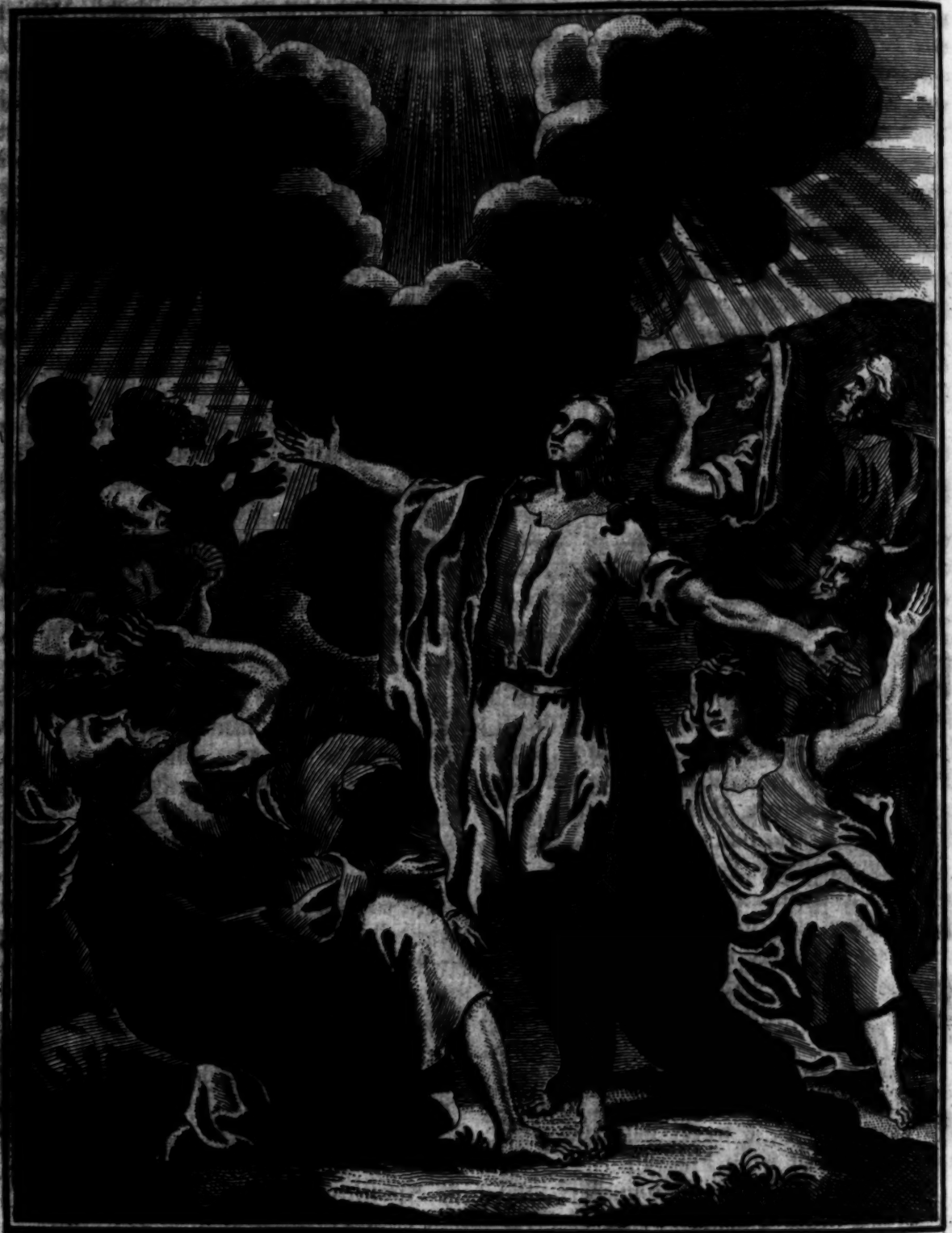
The Ascension of our Saviour



ST MARK XII VERSE XII

So then after the Lord had spoken unto them he was taken up into heaven, and sat at the right hand of GOD

S^T MARK, CHAP. XVI.
The Ascension of our Saviour.



S^T MARK XVI. VERSE XIX.

*So then after the LORD had spoken unto them he was received
up into heaven, and sat at the right hand of GOD.*

Rite of Baptism; so that hereafter they may be esteem'd the Disciples, not only of my Father, who under the old Covenant reveal'd his Will to the Jews, but of the Son also, whose Doctrine you are to spread among all Nations; and likewise of the Holy Ghost, whom I will send to you, and by whose Assistance you shall teach others what you have learned from me, without any Danger of falling into Error. For you will make a Tender of the same Gospel-terms to all Men, which you have received from me; and I, for my Part, will be present with you, and all that shall receive my Gospel, until the Consummation of all Things.

III. After this *Jesus* appeared again to five hundred Disciples at once, who all reported what they had seen during the Time he survived his Resurrection. He was seen particularly by *James* also, who was called the Brother of our Lord, and was the first Bishop of the Church at *Jerusalem*. In a Word, he frequently appeared to the Apostles, during the forty Days he continued on Earth after his Resurrection, and inculcated the Commands he had given them concerning their Preaching of the Gospel. The last was a few Days before *Pentecost*, when the Apostles, as *Jesus* had commanded them, were returned to *Jerusalem*. There he appeared to them on the fortieth Day after his Resurrection, and reiterated his Command to them not to depart from *Jerusalem* before they had received the Holy Ghost, whom he had promised to send them from the Father. For whereas *John* only baptized the Penitent with Water, they themselves should after a few Days be, as it were, baptized with the Holy Ghost from Heaven.

The Apostles being all together, and perceiving now that *Jesus* had received Authority from his Father of doing whatsoever he pleased both in Heaven and on Earth, they enquired of him whether

the Time was not now come in which he had resolved to free the *Jews* from the foreign Tyranny they were under. Which Enquiry, tho' it plainly shewed they did not as yet understand the Nature of the *Messiah's* Kingdom, yet was not reprov'd by *Jesus*, who deemed it sufficient to let them know, it did not belong to them to be acquainted with the Times when such Things should be accomplished, the Knowledge of which God would not reveal to Men; but that they might rest assured that they should receive from the Holy Ghost all Qualifications necessary to discharge rightly the Trust reposed in them, which was that of being Witnesses of what they had seen and heard during his Conversation with them, and Preachers of his Gospel, not only in *Judea* and *Samaria*, but all the World over.

IV. After he had thus said, he commanded them to follow him towards *Bethany*, unto Mount *Olivet*; where when they were come, he lifted up his Hands, and blessed them; and immediately after he was carried up in a Cloud before them all, to the Place where God in a more special Manner manifests himself, and where he now sits at the Right Hand of that inaccessible Light, which is the evident Token of the Almighty's Presence.

While the Apostles, with Eyes fixed towards Heaven, gazed on the flying Cloud till it disappeared, two Angels clad in white Raiment appeared to them, and thus accosted them: *O ye Men of Galilee! why tarry you here? That same Jesus whom you have now beheld ascending to the Seats of eternal Bliss, you shall hereafter see descending in like Manner upon Earth.* Which when the Apostles heard, having adored *Jesus*, they returned to *Jerusalem* with exceeding Joy, for having been Spectators of his Ascension to the Father, as he had before promised them they should. And being

being come to *Jerusalem*, which is at about a Mile's Distance from Mount *Olivet*, they there spent the greatest Part of the Day in giving Thanks and Praise to God, for the wonderful Benefits he had conferred upon them by the Means of *Jesus*. And having a few Days after received the Holy Ghost, they departed from *Jerusalem*, and preached the Gospel in *Judea* first, and afterwards in other Parts of the World, not a few being converted by them; God in a special Manner accompanying them in the faithful Discharge of their most Holy Office, by many remarkable Miracles which he wrought in their Behalf.

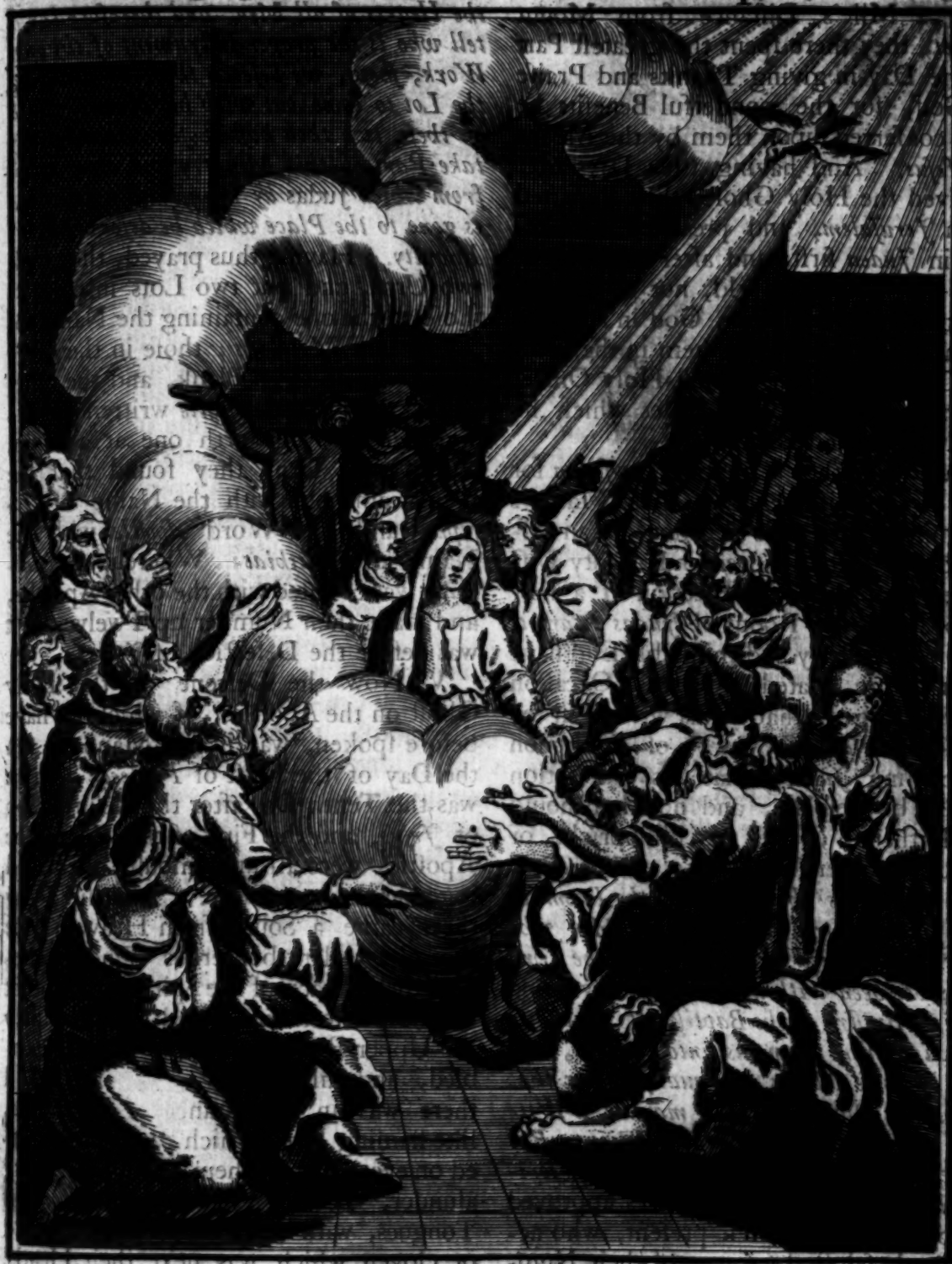
But while they waited at *Jerusalem* for the Accomplishment of their Master's Promise, *Peter* took Occasion, in an Assembly of an hundred and twenty Disciples, to propose the Election of a new Apostle in the Room of *Judas Iscariot*, whose Treachery and miserable End have been before related. On this Occasion *Peter* alledged, that it was written in the Book of *Psalms*, by way of Prediction concerning *Judas*, that his Habitation should be desolate, and no Man should dwell therein; and his Bishoprick, or Office, another should take. *Wherefore*, says he, *let us chuse one in the Room of this Judas, from among those Men who have accompanied us all the Time the Lord Jesus has been with us, from the Beginning of his Ministry at the Baptism of John, till he was taken from us into Heaven, and who by these Means are qualified for that important Office, that he may be a Witness with us of the Words, Actions, Resurrection, and Ascension of our now glorified Master.* This Advice was approved of by all the Brethren present, who accordingly selected two out of their Number; one of them *Joseph*, who was also called *Barsabas* and *Justus*, and the other *Matthias*; whom they presented before the Lord with Prayers to this Effect:

Thou, O Lord, who knowest the Secrets of the Hearts of all Men, and therefore canst tell who is the proper Instrument of thy own Work, shew, we beseech thee, by directing the Lot to come out with his Name, which of these two thou hast chosen; that he may take Part of this Ministry and Apostleship, from which Judas by Transgression fell, and is gone to the Place which he deserved by his Iniquity. Having thus prayed, they took two Urns, and put two Lots into each; those in the one containing the Names of *Joseph* and *Matthias*; those in the other being one of them Blank, and the other having the Word *Apostle* writren on it; and then drawing forth one at a Time, out of each Urn, they found that the Blank came out with the Name of *Joseph*, and the Word *Apostle* with the Name of *Matthias*: Whereupon *Matthias* was counted with the other Apostles, and made their Number up Twelve, as it was before the Defection of *Judas*.

V. Now the Descent of the Holy Ghost on the Apostles, of which we have before spoken, was in this Manner: On the Day of the Feast of *Pentecost*, which was the Tenth Day after the Resurrection of *Jesus*, and the First of the Week, the Apostles were all unanimously assembled together in one Place. And suddenly there came a Sound from Heaven, like that of a violent boisterous Wind, to denote the Efficacy of the Spirit of God that was now descending; and it came into the Upper-Room where they were assembled, and filled all the Room. And there was an Appearance of somewhat, like flaming Fire, which came and lighted on every one of them, and so dividing afunder, became the Resemblance of Tongues, with that Part of them divided or cloven which was next their Heads. And they were endued every one with Gifts of the Holy Ghost; That in particular of speaking in Tongues which they had never learned, and other miraculous Powers,

THE LIFE OF THE APOSTLES
ACTS II
 The Holy Spirit visibly descends on the Apostles.

272



ACTS II VERSE III

And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a mighty rushing wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues &c.

...the coming of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them. Now there were at this time abiding at Jerusalem many Jews who came up to the Feast of Pentecost, and likewise many devout Professors, who had come from several Nations of the World to worship the true God at Jerusalem. When this African Apostle, to us as is related in their Acts, and in other authentic Records of Antiquity, will be the Subject of the remaining Part of the Work.

...to conclude as present in a few Words: such was the Life of Jesus Christ, such his Doctrine, and the Manner he wrought before his Disciples and others, and such the fulfilling of the Promise, that he would send them the Spirit, and these Things, by the Apostles and others of his Disciples, have been transmitted in Writing to Posterity, besides many other Passages which are not recited. But these have been written that the sincere Followers of Truth may be convinced that what was the Matter of the Gospel, and that by him be the Gospel, and constantly conformable to the Precepts of it, and in every thing happy. And should any undertake to give a full and exact Account of every Particular of his Life, he would find very many and large Volumes sufficient for his Purpose.

...the coming of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them. Now there were at this time abiding at Jerusalem many Jews who came up to the Feast of Pentecost, and likewise many devout Professors, who had come from several Nations of the World to worship the true God at Jerusalem. When this African Apostle, to us as is related in their Acts, and in other authentic Records of Antiquity, will be the Subject of the remaining Part of the Work.



ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

Powers, which the Coming of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them. Now there were at this Time abiding at *Jerusalem* many *Jews* who came up to the Feast of *Pentecost*, and likewise many devout Profelytes, who had come from several Nations of the World to worship the true God at *Jerusalem*. When this Affair therefore of the Apostles was noised abroad, a great promiscuous Multitude came together, and were all filled with Astonishment, because being of so many several Nations, every one heard the Apostles speak in his own Language. And they said to one another, *Are not all these who speak, Men born in Galilee; and who have lived there all their Days? How is it then that we, who are of so many Countries, do every one of us hear them speak in that Language which is native to us? Parthians, Medes, Persians, Mesopotamians; Inhabitants of Judea, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia Minor, Phrygia, and Pamphylia; those who dwell in Egypt, and in the Parts of Libya about Cyrene; Strangers of Rome, Cretans, and Arabians; in a Word, Profelytes of every Nation, as well as Jews; do we not all hear them, each in his own Tongue, preaching the Doctrine of Christ, and the great Things which God hath wrought by him, and on him, for the Sake of Mankind? This certainly bodes some great Matter, but what we cannot as*

yet tell. Thus were they all filled with Admiration and Doubt: And in the mean Time *Peter*, instructed by the Holy Ghost to take this Advantage of their Attention, gave them such an effectual Discourse as converted about three thousand Souls to Christianity. The Success of the Gospel after this, in the Hands of the Apostles, so far as is related in their Acts, and in other authentick Records of Antiquity, will be the Subject of the remaining Part of the Work.

VI. To conclude at present in a few Words; such was the Life of *Jesus* of *Nazareth*, such his Doctrine, and the Miracles he wrought before his Disciples and others, and such the fulfilling of his Promise, that he would send them his Spirit. And these Things, by his Apostles and others of his Disciples, have been transmitted in Writing to Posterity, besides many other Passages which are not recorded: But these have been written, that the sincere Lovers of Truth may be convinced that *Jesus* is the *Messias*, or the Son of God; and that by firmly believing his Gospel, and constantly conforming their Lives to the Precepts of it, they may attain everlasting Happiness. And should any undertake to give a full and exact Account of every Particular of his Life, he would find very many and large Volumes insufficient for his Purpose.





T H E
LIVES, ACTIONS, and SUFFERINGS
OF THE
Twelve Apostles:
ALSO OF
St. Paul, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. Barnabas.

The LIFE of St. PETER.

S E C T. I.

Peter's Habitation, Parentage, Trade, Name. Names of the Popes. Peter removes to Bethsaida. Occasion of his going to Christ. Becomes a Hearer of Jesus. Entertains Jesus in his Fishing Vessel, and is rewarded with a miraculous Draught of Fishes. Jesus calls him and his Companions to be his Followers. They follow him in his Retreat. He elects twelve Apostles.



ST. Peter, who is generally numbered the first of the Apostles, was born at *Bethsaida*, a Town of the *Upper Galilee*, or *Galilee of the Gentiles*, antiently belonging to the Tribe of

Neptbali. This Town was seated on the Lake of *Gennesareth*, or Sea of *Galilee*, in the Old Testament called the Sea of *Cinnereth*. It was but an obscure, inconsiderable Village, till *Philip the Tetrarch*, Son of *Herod the Great*, enlarged it with
stately

SAINT PÉTER.



*He was crucified at Rome with his head downwards,
and Buried in the Vatican there.*

in Greek the Language wherein the New Testament was writ; from whence is derived Peter in our English Tongue. This additional Name was given him by our Saviour, with a special Respect to the Firmness and Constancy of his Faith, and his zealous Activity in building up the Church, as a firmest Head upon the Rock, the Living and Corner Stone, chosen of God and precious, as St. Peter himself expresses it. 1 Pet. 2. 4. 5. 6.

In imitation of this new Name given to St. Peter, the Bishops of Rome, who claim the Honour of being his successors, usually say by their own, and assume a new Name upon their Advancement to what they call the Apostolick Chair, it being one of the first Questions which the Cardinals put to the new elected Pope. By what Name he would please to be called? The Custom first began about the Year 1000, and continued forty four, when Pius being elected Pope, changed his Name into German, and secondly, probably not so much to avoid the resemblance of his surname, which would have been no Part of his Honour, but to signify, as one of a Roman, that he was the great Founder of the Church, and had been given him by our Saviour. Certain it is, that the Bishops of Rome have ever since used this Name, and some as we have mentioned, who have had it for their German Name before, have laid it aside upon the Election to the Papacy.

From St. Peter's Remains in the Vatican, given upon the Account of his Marriage, and down with his Wife's Monument, there we read of his House, and of his paying the Tribute. Over which House, Whilstone tells us, Henry the Mother of Constantine erected a beautiful Church to the Honour of St. Peter. And there his Brother accompanied him thither.



scarcely Buildings, and Multitudes of Inhabitants, and named it *Julia* in Honour of Julia the Daughter of Augustus. But tho' it was thus dignified by the Emperor, it was so much more by the Presence of our Lord, who in the Course of his Ministry often preached and wrought Miracles in this Place. The Inhabitants however, for the most Part, a very stupid, unworthy kind of Men, who by their Unprofitableness under the best of Means, craved our Lord to pronounce a Word upon them, which Travellers who have viewed it of late Years, assure us hath been fulfilled upon them; there remaining no more of them at this Day, than a very few, or seconding to a certain Author, than one poor Cottage, out of all their formerly Buildings. Notwithstanding this, it was the Birth Place of several of the Apostles, and of St. Peter among the rest, who was brought up here in the Trade of a Fisherman, this being probably his Father's Calling, of whom we know no more, than that his Name was *Jesus*, and that he was the Son of *Joseph*, who was likewise an Apostle of our Lord. Which of these two was the elder Brother, is a Question as old as Eusebius and Origen, who are divided upon it, and decided by a guess, not yet decided; but it is decided a Matter of no great Consequence. However it was, it records not a little to the Honour of their Father, as well as of *Jesus* in the like Case, that of but twelve Apostles, two of his Sons were taken into the Number.

And *Simon* was given to our Lord, as his Circumcision Name, common among the Jews, especially in their last Years, which our Lord after wards added the Title of *Cephas*, which in Syriac, the common Speech of the Jews at that Time, signifies a Stone. Of the same Importance is Peter.

stately Buildings, and Multitudes of Inhabitants, and named it *Julias*, in Honour of *Julia* the Daughter of *Augustus Caesar*. But tho' it was thus dignified by the Tetrarch, it was so much more by the Presence of our Lord, who in the Course of his Ministry often preached and wrought Miracles in this Place. The Inhabitants however, were, for the most Part, a very stupid, unworthy kind of Men; who by their Unprofitableness under the best of Means, caused our Lord to pronounce a Woe upon them, which Travellers, who have viewed it of late Years, assure us hath been fulfilled upon them; there remaining no more of them at this Day, than a very few, or, according to a certain Author, than one poor Cottage, out of all their stately Buildings.

Notwithstanding this, it was the Birth-Place of several of the Apostles, and of *St. Peter* among the rest; who was brought up here in the Trade of a Fisherman, this being probably his Father's Calling, of whom we know no more, than that his Name was *Jonah*, and that he had another Son, *Andrew*, who was likewise an Apostle of *Jesus Christ*. Which of these two was the elder Brother, is a Question as old as *Epiphanius* and *Chrysostom*, who are divided upon it; and succeeding Ages have not yet decided it; nor is it indeed a Matter of much Consequence. However it was, it redounds not a little to the Honour of their Father, as well as of *Zebedee* in the like Case, that of but twelve Apostles, two of his Sons were taken into the Number.

The Name that was given to our Apostle by his Parents, at his Circumcision, was *Simon*, or *Simeon*, a Name common amongst the *Jews*, especially in their latter Times: To which our Lord afterwards added the Title of *Cephas*; which in *Syriac*, the common Speech of the *Jews* at that Time, signifies a *Stone* or *Rock*. Of the same Importance is *Petros*

in *Greek*, the Language wherein the New Testament was writ; from whence is derived *Peter* in our *English* Tongue. This additional Name was given him by our Saviour, with a special Respect to the Firmness and Constancy of his Faith, and his zealous Activity in building up the Church, as a *spiritual House* upon the *true Rock*, the *Living and Corner Stone*, chosen of God and precious, as *St. Peter* himself expresses it. 1 *Pet.* 2. 4, 5, 6.

In Imitation of this new Name given to *St. Peter*, the Bishops of *Rome*, who claim the Honour of being his Successors, usually lay by their own, and assume a new Name upon their Advancement to what they call the Apostolick Chair; it being one of the first Questions which the Cardinals put to the new elected Pope, *By what Name he would please to be called?* This Custom first began about the Year eight hundred forty four, when *Peter de Bocca-Porca*, or *Swine's-Mouth*, being chosen Pope, changed his Name into *Sergius* the Second; probably not so much to avoid the Uncomeliness of his Surname, which would have been no Part of his Pontifical Style and Title, as out of a Reverence to *St. Peter*, accounting himself not worthy to bear his great Founder's Name, though it had been given him at the Font in Baptism. Certain it is, that none of the Bishops of that See ever assumed *St. Peter's* Name; and some, as we just now mentioned, who have had it for their *Christian* Name before, have laid it aside upon the Election to the Papacy.

From *Bethsaida* *Peter* removed to *Capernaum*, probably upon the Account of his Marriage, and dwelt with his Wife's Mother. There we read of his House, and of his paying the Tribute. Over which House, *Nicephorus* tells us, *Helen*, the Mother of *Constantine* erected a beautiful Church to the Honour of *St. Peter*. *Andrew* his Brother accompanied him thither,

ther, and here they followed their Trade of Fishing; for which this Town was as commodious as *Bethsaida*, being seated on the Bank of the same Lake, near the Mouth of the River *Jordan*. But with this Employment, toilsome and laborious as it was, we may suppose they retained a due Sense of Religion, and Care of their Souls: For they were certainly none of those worldly-minded Men, who would suffer the Thoughts of their present Gains to devour their more necessary Care of eternal Happiness.

The Occasion and Manner of St. Peter's first Approaches to Christ, are thus related in the Gospel. His Brother *Andrew* was a Disciple of *John the Baptist*; (and most are of Opinion that *Peter* himself was so to.) He being in his Master's Company at the Time when our Lord was returned from his Temptation in the Wilderness, and hearing him call him *the Lamb of God* as he passed by, followed him, and continued with him that Night. Upon the Lord's Communication with him, *Andrew* was so abundantly convinced that he was the Messiah, as his Master *John* had taught him, that he went and sought out his Brother *Simon*, and told him the glad Tidings of the Discovery he had made. *Simon*, who was one of those who waited for the Kingdom of God, and the Redemption of Israel, received the News with a joyful Heart, and went along with his Brother, to be an Eye-witness of what he had told him. No sooner was he come into our Lord's Presence, but the Saviour of Mankind, willing to confirm him in what he had heard reported of him, salutes him by the Name of *Simon*, tells him his Parentage, that he was the Son of *Jonas*, and gives him the additional Name of *Cephas*, or *Peter*; signifying thereby, not only that he foresaw he would prove a zealous Propagator of the Christian Faith, but that he should likewise suffer for his Name, Trials too se-

vere for mere human Strength to undergo, without special Assistance from the God of all Patience and Consolation. By all which *Peter* could not but conclude that *Jesus* was Omnipotent, and consequently the Son of God, and the Messiah that was to come into the World.

The Day following this, it pleased our Saviour to leave *Judea*, where *John* was then baptizing, and to go into *Galilee*. Whether these two Brothers accompanied him at this Time for their fuller Instruction, is not certain from the Gospels. We find, however, after this, that they went with him to *Capernaum*, and so to the Feast of the Passover at *Jerusalem*; where they heard his Discourses, and saw his mighty Works, whereby their Faith was confirmed. After the Feast was ended, *Peter* and *Andrew* left their Attendance upon *Jesus*, and went to their Employment of Fishing: Yet resorted to his Sermons, as his Disciples, when the Nearness of his Residence gave them convenient Opportunity, which often happened by his frequent Visitation of those Parts.

This was what passed till after the Decollation of *John the Baptist*. It was upon the Death of *John* that our Lord, to avoid the Cruelty of *Herod*, left *Judea*, and went down into *Galilee*, as a more safe and secure Habitation, fixing his usual Residence at *Capernaum*. Here he cast out Devils, and healed many that were sick of divers Diseases, particularly *Peter's* Wife's Mother, who kept her Bed of a Fever. While he was here, great Crowds of People resorted to him, and particularly one Day, when he was near the Banks of the Lake *Gennesareth*: When taking the Opportunity, as his Custom was, to impart Healing to their Souls as well as to their Bodies, he went off from the Shore, where the Multitude pressed him too close, into *Simon Peter's* Fishing-Vessel, where he sat down and preached

to the People as they stood upon the Shore. After he had ended his Sermon, being pleased to reward the Civility of his Entertainer in the Way of his own Business, and so as to give him an evident Token of his Divine Power by Sea as well as by Land, he commanded him to launch out into deep Water, and let down his Net for a Draught of Fishes. Peter told him, that he and his Partners, who were his Brother *Andrew*, with *James*, and *John* the Sons of *Zebedee*, had toiled all last Night to no Purpose, and therefore had washed their Nets, and were going off, as despairing of any Success at present. Nevertheless, out of a dutiful Respect to his Master, he immediately did as he was ordered. He had scarce done this, when such a Shoal of Fishes ran in upon the Net, that it was in danger of breaking, and was too much for him and his Brother to draw up; so that they were obliged to make Signs to their Partners, *James* and *John*, who were in another Boat hard by, to come to their Assistance; which they did, and got such a Load into both Boats, that they were in Danger of sinking; and yet the Net which drew them up, was not broken.

This complicated Miracle struck them all with Amazement, and forced Peter to fall upon his Knees, and in a Sense of his own Vileness, and our Saviour's Presence, to cry out, *Depart from me, for I am a sinful Man, O Lord!* But as the profoundest Humility is the best Qualifications to the Divine Favour, our Blessed Saviour soon delivered him from his Fears, by letting him understand, that this Miracle was wrought to complete his Faith, and to typify to him the Success of a better Employment, and the great Number of Converts which his efficacious Preaching should bring into the Christian Church. There needed no more than this Intimation of *Christ's* Pleasure, to Minds so disposed to love, and fear, and

obey him. Peter, tho' he thought himself unworthy, yet was never unwilling to serve the Lord; and therefore he and his Companions joyfully embraced the Offer; and when they were come to Land, they forsook all their worldly Engagements, to become constant Attendants upon their Master, living under the Rules of his Institution and Discipline.

St. Peter, being from this Time forward a Disciple and Follower of *Jesus*, attended him in all his Travels. The Miracle, done unto Peter's Wife's Mother, being wrought about the Noon of the Sabbath, *Jesus* spent the remaining Part of the Day in his usual Manner; and when the Night dispersed the People, he took up his Lodging at Peter's House. Early in the Morning, a good while before Day, *Jesus* being desirous to enjoy a convenient Privacy for his Devotion, withdrew himself into the Wilderness, to spend some Time there alone in Prayer; neither Peter nor his Family perceiving his Departure. In the Morning the Multitude gathered together again, and came to *Simon's* House to hear him: Which Peter conceiving to be a good Opportunity of advancing his Kingdom, and not finding him in his House, he grew impatient of any Delays, and went immediately with *Andrew*, *James*, and *John*, to seek him; and when they found him, they told him, *That all Men sought him.* His Doctrine and Miracles had captivated the Minds of all Men so much, that they offered themselves to become his Disciples: And surely, said they among themselves, it is pity to neglect such an Opportunity of fully instructing them, and confirming them in his Doctrine, and a Belief in him. So cordially zealous was Peter for the Honour of his Master, and for promoting his Kingdom, that he was not afraid to quicken and stir up even *Jesus* himself to greater Diligence in it.

From

From *Peter's House*, *Jesus*, after a second Peregrination through *Galilee*, went up to *Jerusalem*, to the second Passover, which he celebrated after he entered upon his Prophetick Office. This being ended, he returned again with his Disciples into *Galilee*, and taught by the Sea-side the Multitudes that resorted to him. When he had continued there some Time, and saw now his Disciples from a few become a Multitude, he resolved to make an Election of some particular Persons above all the rest, for more special Ends and Employments; and that he might have a more immediate Direction of his Father, in chusing fit Persons for so great an Office, he went up the Night before into a Mountain apart to pray, and continued all Night in the *Proseucha*, or Oratory, that was on the Mount, at his Devotion; and coming down the next Day, he proceeded to an Election of twelve Persons, whom he named *Apostles*; because as he shewed them many particular Favours while he was upon Earth, making them Eye-Witnesses of all that he did and taught; so also at his Departure out of this World he intended to make them his Vicegerents upon Earth, and send them with the same Power and Authority which the Father had entrusted him withal, to preach the Gospel to all the World, and to confirm it with Miracles, as he had done, by curing Diseases and casting out Devils. Of these, Si-

mon, who was called, or surnamed, *Peter*, is by our Lord placed in the Fore-front, and by that justly entitled to a Primacy of Order in the College of the Apostles: For which Reason he hath always been acknowledged by the Church, as the first of the Apostles: But a Supremacy in Fee, to him and his Successors in the *Roman See*, must have a better Grant than *Constantine's* to settle it, before the Church will universally submit itself to so hard a Yoke.

S E C T. II.

Peter attends Jesus at the raising of Jairus's Daughter. He and the other Apostles, are sent to preach the Gospel. He walks on the Sea to meet Jesus.

AFTER this Election of the Apostles, *St. Peter*, who always thought that the greater Favours he received from his Master, the greater Obligations he had to be more zealous in his Ministry and Obedience to him, behaved himself with so much Respect and Diligence, that his Master admitted him, with the two Sons of *Zebedee*, to a more intimate Familiarity with him, and communicated to them the most secret * Passages and Transactions of his Life.

Some Time after this, *Jesus* having taken another Perambulation about *Galilee*, which he chose as the chief Province of

* Luke vi. 14. Peter is generally acknowledged to be the eldest of all the Apostles, and at least ten Years older than our Lord himself; and his Age and Gravity may have caused both the Evangelical and Ecclesiastical Writers to give him the Precedency, though not a Supremacy, in the College of Apostles. In the Enumeration of the Twelve, all the Evangelists constantly place Peter in the Front; and *St. Matthew* expressly tells us, that he was the first that was called to be an Apostle. In most Places Peter is preferred before the rest; our Lord usually directs his Discourse to him, and he replies as the Mouth of his Fellows. Christ appeared to him after his Resurrection, before the rest of the Apostles: He gave him a special Command to feed his Sheep. He was the first whom God chose to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. From these and other Passages of the holy Scripture, it is evident, that *St. Peter* acted as Chief of the College of Apostles; and so he is constantly described by the primitive Writers of the Church, who call him the Head, the President, the Prolocutor, the Chief, the Foreman of the Apostles; with several other Titles of Distinction.

of his Ministry, observed that his Flock began much to increase; and therefore that they might not want any Instructions necessary for their Salvation, he called his twelve Disciples, of whom *Peter* was the first in the Commission, and sent them two by two into all the Cities and Villages round about *Galilee*, to preach the Gospel, heal Diseases, and cast out Devils; giving them a double Caution, that they should confine their Ministry to the *Jews* only, and avoid the *Gentiles* on the one Hand, and the *Samaritans* on the other; and that they should prevent the Malice of Men with a Serpentine Subtilty, and Dove-like Innocency; for since their Commission tended to the Destruction of Satan's Kingdom, they must suspect he would raise them up Enemies, who, by Persecution, might hinder the Progress of their victorious Preaching.

The Apostles, having at length finished their Course of Preaching appointed by their Master, returned to him, and gave him an Account of what they had done, and what they had taught. In the Absence of the Apostles, *Jesus* withdrew himself to a Place of Solitude and Privacy. But here also the Multitude found him out, and came to him, partly to hear him and be healed of him, and partly to make him a King: Whereupon, after he had dismissed them, he sent his Disciples away by Ship towards *Caper-naum*, and went up into a Mountain, to pray, and meditate a while by himself. The Disciples met with a very troublesome Voyage; for when they were gotten almost into the Midst of the Lake, there fell a great Storm upon the Lake, with a very high Wind, and they were in no

small Danger of their Lives. *Jesus*, tho' absent from them, was very sensible of the Trouble and Fears they were in; and though for the Trial of their Faith he suffered them to remain in them till near Morning, yet at length he came to them, walking upon the Sea, to deliver them. His first Approach to the Ship added but a new Fright to the former; for his Disciples seeing him, thought it had been a Spirit, which of all Beings, is only light enough to tread upon so thin a Body as Water, and therefore cried out for Fear. But he soon allayed their Terror, by assuring them that it was he, their good Master, who was come to them, not to harm, but save them. *Peter*, assuming Confidence, and being affected both with the Novelty and Wonder of it, desired him, if it were he, that he would give him Leave to come to him upon the Water. *Jesus* permitted him immediately, but *Peter's* Faith was not strong enough to encounter rolling Waves and blustering Winds: He was afraid to trust himself to such Dangers, though at *Christ's* Word; and therefore beginning to sink, cried out to *Jesus* to save him. *Jesus*, tho' he might justly have left him to the Punishment of his own Infidelity, yet mercifully stretched out his Hand to him, and immediately set him above the Waters, contenting himself to give him a gentle Reproof for his Weakness of Faith, in these Words, *O thou of little Faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?* As if he had said, *Didst thou not see me upon the Waters? And why didst thou doubt that my Power could support thee upon them, as it doth myself?* *Jesus* then entered into the Ship to his Disciples, and tho' he still'd

Whatever was the true Reason of this Precedency, which is not agreed on among the Learned, this is certain, that no Superiority was founded on it, so as to give *Peter* Authority and Jurisdiction over the rest. *Christ's* Commission is the same to all his Apostles; he did not invest *St. Peter* with any personal Prerogative above his Fellows; none of them ever intimated any such Thing, and *St. Paul* says expressly, *That he himself was not inferior to the very chiefest Apostle.*

the Winds, yet he himself was more than Wind to the Ship; for the Ship was immediately at Land, whither they were going. The Spectators of this Miracle were strangely amazed at it, and being fully satisfied that he was the Son of that Supreme God, who riseth the Raging of the Sea, and stilleth the Waters thereof, when they arise, whose Way is in the Sea, and Paths are in the great Waters; they went to him, and paid him the Homage due to God only, worshipping him.

Not many Days after this, Jesus took his Journey into the Northern Parts of Galilee, towards Casarea-Philippi, named also Dan and Paneas; and in the Way, as they passed along, he asked his Disciples, *Whom do Men say, that I, the Son of Man, am? What Opinion have they of me, who, though I appear in a mean Condition, and the State of a Servant, yet do so many Miracles?* They answered him, *Some say that thou art John the Baptist, risen from the Dead; some Elias, sent down from Heaven; and others Jeremias, or some other of the ancient Prophets, restored again to Life.* He then asked them, what their Opinion and Belief was concerning him? Simon Peter, who was always forward to speak for himself and his Brethren, answered, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the Living God; that is, Thou art the Messiah, so long ago promised to, and expected by the Jews: And though indeed thou appearest as the Son of Man, yet art thou much greater than any of the Prophets, or the Sons of Men, for thou art The Son of God, the Only-begotten of the Father, co-equal and co-eternal with him.* Jesus hearing this noble and sound Confession of his Office and Person, replied, *Blessed art thou, Simon the Son of Jonas, to whom God my Father hath by his Spirit revealed the mysterious but true Notion of my Nature and Function; for no mere Human Understanding can discover or comprehend it. And since God hath made thee so*

fit an Instrument, both for thy Zeal and Knowledge, to promote my Kingdom, I say unto thee, That as thy Name importeth a Rock, so I will make thee a Foundation-Stone, and a Chief Minister, in the building of my Church, which by thy Doctrine and Miracles I will so firmly establish in the Faith that thou hast confessed, that the Gates of Hell, and all the Powers and Policies of the Devil, shall not prevail against it, or overthrow it. And that my Church, the House of God, may be an orderly Frame and Building, I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, (that is, Power and Authority to keep Men in Obedience to my Laws;) and whomsoever thou shalt bind over to Punishment, and excommunicate for their Sins, and Impenitence, shall be bound, (that is, dealt with, and punished as such by God, who is) in Heaven; and whomsoever you shall loose and absolve from Punishment, upon their Repentance and Conversion, shall be loosed, forgiven, and pardoned by God.

By the former Discourse with Peter, Jesus perceiving that his Disciples had gotten a true Notion of his Divinity and Office, believing him to be the Son of God and the Messiah, notwithstanding the different Opinions that were in their Nation about him, began to prepare their Minds for his Sufferings, which he was shortly to accomplish at Jerusalem, and by which he was to work out Man's Redemption; and therefore he told them plainly, that he must go up to Jerusalem, and there endure many Affronts and Indignities from the Jewish Rulers of the great Sanhedrim, and at last by their Malice and Arts be put to a cruel and disgraceful Death, which yet he would soon retrieve himself from, by a Resurrection from it on the third Day. Peter, whose Zeal for, and Love to his Master, could not endure to hear of parting with him, especially by such an unhappy Fate, took him, and rebuked him for his Unkindness to himself and

and them, saying, God forbid that this should come to pass; be more careful to secure thyself, who canst easily do it; for we can never consent that thou, who hast been so loving a Master to us, should be so soon taken from us.

Jesus knowing that this Advice cross'd the Decrees of Heaven, and defeated the gracious Purposes of Man's Redemption, which he came down from Heaven to complete, turn'd to him, and with Anger said, *Get thee behind me Satan; that is, Away from me thou wicked Man, who, out of mistaken Love, givest me such Advice as Satan himself could wish that I would follow; and with worse than which Satan himself, when he tempted me in the Wilderness, could not assault me: Let me not bear a Word more of it; for thou art an Offence to me, and seekest to ensnare me in the greatest of Sins, in drawing me to make use of human Policy to save my Life, who thereby the whole Scene of God's merciful Designs for the Salvation of the World be utterly broken.*

Here we see, that the Goodness of the Intention will not always justify the Action. Peter, no doubt, though he shew'd himself dutiful and affectionate to his Lord, little suspecting that Satan set him on work, to frustrate the Salvation of Mankind, by dissuading Christ from dying. But Jesus repels him with the same vehement Reproof which he once gave the Devil himself, when he made that insolent Proposal to him, *to fall down and worship him*, though in Satan, it was the Result of pure Malice, in Peter only a Sin of Ignorance. Our Lord's sharp Re-
sentment of his erroneous Advice, excellently declares how infinitely he preferred the Redemption of the World, before any Consideration of Ease or Safety to his own Body. He shews that Peter consulted what was agreeable to Flesh and

Blood, more than for the Glory of God, and the Welfare of our Souls. And the Passage discovers, that the Minds of the Apostles were not yet thoroughly purged from the Expectation of a glorious Reign of the Messiah in secular Pomp and Splendor: So that Peter could not but look upon these Sufferings as inconsistent with the State and Dignity of the Son of God.

About a Week after this, Jesus, (who had given his Disciples a sad Description of the lowest Step of his Humiliation, and no Doubt filled their Minds with Grief, especially St. Peter's,) thought it a seasonable Time to give them a Specimen of that Glory which should be the Reward and Consequent of his Sufferings: And therefore taking with him, Peter, James, and John, he carried them unto a high Mountain apart, (commonly thought by the Antients to be Mount * Tabor,) and was transfigured in their Presence, as he was making his Prayers to God: For his Countenance had a radiant Lustre upon it, far excelling the Splendor of the Sun; and his Garments, which covered the rest of his Body, had not only a Whiteness beyond the Power of Art to make, but they glittered and shone as the Light. Whilst Jesus was in this heavenly Dress, as if Heaven itself were descended upon the Mount, Moses the Giver of the Law; and Elias the Chief of the Prophets, clothed with the same Glory, appeared to him, and discoursed with him about his Death, by which himself would be eternally exalted above every Name both in Heaven and Earth, and God's Truth magnified in fulfilling all the Prophecies and Types of the Old Testament, by which Man's Redemption was either promised or shadowed to us. And while this Intercourse was between Jesus and his heavenly Guests, Peter and his fellow Apostles, either were asleep, (it being in

* Tabor is a round Mountain exceeding high, situate in a Plain in Galilee.

the Night, as is probable;) or else in a Trance, through the Excess of Glory which mortal Nature could not bear. But waking just before their Departure, and seeing their Glory, they were in an Ecstasy of Amazement. Peter, though hardly awake, yet being sensible how much better Company they were in, than they usually conversed with, and how much it would be for their Master's and their own Safety to continue there, said unto Jesus, *Lord it will be more advantageous to us to continue here in this heavenly Society, than to go again into a wicked World. Permit us therefore to erect three Tabernacles on the Mount, one for thee and us thy Disciples, and one for Moses, and one for Elias, that they may settle their Abode among us.* While Peter was talking thus widely, not knowing what he said in the Transport he was in, a bright and shining Cloud came over them, by which they were all terrified, and a Voice issued out of the Cloud, which said unto them, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear, and obey his Words.* The Cloud remain'd but a short Time, carrying those two great Ministers, Moses and Elias, up again to Heaven. But the Disciples, astonished at what they saw and heard, fell with their Faces to the Ground, and lay there till Christ gently touched them, and bid them arise and not fear. When they lifted up their Eyes, they saw none but Jesus alone; whereupon they recovered their Spirits, and immediately descended from the Mountain with him. But Jesus charged them to keep this Vision secret, till after his Resurrection.

S E C T. III.

Peter, at the Command of Jesus, pays the Tribute-Money by a Miracle. He shews Jesus the withered Fig-Tree. Enquires who shall betray him, and promises to die

for him. Hath his Feet washed by Jesus. Prepares the Passover for Jesus. Present at Jesus's Agony in the Garden, and reproved by him. Smites off the Ear of Malchus. Denies Jesus and repents.

A LITTLE after the Transfiguration, Jesus took another Perambulation about Galilee, and returned to Capernaum. Where being arrived, the Collectors of a certain yearly Tribute, paid by all the Males above twenty Years old among the Jews, for the Use of the Temple, according to the Law of Moses, were then going about to gather it; and coming to Peter's House, who was an Inhabitant of that City, they asked him, *If his Master did not pay that Tribute?* Peter, knowing his Master always willing to pay any just Dues to Church or State, tho' many refused it in those Times of Liberty, answered them, *Yes*: And probably went in to acquaint his Master, and bring the Money, which was half a Shekel a Head; about fifteen Pence of our Money.

Jesus knowing what had passed, though not present, prevented Peter with this Question, before he could deliver the Matter to him: *What is thy Opinion Simon, of whom do the Kings of the Earth take Custom or Tribute? of their own Children, or of Strangers?* Peter reply'd, *Of Strangers only.* Jesus said, *Then are the Children free.* His Meaning was, that since he himself was the Son of God, and the Apostles his Domestics and menial Servants, they were according to Reason and the Custom of the World, to be exempted from paying this Tax to the Temple, his Father's House. Yet rather than give Offence, or shew Disrespect to the Authority which had appointed this Tribute, he directs him to go to the Sea, and take the first Fish which came to his

Hook,

Hook, in whose Mouth he should find a Piece of Money, to satisfy the Collectors for himself and his Master.

Jesus having been at *Jerusalem*, at the Feast of the Tabernacles, in his return accepted of the kind Entertainment of *Martha*, who dwelt at *Bethany*; and upon her Invitation of him, staid a few Days at her House. Here he spent his Time; partly in instructing his Disciples in several Duties, chiefly how they should pray; and partly in preaching to the Multitude, to whom he made several Sermons, giving them a short Abridgment of most of the necessary Laws of a religious Life: And at last concluding with a pathetic Exhortation to a continual Vigilancy, for the coming of the Son of Man to judge the World; like as Servants, who expect their Master's Return from a Wedding, always are watching, that at his first knocking they may be ready to open to him; *because*, said he, *the Son of Man comes at an Hour when Men think not*. *Peter*, hearing this great Application, asks his Master whether he spake this Parable to his Apostles in particular, or to all his Hearers in general? *Jesus* said, *Ye are all concerned equally in this great Affair: You must all give an Account of your Actions to God, as Stewards do of their Disbursements to their Masters; and it is your Wisdom to be prepared for it, that your Lord, by his sudden and unexpected coming, may not surprize you: For as the Lord of a Family, if he finds Men in a suitable Posture for his Reception, will reward them with the most signal Marks of his Love and Favour; so if he come upon you in your Lewdness and Debaucheries, he will allot you a miserable Portion with Unbelievers; and that more or less tormenting, as the Greatness or Smallness of your Sins have deserved: For to whom he hath committed much, of them he will require much, and proportionably punish or reward the good or ill Management of it.*

That great and memorable Passover of the *Jews*, wherein *Jesus*, the Lamb of God, was by Divine Ordination to take away the Sins of the World by the Sacrifice of himself, now drawing nigh, six Days before the Feast he came to *Bethany*, a small Village of *Judea*, about two Miles from *Jerusalem*, and lodged at *Martha's* House, whom he had not only converted, with her Brother and Sister, *Lazarus* and *Mary*, some Time before, but had lately endeared to him by the raising of *Lazarus* from the Dead. Here he stay'd one Day; and because, according to the Law, the Paschal Lamb was to be taken upon the tenth Day of the Month, in order to the Sacrifice of the fourteenth, that he might fulfil all Things according to the Law and the Prophets, *Jesus* on that Day went up to *Jerusalem*, riding on an Ass, and returned again that Evening to *Bethany*, amidst the Acclamations of the Multitude, who attended him with Palm-branches in their Hands, crying *Hosannah to the Son of David*. The next Morning *Jesus* went again to *Jerusalem*, and in the Way, being an hungry, went up to a Fig-tree, hoping to find some Fruit thereon to relieve his Hunger; but being disappointed, he cursed the Fig-tree; and, as soon as they were gone, it withered away. *Peter* next Morning passing by it, took Notice of it, and said to *Jesus*, Master, behold the Fig-tree which thou cursedst, is withered away. *Jesus* replied, That he had in this Miracle shewed them what is the Strength of a sound and saving Faith, which if they laboured to get, they should be able to do greater Miracles than this; not to blast Fig-trees, but to remove Mountains, and master all Difficulties in the Work of their Ministry: For God, he assured them, would always assist them with his Power, if they made their Prayers in Faith to him.

Two Days before the Passover, *Jesus*,
after

after his Return from Jerusalem, supped with Simon the Leper at Bethany; where, while he sat at Meat, the Woman anointed his Head with Spikenard; and he entertained his Disciples with a Discourse concerning the Person that should betray him into the Hands of those who sought his Life; telling them, That tho' he had been so kind and good a Master to them all, yet one of them was of that treacherous and diabolical Temper as to betray him, which he was so sensible of from that Scripture, which says, *He that eateth Bread with me, hath lift up his Heel against me*, that he willingly submitted to it as the Decree and Order of Heaven. Peter hearing so plain an Intimation that one of them, the twelve Apostles, should be so great a Traitor, was very desirous to know who it was, possibly that he might, by Arguments or Menaces, deter him from so horrid an Attempt; and seeing John the beloved Disciple leaning upon Jesus's Bosom, beckoned to him, that he should ask Jesus who it was. John accordingly put the Question, and received this Answer, That he would give a Sop to the Person that should do it; and having dipp'd a Sop in the Dish, he gave it to Judas; withal telling him, how horrid an Impiety it was to betray his Lord and Master, and how great a Punishment he should suffer if he did it: *It had been much better for him that he had never been born*, than that he should be made so miserable for that Fact. But this kind Admonition not prevailing over his Covetousness, Jesus left him in the Power of the Temptation, and Satan immediately entered into him, filling his Heart with a full Resolution to complete his bloody Design; so that he immediately went out, and made an Agreement with the Jews to deliver Jesus to them.

When Judas was gone, Jesus enter-

tained his Disciples with a Discourse relating to his Treason, saying, *No Man shall I, who have hitherto appeared in a mortal Man, now State of Humiliation, pass into the Glory of my Divine Essence; and by my Actions gain Honour to God my Father; who, in Consideration of the Glory I shall acquire to him, will immediately translate me to the full Fruition of himself, and crown me with all the Beams of Divine Majesty. I must shortly leave you, my Disciples, whom I love, and am as tender of as Parents of their own Babes. You may, and doubtless will, desire my Presence; but as I cannot stay with you, so neither can you go along with me. And in the Words of a parting Friend, let me engage you so to live in mutual Love one with another, that ye may be known to be my Disciples from Men of all other Religions and Professions, by this Badge, that ye are the greatest Lovers one of another.* Peter, whose Zeal to his Master often outstripped his Consideration, hearing Jesus speak of his going from them, asks him, *Whither he would go?* Jesus replied, *It is in vain to tell thee now; for you are not able to follow me at present, though perhaps you may be hereafter.* Peter said unto him, *Why hast thou such a mean Opinion of me, that I cannot follow thee?* *Is there any Path more affrighting than the Valley of the Shadow of Death? And through those black Shades I am willing to follow thee.* Jesus answered, *Thou speakest valiantly and cordially; but alas! thou knowest not thy own Strength, nor the Deceitfulness of thy own Heart; for I foresee, that when I am brought into the Hands of my Enemies, the Cock shall not crow twice, till thou hast denied me thrice.*

After Supper was ended, Jesus, having in Mind his Departure, that he was going to God, where he should take Possession of all Power in Heaven and Earth, and should never have an Opportunity of giving his Disciples an Example of this Nature,

Nature, resolved to give them a Pattern of that Humility, which would exalt them to that Place, whither he was going before them; and therefore, being risen from Table, he putteth off his Garment, girded himself with a Towel, and having put Water into a Bason, went to wash his Disciples Feet, beginning with *Peter*. *Peter*, amaz'd at such Condescension, refused resolutely at first: But when *Jesus* told him, that he had a more spiritual and holy Intention in it, and that unless he were washed, he could have no Part or Portion in him, *Peter* submitted, and desired he would wash him in all Parts, if that might secure his Interest in him. But *Jesus* told him, 'Twas sufficient that his Feet be washed. Then *Jesus* washed the Feet of *Peter*, and also of the rest of the Disciples; which when he had done, and put on his Garments again, he sat down and gave them the Reason of this Action, telling them, that he intended it for nothing but to be an Example of the most condescending Humility to them; that since he, who was justly acknowledged to be their Lord and Master, had stooped so low as to wash their Feet, they should think it no Disparagement to them to stoop to the meanest Offices of Charity and Love one to another: For though they were exalted to the Dignity of his Apostles, yet they were but his Servants: and it would be audacious Pride for them to take more State and Grandeur upon them, than they saw their Lord had.

The Morning of the Day of unleavened Bread, when the Passover was to be killed, the Disciples, knowing their Master was careful in observing this Solemnity, desired him to tell them in what House he would keep it. Whereupon *Jesus* sent two of their Body, *Peter* and *John*, to prepare it for him at *Jerusalem*, in a fair convenient Room: To which they were directed by a Man carrying a Pitcher of Water to the House. Here

they having made all Things ready for that solemn Service, *Jesus* came in the Evening with his twelve Disciples, and eat the Passover: which, because it was his last, he was very desirous to celebrate with them before he suffered. As they were eating of it, he discoursed to them of several important Matters about his own Sufferings, and the Glories of his Father's Kingdom: And because he saw that *Satan* had designed to assault *Peter* with a violent Temptation, and try whether his over-confident Boasting of his Adherence to *Christ* in his Sufferings would prove sincere, *Jesus* gave *Peter* a Caution of it, that he might fore-arm himself against it; saying to this Effect, Simon, *Satan hath desired to have you in his Power, that he may sift you like Wheat: And though it could not stand with my Honour to exempt you from a Trial, lest Satan should brand you for an Hypocrite, or think my Kingdom not able to withstand his Invasions; yet, I have prayed for thee, that thy Faith fail not: And I doubt not but tho' thou mayst be foil'd, thou shalt not be overcome; and when thou hast recovered thy Strength, confirm and encourage thy Brethren, who shall fall under the like Assaults.* *Peter* again assured his Master of his firm Adherence to him, and told him, That *Satan* should in vain use all his Arts against him, for he was ready to go with him both into Prison and to Death. But *Jesus* knowing his Weakness, repeated again to him that prophetick Speech: That that Night, before the Cock crew twice, he would thrice deny that he knew him. After the Paschal Supper was over, *Jesus* appointed that excellent Sacrament of the Eucharist, to be continued in his Church for an everlasting Memorial of his Goodness and Love, in dying for Mankind, to redeem them from the Power of Sin and Hell.

After *Jesus* had thus celebrated the religious Rites of the Passover, and instituted

the

the sacred Memorials of his Death, he went from the House where he was, over the Brook Cedron, into a Garden at Gethsemane, which lay at the Foot of the Mount of Olives, where he us'd always to retreat himself for his private Devotion, when he was at Jerusalem or thereabouts. His Disciples attended him thither: And because he was, at it were, to begin here the horrid Tragedy of his Sufferings for Man's Sins, he ordered eight of the Disciples to stay at the Entrance into the Garden, commanding them to join their Prayers with his; and that while he withdrew a little way for his private Devotion to God, they should pray to God, that those Sufferings which for his Sake they should be shortly involved in, might not overpower or overcome them. Having given the eight Disciples this Charge, he took Peter, James, and John along with him, to be Witnesses of, and Comforters to him in, that great Agony that he knew was coming upon him: And retreating some Distance from the rest, he told them as he went, *That his Soul was exceeding sorrowful, even unto Death*; that he might awaken their Care and Vigilancy for him in so deplorable a Condition. Being compos'd to the serious Thoughts of an humble Suppliant to his Father, he felt in himself an extreme Conflict between the Flesh and the Spirit; the human Nature in him, as well as other Men, unwillingly yielding to the Thoughts of Death. For this Reason he pray'd earnestly to his Father, to whom all things were possible, *That he would remove, if it might consist with his Heavenly Wisdom, the bitter Cup of his Death from him.* And when he had thus pray'd, he came to his Disciples, doubtless expecting some Comfort from them in his Sorrow; but they, overwhelmed also with Grief, were fallen asleep.

Jesus awakened them, and with a mild Reproof, said unto Peter; *What, could you not watch with me one Hour? You who*

but just now were so full of Professions of what you would do and suffer for me, even to the Loss of Life itself, cannot you forego a little Sleep for me who am instantly to be taken from you? Surely, if you had no Concern for me, yet the Dangers you are like to fall into within a few Hours, call for your Vigilancy and earnest Prayer, that God would supply you under so many Temptations as you will meet with: For tho' your Spirits be willing, your Minds well affected to me, and you think you can suffer with me and for me; yet the Flesh is weak, and will be apt to seduce you to an Apostacy, rather than yield itself to Tortures and Afflictions.

Jesus then withdrew, and pray'd again to the same Effect, falling into so great an Agony, at the repeated Thoughts of his Sufferings, that his Sweat which fell from his Body was like Drops of Blood: And his Soul was so intolerably loaden with Grief, that since his Disciples neglected that Office, an Angel was sent from Heaven, to comfort him; and by representing to him the great Benefits that would accrue to all Mankind, take off that Averseness to Death which his Humanity rais'd up in him. He then cheerfully submitted to the Divine Will; saying, *O my Father, if this Cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, thy Will be done.* I am very well contented that my Will should give place to thine, tho' I suffer never so much.

Scarce had the Godhead in Jesus dispelled the Cloud of Fear and Terror, which the Humanity had rais'd in the Soul, but the Disciples were effectually roused from their Sleep by Judas, their treacherous Associate, who came to apprehend Jesus with a Band of Soldiers from the Chief Priest, and by a Kiss discover'd him to them. His Disciples, unwilling to leave him in their Hands, asked him, *Whether they should rescue him from his Enemies by dint of Arms?* And Peter, not waiting

waiting for an Answer, began to attempt it, smiting one of the buliest of the Company, *Malchus*, a Servant of the High Priest, and cutting off his Ear. But *Jesus*, who could have saved himself from all the Strength and Policy of Men and Devils, either by his own Power, or by his heavenly Host of Angels, who at his Word would have attended his Command in whole Legions, soon discovered to *Peter* his Error, and forbad them all to attempt any Thing that Way, telling them, *That they could not stand up lawfully in his Defence, unless they would incur the Penalty of fighting against God, by whose Will alone it was that he suffered; and to make good whose Veracity, discovered in so many Prophecies in Holy Scripture, it was that he was left in the Power of those malicious Instruments of Satan.* Then he craved the Patience of the Officers a little while, and miraculously healed the wounded Person before them all. *Jesus* having thus deprived his Disciples of all present Means of their Security by Opposition, they made Use of the only Means that remained, which was Flight; and so leaving him, fled for their own Safety.

Jesus being now in the Power of the Soldiers, was led by them to the High Priest's Palace, where the great Sanhedrim of *Jerusalem* was assembled; not to condemn him to Death, for the *Jews* had no Power in Capital Matters at that Time; but that by examining of him, and producing their Witnesses, they might form such an Accusation against him, as should be sure to prove fatal when he came to be tried before *Pilate*, the Roman Governor of *Judea* at that Time. *Peter*, whose Fears had driven him to fly from his Master in the Garden, having a little recovered his Spirits, and hoping to pass undiscovered among the Throng which was gathered on this Occasion, ventured into the Crowd to see how they would deal with his Master, and by the

Interest of a Fellow-Disciple, was admitted into the High Priest's Palace. Here *Peter* heard the Examination, saw the Indignities, and to his great Grief beheld the Condemnation of his Master. It being cold Weather, he placed himself near the Fire, among the Servants and Officers: Where he had not been long, but the Maid who let him in, looking earnestly upon him, charged him with being one of *Christ's* Disciples. This *Peter* roundly denied before all the Company, positively affirming that he knew him not. Hence he withdrew into the Porch, where he heard the Cock crow: Enough one would think, to have awakened his Conscience to a Sense of his Duty, and reminded him of the Protestations he had made of unalterable Fidelity to his Master. In the Porch, another of the Maids attacked him with the same Challenge, that *he was one of them that had been with Jesus of Nazareth*: But he replied again with an Oath, that he had no Acquaintance with him. About an Hour after, a third Person, a Kinsman of *Malchus*, whose Ear *Peter* had cut off, peremptorily affirmed, that he had seen him in the Garden where *Jesus* was apprehended; and observed, that *his very Speech betrayed him to be a Galilean.* *Peter* now grew more outrageous in his Denial, and ratified his Asseveration with a vehement Curse, that he never had any Communication with the Man they spoke of.

One of the Antients, *St. Ambrose*, alleviates the Sin of *St. Peter's* Denial thus: *He did well to deny him to be a Man, whom he knew to be God.* But *St. Jerome* shews that this Excuse, however well meant, is a lame and trifling one. Certainly the best Apology that can be made for *Peter*, is, that he quickly repented of this great Sin: For no sooner had he done, but the Cock crew again; at which Intimation our Saviour turned about, and earnestly looked upon him: A Look which

pierced him to the very Heart, and awakened him as out of a deep Sleep, with the Remembrance of what he had once and again forewarn'd him of, that he would abjure him in such a foul and shameful Manner as he had now done. This filled his Heart with the Passions of Shame, and Grief, and Indignation, too impetuous for him to contain; he runs out of the Door to give them Vent, and weeps bitterly; endeavouring in some Measure to wash out the Stain of his otherwise indelible Sin by a Flood of Tears; and to prevent the Wrath of God, by taking a speedy Revenge upon himself: As indeed, the only Way to avert God's Judgments, is to erect a Tribunal in our own Breasts. For, as St. Paul observes, *if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged.*

S E C T. IV.

Peter is informed of our Saviour's Resurrection, of which he gives Notice to the other Apostles. Christ appears to Peter. Peter, fishing with his fellow Apostles, swims to Jesus on the Shore. Preaches at the Feast of Pentecost, after the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and converts three thousand Souls.

THE Shame and Grief of Peter's foul Crime, quenched his fiery Zeal so much, that tho' no Man resent-ed more deeply the Sufferings of Christ, yet he never durst venture himself among his Lord's Persecutors, nor shew himself in his Master's Sight, but confined himself to a long and pensive Grief for his own Sin and his Lord's Sufferings. We therefore hear no more of him from this Time, till after our Lord was risen from the Dead. On the Morning of the Resurrection, *Mary Magdalen*, and other devout Women, who had been early at

the Sepulchre, came and told *Peter* where they had been, and that they had not found their Master's Body; but that two Angels had appeared to them, and told them that he was risen, shewing them the Place where his Body lay, and chiding them as it were for their Ignorance, in seeking the Living among the Dead; and that they had withal charged them, that they should tell *Peter* and the other Apostles, that *Jesus* was risen, and was gone before them into *Galilee*, where they should see him.

Peter, at this Message, began to receive some Hopes of Pardon, and to think that he was not wholly discarded the divine Favour, because he was particularly named by the Angels, and commanded to attend upon his Master. Wherefore going to the Sepulchre in all Haste, that he might confirm his Faith in the Truth of what was but probably related to him by the Women, and finding it to be indeed as they had related to him, he believed the Truth of their Relation, but yet was in some Doubt how he could appear to them in *Galilee*, because he did not as yet understand the Scriptures, that *Jesus* must rise again from the Dead. Then *Peter*, and the beloved Disciple *John*, who accompanied him, returned to their own Homes: But *Mary Magdalen*, one of those Women who brought the News to *Peter*, and went along with him again to the Sepulchre, staid there till after he was gone, weeping and lamenting for the Loss of her Lord's Body, and looking in to the Sepulchre where it was laid.

While *Mary* remained in this great Anguish of Mind, *Jesus*, who loves to comfort Mourners, appeared to her, and commanded her to go and tell his Disciples, whom he called by the endearing Term of *Brethren*, that he was alive, and should shortly ascend to his and their Father, and God. *Mary* went immediately

and told the Disciples that he had seen the Lord, and what he said unto her: But they did not believe it, till on the same Day he appeared to Peter alone, to comfort him under his Grief, and to assure him of his Favour and Acceptance upon his Repentance. This Appearance began to engage the Faith of the Disciples to the Belief of Christ's Resurrection, because of the Piety and Courage of that Disciple; who, as he would not deceive them, so he was not subject to those womanish Fears, which are apt to create Spectres in their Minds: And therefore they then held it for a firm Truth, that the Lord was risen indeed, and had appeared unto Simon; but yet their Faith still was very wavering about so strange an Article, till Jesus, by several Appearances to them, and satisfying Thomas's Incredulity, made it as evident and certain, as the clearest and most certain Demonstration.

After Jesus had given sufficient Proofs of his Resurrection, and convinced his Disciples of the Truth of it; he appeared not so commonly to them as at first, but now and then, as he saw just Cause, for forty Days together. One of the most famous of his Appearances was that at the Sea of Tiberias, of which St. John gives us a large and particular Account. After the Apostles, by Jesus's Command, were gone into Galilee, Peter, not seeing any good Grounds why he might not still follow his Trade of Fishing for a necessary Support of Life, invited some of his Fellow-Disciples to go a fishing

with him, namely, Thomas, Nathaniel, James, John, and two other Disciples. Accordingly they went out immediately; but spent that Night in a fruitless Labour, catching nothing. Early in the Morning, a grave Person, unknown to them, appeared upon the Shore; and, as if he were some hungry Traveller, asked them, *Whether they had any Meat?* But when they denied, he bad them cast their Net on the Right Side of the Ship, and they should find: Which having done, they inclosed such a Multitude of Fish, that they were not able to draw it up, nor did they but with great difficulty drag it to Shore.

John, the beloved Disciple, who saw the same miraculous Power in this Draught, which they so wondered at when Jesus called them to be constant Attendants and Disciples, said presently to Peter, *It is the Lord.* Peter hearing that, and impatient of any Delay that kept him from being present with his Lord, would not stay to be rowed, but cast himself into the Sea, and swam to the Shore. The other Disciples remained in the Ship, which was not far from the Land; and, with much Toil, drew the Ship ashore full of great Fishes. When they were all landed, they found a sufficient Repast of Fish ready broiled upon the Coals; and Jesus invited them to Dinner, giving them Bread and Fish to eat; which they accepted from his Hands, but durst not ask who he was, knowing that it was Jesus.

After they had all din'd, Jesus himself eating with them, he propound-

* St. Paul, mentioning his several Appearances after his Resurrection, seems to make this the first of them, *That he was seen of Cephas*, 1 Cor. 15. Not that this was simply the first, says St. Chrysostom upon the Place, for the Women had seen him before, but Peter was the first of the Men. So the Apostles told the Disciples that came from Emmaus, *The Lord is risen, and hath appeared unto Simon*; which probably intimates, that it was before his appearing to those two Disciples. This was agreeable to the merciful Nature of our Lord, thus early to show himself to this poor disconsolate Penitent, to comfort him under his bitter sorrow for his late Fall, and to give him Assurances of a gracious Pardon.

ed this Question to St. Peter, as the Representative of all his Disciples, whom now he was to send into all Parts of the World to preach his Gospel, and to build up his Church; Simon, Son of Jonas lovest thou me more than these thy Fellow-Disciples? He made this Answer, Lord, thou knowest, that, notwithstanding my former Denial of thee, which proceeded not from my Judgment, but my Fears, I do sincerely love thee: Men may suspect the Sincerity of my Faith, but thou knowest my Heart. Jesus said unto him, Feed my Lambs, and shew thy Love to me, in not only diligently and carefully instructing and governing the Converts of my Church, but in dealing tenderly with such as are Bakes, and of weaker Capacities, condescending to their Infirmities and Weakness. Jesus then put the same Question again to him twice; not that he doubted of the Sincerity of his first Answer, but that he might give his fellow Disciples as much Reason to believe his Faith and Love towards Christ to be sincere, from a triple Assertion of it with Zeal and Sorrow, as they had to suspect him of any Unsoundness in the Faith, from his three-fold Denial of him, tho' with Oaths and Imprecations: And that he might give them a satisfactory Assurance of Peter's Faith and Love to him, he foretels, That he should glorify God by his Sufferings for the Gospel, being led by Force and Violence, to Prisons and Death, according to the Example of Patience and Tolerance, which he had given; for though he had indeed once grossly lapsed, now he would hold out, to the End, and by his Perseverance and Sufferings bring Honour to God.

Peter was well pleased to drink the bitter Cup, and make his Confession of Faith as publick as his Denial was, if by that Means he might atone for his former Sin. And seeing John following,

he then asked, what would be his Fate, and whether he, who had been the Object of his Master's Love in his Life-Time, should not have as honourable a Death as he that had shamefully denied him? Jesus replied; It doth not concern thee to know how I will dispose Events to him: He shall see the Destruction of the Jewish Nation, and then shall die in Peace.

Within a few Days after this Appearance, Jesus summoned his Disciples to Mount Olivet, which is about a Mile from Jerusalem; and there having enjoined them to remain at Jerusalem, till he should send down the Holy Ghost upon them, according to his Promise, to qualify them for the Execution of the Ministerial Function, which he before inaugurated them to, he bid them finally adieu, and in their Sight ascended up to Heaven, where he sitteth at the Right Hand of God. Peter and the rest of the Apostles stood looking up to Heaven till he was out of their Sight, probably not without Hopes of his Return again: But while they were thus intent upon the Prospect, two Angels in white clothing told them, That their Expectations of their Master's Return to them again were vain: He was gone, and would never return again till the Day of Judgment. The Apostles hearing this, went immediately to Jerusalem, and, that they might prepare themselves for the Reception of that Holy Spirit which they were shortly to receive, they spent their time in continual Devotion, in some upper Room, which was dedicated by them to the Service of God.

Ten Days after Christ's Ascension, and on the Feast of the Jews called Pentecost, the Apostles, and the other Christians, who had continued ever since the Ascension in the most solemn Devotion, but without any extraordinary

ordinary Revelations, were assembled together in their usual Place of Meeting. As they were employed in their holy Duties, there came a sudden Wind from Heaven, both loud and boisterous, and filled the Place where they were sitting and hearing the Word of God. With the Wind came also cloven Tongues, as it were of Fire, and sat upon each of them. That is, perhaps, a fiery Vapour, or Exhalation, which being formed by the Divine Power into the Figure of a Man's Tongue, divided at the Tip, and sat upon the Head of each of them; To represent the Gifts which God at that Time bestowed upon them by the Effusion of his Spirit. For they immediately began to speak with such Tongues as they never had learned, and were able to preach the wonderful Words of God in redeeming Mankind, in all those Languages which their Auditors in all Parts of the World might best understand. And of this they gave immediate Demonstration: For the Rumour of this Miracle being dispersed through Jerusalem at the Feast, where Proselytes and Jews of all Nation, were met at the Solemnity; they went all promiscuously to see and hear them, and were filled with wonder to behold that Men illiterate and ignorant, who had had their Education and Abode in Galilee all their Lives, could speak the Languages of their several Countries, as intelligibly and fluently as themselves, to whom they were natural; and could not but reflect upon the Intent and Design of it, as portending something extraordinary.

But the Pharisees and Scribes, desirous to elude this Miracle, or at least not willing to believe it, tho' attested by so many Witnesses, gave it out, that it was the Effect of Drunkenness, and that having drunk too freely of new Wine, they talked wildly and confusedly. When Peter heard this, he was moved at so slanderous

a Charge, and standing up, made their Defence in Words to this Effect; *That the Supposition was very groundless and unreasonable, since it was so early in the Morning, not above Nine o'Clock, and since, according to the Custom of that Festival Solemnity, they did not eat nor drink so soon. But this miraculous Thing, he told them, was produced by the Effusion of the Holy Spirit, long ago foretold by the Prophet Joel, who had prophesied that in the last Days, that is, under the Kingdom of the Messiah, God would pour out of his Spirit upon all Flesh; and that their Sons and Daughters should prophesy, their young Men see Visions, and their old Men dream Dreams, Joel 2. 28. This undeniable Miracle, continued he, was an invincible Demonstration that Jesus was the true Messiah: For though they had by their bloody and malicious Contrivances put him to an ignominious Death, having crucified and slain him; yet as it was done by the special Permission of Heaven, so had God raised him from the Dead; as he had promised by David, that he would not leave his Soul in Hell, nor suffer his Holy One to see Corruption: That he was not only risen from the Dead, but ascended into Heaven, according to the same Royal Prophet's Prediction: That he was to sit at God's Right Hand, until his Enemies were made his Footstool: That therefore the whole House of Israel ought to be assured, that this very Jesus whom they had crucified, was the Messiah, or Christ of God, and Saviour of his People.*

These Words of Peter caused many of the Jews to reflect upon their Cruelty used against Jesus, and to look upon themselves as obnoxious to Divine Vengeance for that bloody Fact. Whereupon they asked Peter, and the rest of the Apostles, *What they might do to escape so dangerous a Wrath? Whether there were any Hopes of Pardon?* Hereupon Peter replied, That though their Sin was great, and

and deserved the Wrath of God; yet if they would repent of their Impiety, and be baptized in the Name of *Jesus*, they should not only have this Sin, and their other lesser Offences, forgiven them, but should be equal Sharers in the Graces of God's Holy Spirit with themselves; because the Promise belonged to them and their Children, and to all that should hereafter believe on *Christ*. These Words many of them received with Joy, and gladly embracing that Opportunity of saving themselves from the Wrath to come, were baptized; and so the Church was increased by this Discourse to the Number of three thousand Souls; whose Conversion, that is was not hypocritical, but sincere and sound, their Perseverance evidenced; for they continued both in the Doctrine and Fellowship of the Apostles, and with Devotion celebrated the Evangelical Duties of Prayers, Alms-giving, and Receiving the Sacrament, daily praising God. And now that which had been testified to *Peter* in the miraculous Draught of Fishes, and *Christ's* Promise thereupon that he should catch Men, began to be fulfilled.

S E C T. V.

Peter and John, going to the Temple, cure a Cripple. Peter discovers the Hypocrisy of Ananias and Sapphira, and inflicts Death on them. Stephen stoned, and a Persecution stirred up against the Church. Peter and John sent to Samaria, to confirm the People converted by Philip, where they meet with Simon Magus.

WHILE the Feast of *Pentecost* continued, the Apostles, who celebrated it with the same Devotion as the other Year, frequented the Temple

at the usual Time of Divine Service. And on a certain Day, when *Peter* and *John* went to the Temple to pray, about three o'Clock in the Afternoon, as they were about to enter into the Temple, a Man above forty Years of Age, who was lame from his Birth, and was laid at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple to beg, hoping to find the most Charity where there appeared the most Devotion and Piety, asked an Alms of them as they passed by him.

Peter and *John*, who had willing Minds and bountiful Hearts, though but weak Purses, pitied not so much his Poverty, as the miserable Condition that made him subject to it; and therefore having raised his Expectation of an Alms, by bidding him look on them, *Peter* said unto him, *That though he had no Money to relieve his bodily Wants, yet he had a Power in his Hand to do an higher Act of Charity to him, in curing him of his Lameness*: And immediately commanded him, in the Name of *Jesus Christ* of *Nazareth*, to arise and walk.

The Words were no sooner spoken, but he was cured of his Lameness: His distorted Bones became streight, and his loosen'd Nerves and Sinews were made strong. And being lifted up by *Peter*, he entered into the Temple with them, walking, leaping, and praising God.

Immediately on this, the Priests and Sadducees, whose Malice and Envy against the Growth of the Christian Doctrine was greater than their Power, had insinuated unto the Roman Captain, who commanded the Garrison about the Temple, that the Apostles Preaching tended to Sedition: Upon which Information the Centurion came against them with a military Force, and seizing them, put them into Prison till the next Day, because it was late, and they could not be examined that Night. In the Morning following the great Sanhedrim met and summoned

summoned the Apostles before them. The Scripture names *Annas, Caiaphas, John, and Alexander*, as some of the busiest in the Action. The Pretence of Sedition was waved, because groundless, and the whole Examination was resolved into one single Question: *By what Power, or by what Name, they had made the Lame Man whole?* Not that they were ignorant of it, but that by making them disown it through Fear, they might stumble the Belief of those who were converted by the Miracle.

But the Apostles, being filled with the Holy Ghost, according to Christ's Promise to them in such Cases, made this bold and resolute Answer, yet paying due Respect to them as Governors; *That tho' they were set upon the Judgment Seat, and thought to terrify them as if they had been guilty of some great Crime; yet they could not be ashamed of so good a Deed, as they had done to the impotent Man, nor of the Author and Cause of it. They did not take the Honour to themselves, but attributed it to the true Cause. Be it known unto you, (they continued) and to all the People of Israel, that it is in the Name of Jesus of Nazareth, the Person whom ye lately crucified, whom God restored to Life again, that this Man is here presented before you, no longer a Cripple, but sound and strong. This Jesus is the Stone spoken of by the Prophet, which you like unskilful Builders have rejected; but God hath made him the Head of the Corner; neither is there Salvation in any other; for there is no other Name under Heaven given to Men, whereby we must be saved.*

The whole Sanhedrim, hearing this bold and clear Account of the Matter, from Persons whom they knew to be unlearned and ignorant Men, much admired at it; and could not contradict the Truth of their Assertion, because they knew them to be Jesus's Disciples; and because the lame Man, who was cured,

was with them, and ready to attest the Truth of the Miracle: Wherefore being in great Suspence and Doubt what to do with them, to prevent the spreading of the Doctrine of Christ, they commanded them to retire; and after a short Consultation among themselves, it was resolved to awe them into Silence, by strictly charging them not to preach nor teach for the future in the Name of Jesus. But Peter and John, not at all daunted at their Threats, told them, *That they should not be careful to obey them in this Matter; that they had receiv'd a Command from God, to preach to all Nations what they had heard and seen, and they would appeal to themselves, whether they ought to obey them rather than God.*

The Magistrates not regarding this Answer, back'd their Decree with more severe Threatnings, and so dismissed them without any Punishment; not that they would have dealt so mildly with them of their own accord, but because the People's Admiration so far restrained their Malice, as to keep them from doing any Harm to Men, who rather deserved a Reward for their doing Good. The Apostles being thus dismissed, returned to their Christian Brethren, and gave them an Account of all that had passed, and how they had been treated by the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem: Which when they heard, they all with unanimous Hearts addressed themselves to God, and prayed, *That since he was the Creator of all Things, and according to his infinite Wisdom was pleased, as he had foretold by the Prophet David, to exercise his Church with Sufferings and Persecutions, after the Example of their Lord and Master, he would grant them such undaunted Boldness, that they might not for fear of Men be deter'd from speaking of the Truth, and to make their Preaching still more convincing, that he would continue to them the Power to work Miracles and Wonders in the Name of that Holy*

Holy Jesus, whose Faith they preached and suffered for. These Petitions were no sooner uttered, but God gave them a Sign, that their Prayer was heard: For the House wherein they met was shaken, and they found themselves replenished with a new Spirit of Courage; instigating them, not only to encourage such as believed already to continue in the Unity of the Faith, but to instruct others in the Doctrine of Christ's Resurrection, notwithstanding the Menaces of the Jewish Rulers.

Among the several good Effects, which the Evangelical Preaching worked upon the Hearts of all that were converted, this was none of the least, that they were filled with fervent Love and exuberant Charity one towards another. Many of those that believed were Poor; but such was the Liberality of the Rich, that they freely communicated their Estates to them, selling them, and laying down the Price of them at the Apostle's Feet, that they might equally distribute them to such as had need, according to their Necessities. *Barnabas* particularly recommended his Charity, by the Sale of a large Estate he had in *Cyprus*.

But *Ananias*, and *Sapphira* his Wife, hypocritically pretending to vie with the most charitable of their Brethren, while they closely gratified their own Avarice, became a fearful Example of dissembling with God. For they having an Estate, and seeing the other Christians freely giving all they had in common, thought it a shame for them to retain their Property, tho' it was lawful. Their Conversion would seem unsincere, and their Covetousness, they imagined, be too evident. Wherefore they resolved to sell their Estate, and resign it to the publick Use; retaining only some Part of it, without the Knowledge of the Apostles, to themselves; so making a shew of the same Charity with their Brethren, but securing

themselves against all Fears of Want at the same Time. This close Contrivance seemed well laid by *Ananias* and his Wife; but they soon found it but weak, when they came to bring their Offertory to the Apostles: For *Ananias* had no sooner deposited it, but *Peter*, by the Holy Ghost, seeing his Hypocrisy, immediately reprov'd him, saying, *Ananias, why hath Satan filled thy Heart to lye to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the Price of the Land? Before it was sold, was it not wholly at thine own Disposal? And after it was dedicated to God, was it not in thy Power to have completely performed thy Vow? Why hast thou suffered the Devil to instil so great Wickedness into thy Heart, as to endeavour to put such a gross Cheat upon the Church, which you saw to be actuated immediately by the Inspiration and Power of the Holy Ghost? The Deception is not put upon Men, but upon God.* *Ananias* hearing these Words, was seized with such dreadful Apprehensions of the Divine Anger, that he instantly fell down dead on the Spot.

Sapphira was not present at the said Accident, nor had she heard any Thing of it; but coming in about three Hours after, and being guilty of the same Prevarication, was entertained by St. *Peter* with the same severe Reprimand, for conspiring with her Husband in so foul a Fact. She could not but confess the Matter, which she saw was so distinctly known by St. *Peter*. Whereupon the Apostle having told her the Greatness of her Crime, in that she had agreed with her Husband to tempt the Holy Ghost; and that being in the same Guilt for which he had suffered Death, 'twas just she should fall under the same Punishment; he inflicted Death upon her, and she was carried out by the same Bearers who had carried out her Husband, and they were buried together. Doubtless, says St. *Chrysostom*, the Fault of these Persons

Persons was very great: But yet the Punishment inflicted on them was not so much for the Sins sake, as that it might be an Example of Terror to others, how they dare to falsify their religious Resolutions and Purposes, play the Dissemblers and Hypocrites with God, and make Religion a Cloke of Covetousness and Avarice; nothing being more opposite to the Constitution of the Church, which is the Pillar and Ground of Truth, than Dissimulation and Lying.

These Things, being transacted mostly in Solomon's Porch, could not but alarm the High-priest and Heads of the Sanhedrim. They saw, to their great Grief, not only that their Prohibition was disregarded by the Apostles, but that Christianity got ground every Day by the Miracles and Preaching of these Men. Upon this they were highly incensed with them; and having apprehended them, put them into the common Prison; which was more than they had ever done before. But God, whose Work they were about, giving a Demonstration that no human Power or Policy can put a Stop to his Divine Purposes and Decrees, sent his Angel the Night following, who opening the Prison-Doors, set them at Liberty, and ordered them to go on in their Ministry, and the next Day to preach in the Temple the Words of eternal Life. This Command the Apostles zealously performed; and entering into the Temple early in the Morning, taught the People.

The High-Priest and the Heads of the Sanhedrim were ignorant of their Deliverance, and therefore calling the Council together in the Morning, sent their Officers to the Prison, with a Command, that they should bring the Apostles before them. But when they came to the Prison, tho' there appeared no Signs of their Escape, (the Doors being shut fast, and the Keepers standing on their Guard,)

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yet they found not the Prisoners they sought for. This Wonder not only astonished the Officers, but the Council itself, when they heard it; insomuch that they doubted what would be the Consequence and Tendency of this Matter. They began to think 'twould be in vain to oppose the Progress of this Doctrine, in the Defence of which God appeared so eminently: Yet hearing that they were preaching the Gospel in the Temple, they sent the Captain of the Guard, and their own Officers, to bring them before them; but without Force or Compulsion, lest they should incense the People, and bring a Shower of Stones upon their Heads.

When the Apostles were come before the Council, Caiaphas asked them, *How they still dared to preach their Doctrine so boldly, when they had been so strictly forbidden to do it? Your Duty to us*, he told them, *as your Governors, obliges you to obey our Commands; but instead of that you have, by your Doctrine, taught the People that we have been Murderers of the Messiah, and by so doing seem as if you design to make them revenge his Blood upon us.*

Then Peter, in the Name of all the rest, answered, *That tho' they confessed Obedience was due to God's Vicegerents, yet God is to be obeyed in the first Place, who had made them Witnesses of Christ's Resurrection, whereby he declared him their Lord and Saviour, that was to give Repentance unto Israel and Remission of Sins.* These Words, tho' pious and prudent, yet put Caiaphas and the rest of the Rulers into such a Passion, that they took up a Resolution to put them to Death. Which Design they had executed, had not Gamaliel, a grave Pharisee, and a Doctor of the Law, a Man of great Reputation amongst the People, after he had commanded the Apostles to withdraw, brought them to a better Temper

by a prudent Speech made in their Behalf, wherein he advised the Council to be cautious in their Dealings with these Men, and not to use them as Criminals before they had well examined their Cause. He told them, *That tho' the Apostles seemed to gather a Faction under the specious Pretence of Religion, and erecting the Kingdom of the Messiah, (as Judas of Galilee and Theudas had lately done, whose Followers proved no better than seditious Routs;) yet there was no Way so safe to determine of the Truth of their Pretensions, as to wait and expect the Event. For if this Doctrine and Preaching, says he, be only an human Invention, it will fall of itself in Time; God will blast such false Attempts; But if it be really what they boldly assert and justify by Miracles, 'twill be not only impertinent but impious to oppose it; for ye cannot overthrow it, and ye will be found even to fight against God himself.*

The Force of these Reasons, and the Mildness of the Speech, so far prevailed with the Judges of the Apostles, that they changed their rash Sentence into a bodily Punishment; and having scourged them, dismissed them with a Repetition of the former Injunction, that they should not teach any more in the Name of Jesus. The Apostles departed from them rejoicing; not that they had escaped Death, but that they were counted worthy to suffer Shame for the Name of Jesus.

But tho' Gamaliel's Speech abated the Fury of the Jews against the Apostles for a while, yet their Hatred and Opposition to the Doctrine of Christ continued: They would by no means allow that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ; and strongly maintained it against the Christians. Stephen, a Person eminent for Piety and Wisdom, engaged some of them about this Point, and managed the Dispute so well against them, that they could not answer, tho' they would not be

convinced by his Arguments. The Shame of being worsted stirred them up against his Person, and catching some Words from him in the Dispute, which seemed to infer the Abrogation of Moses's Law and a Dissolution of their Worship, they improved it to an heavy Accusation of Blasphemy, and brought him to his Trial before the Sanhedrim, where they had it attested against him by two False-witnesses.

Stephen in an eloquent and pious Discourse, made his Defence against the Charge; but vindicating his Doctrine, and blaming their Infidelity, in a more free manner than they were able to bear, he was without any formal Sentence stoned to Death. Nor did their Malice stop here, but they stirred up a great Persecution against the whole Church at Jerusalem; to avoid the Severity of which, the Christians were forced to fly into the adjoining Countries of Judea and Samaria, and few were left in that City, except the Apostles.

In this Dispersion, the Disciples, who were zealous to propagate the Gospel in all Places to which they came, preached to the People in all the Towns and Villages of those Countries. Philip the Deacon was driven to the City of Samaria, called at that time *Sebaste*; and tho' the Apostle's Example seemed to confine the Preaching of the Gospel to the Jews only, yet since our Saviour himself had imparted the Knowledge of his Coming to the Samaritans, and they were in some Sense Jews, because they observed the Law, and expected the Messiah, he thought it lawful for him to preach Christ unto them. The Divine Wisdom gave Approbation to his Undertaking, and seconded his Preaching with many miraculous Works which he did, in casting out unclean Spirits, and healing such as were lame and sick of the Palsy; by which he gained great Attention to his Doctrine, and

and won many over to the Faith, causing great Joy in the City.

Among these Converts was one Simon, a famous Sorcerer, born at Gilon, a Village not far from thence, who had by his Magical Illusions so raised the Admiration of the common People, that they believed him the great Power of God, (for so he stiled himself, as Irenæus tells us,) the Father and Sovereign Deity, who is above all Things. But this Man seeing his Admirers carried away by the Preaching and Miracles of St. Philip, which by his own Acknowledgment much excelled all his Magical Arts, pretended himself to be converted, and to believe in the Name of Christ, being baptized, and submitting to all the Conversation of Christians; tho' his Heart was not sound, nor his Faith sincere; but his whole Design to find out the Art, by which St. Philip wrought those Miracles.

The News of so great a City's Conversion was no sooner come to the Knowledge of the Apostles at Jerusalem, but they, not willing to neglect any thing necessary to their Salvation, though themselves were under great Persecution, sent St. Peter and St. John, two of the chief among them, to confer upon them the Spirit; which it was not in Philip's Power to do, because he was but a Deacon, and this Office was reserved to the Apostles only. St. Peter and St. John, being arrived there, prayed for them, that God would pour his Spirit upon them; and having laid their Hands upon them, actually conferr'd the divine Gift.

Simon, who loved the Power more than the Holiness and Virtue of the Apostles, seeing so wonderful an Effect wrought by the Imposition of the Apostles Hands only, and supposing them to have a Magical Skill greater than his own, offered them Money to impart that Power and Skill to him, of giving the Holy Ghost to whom he pleased, merely by the laying

on of his Hands, hoping thereby, both to raise himself to an equal Honour with the Apostles, and greatly to advance the Gains of his Profession.

St. Peter, abominating these Proposals, which arose from his unsound and ambitious Designs, gave him a severe Reprimand, saying, *Cursed be thou with thy Money, which thou thinkest so powerful as to purchase these Gifts of Heaven. Thou art so far from obtaining any Portion of that Grace, that this very impious Imagination makes thee incapable of the least Part or Portion of it. Repent therefore of this thy Wickedness; which unless thou timely dost, and by humble Prayer seek Remission of it, thou wilt be delivered over to Horror of Conscience, and to the Torments of Hell.* Simon, being terrified at these Words, and fearing to be made an Example of Dissimulation, as Ananias was, pretended Repentance, and begged the Apostles Prayers for the more effectual averting the Judgments impending for his Sins. But how slight his Repentance was, and with what Sincerity he became a Convert, we shall see hereafter.

St. Peter and St. John after this continued some Time at Samaria, preaching the Gospel; and then returned again to Jerusalem, all along in their Way publishing the Truths of the Christian Doctrine in all the Villages of Samaria.

SECT. VI.

Peter visits the Churches of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee; and cures Æneas, at Lydda. Sent to Joppa, where he raises Tabitha from the Dead. Sent for to Cornelius, sees a Vision, which informed him that the Gentiles are included in the Gospel Covenant. Imprisoned by Herod, and delivered by an Angel.

St. Peter being arrived at Jerusalem, continued there, as in a Place of greatest

greatest Security, till the Persecution was blown over; which in all probability concluded with the Conversion of St. Paul, who being Leader of the Persecutors, and chief Actor in the Tragedies which they committed, left them at so great a Loss how to proceed, that they thought it not worth the while to renew their Commission, but let the Persecution fall of itself: And so the Churches of Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, enjoyed Peace and Quiet; and by their holy and religious Walking in the Fear of God, and constant Admonition of each other to spiritual Duties, gained every Day many by their Example to the Faith in Christ.

St. Peter no sooner perceived that he might safely appear in publick, but, out of his Zeal for his Master's Service, he undertook a general Visitation of all the adjoining Churches, to see if all Things were in Order, and in such a State as they ought to be. In his Progress he came down to Lydda, a Village in the Tribe of Ephraim, about four and twenty Miles North-West of Jerusalem, afterward more famous under the Name of Diospolis, to see the Saints there, and found a certain Man named Aeneas, who had kept his Bed eight Years, being sick of a Palsy. Peter being sensible how much so great a Miracle, in the Name of Christ, might promote the Christian Faith; as soon as he saw him, staid not to enquire whether he had Faith to be healed, but, as if he had brought the Message from Heaven to him, said immediately, *Aeneas, Jesus Christ maketh thee whole: Arise, and make thy Bed, as a Testimony of thy perfect Recovery.* And he accordingly did so. The Knowledge of this Miracle, which soon spread itself abroad into the neighbouring Village by the unusual Appearance and Converse of Aeneas in publick, gained all the Inhabitants of that Town, and Saron, a neighbouring Village, to the Faith in Christ.

While Peter remained at Lydda, it happened that a Woman of Joppa, named Tabitha, in Greek Dorcas (who, being very eminent for her Charity and pious Actions, full of good Works, and Alms-Deeds, which she daily did) fell sick and died. Her Death was a Loss to all the Christians of that Place, but particularly to the Poor, who much lamented her. This common Grief excited in all of them an earnest Desire of having her longer with them; and therefore hearing that Peter was at Lydda, the next Town, they sent two Messengers to him, to desire him that he would immediately come down to Joppa. Peter, ready to gratify their Desires, made no Delays, but presently went along with them; where, as soon as he arrived, they carried him into an upper Chamber, where the Body of Tabitha, washed, and dressed up in a Funeral Attire, according to the Custom of the Jews, was laid. They dared not present an open Petition to him to raise her from the Dead; but by their great Lamentation for her, and Commendation of her Charity while she lived, shewing the Coats and Garments which she made and bestowed among them, their Desires were apparent to that Apostle.

Whereupon Peter, knowing how useful so good a Woman was to the Church, put all the Company out: Then praying with his Face towards the Body, he commanded her to rise; and immediately she opened her Eyes, and seeing Peter, sat up. Then Peter taking her by the Hand, and lifting her up, presented her alive to the holy Brethren and Widows, to their great Joy and Comfort.

This Miracle was quickly known abroad in the Town; and many being convinced by it, believed in Christ as the Messiah. After this, St. Peter continued a considerable Time in Joppa, with one Simon, a Tanner.

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 one of them



ACTS 10 Verse 41

In the Time that *Peter* abode with *Simon*, *Christ* was pleased to make good his Promise to him, of giving him the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, by making him the Instrument of letting the *Gentiles* into his Church, after this Manner. There was at *Cæsarea* a Roman Captain, named *Cornelius*, a Centurion of the *Italian Band*; who though he was no circumcis'd *Jew*, but only a Profelyte of the *Gate*, yet had he arriv'd at the Knowledge of the true God, by the Law and the Prophets, and frequent Converse with the *Jews*, and serv'd God with singular Devotion and Reverence, giving much Alms to the People, praying constantly, and observing Fasting Days with great Strictness. Nor was he contented to serve God alone, but, by his Example and Instructions, he influenced both his Family, and many of his Soldiers, to joyn with him in Acts of Piety and Religion.

These good Improvements of that small Portion of Grace which God had given him, mov'd the beneficent Father of all Mankind to communicate the highest Acts of his Favour to him, and to make him the First-fruits of the *Gentile's* Conversion to the Faith in *Christ*. Accordingly, upon a certain Day, when he was wholly employ'd in the Religious Duties of Fasting and Prayer, God dispatched an Angel to him, who, in the Likeness of a Man, cloathed with bright shining Garments, deliver'd this pleasing Message to him, *That his Prayers and Alms were highly accepted in the Sight of God*. And, as a Token of God's Respect to them, he was ordered to send to *Joppa* for *Peter*, who should discover to him the Will of God more fully, and put him into the Way, in which both he and all his House should be sav'd.

Cornelius, much better pleas'd with this Advice than if God had loaded him with Temporal Blessings, immediately dispatch'd away two of his Household-Ser-

vants, and a devout Soldier, one of them that continually waited on him, to *Peter*, to tell him how he had receiv'd Orders from God to send for him, that he might hear the Divine Will from him, and to pray him, that he would come down to his House. But though these Messengers were sent by Divine Command to *Peter*, yet such was the natural Aversion that he had to the *Gentiles* by his Education, (being taught that it is unlawful to eat, converse with, or be in the House of an Heathen, who were unclean, as those that have a continual Flux of Blood;) that they had met with a resolute Denial, had not God prepared him for their Reception, by a special Vision, which thus happened to him.

On the Day that the Messengers arriv'd at *Joppa*, *Peter*, according to the Usage of the dispersed *Jews*, went up to the Top of *Simon's* House to pray, about Noon; and being hungry, he call'd for Meat: But while they were getting it ready, he fell into a Trance, and in a Vision saw Heaven open'd: And a great Sheet, containing all Sorts of Beasts, Birds, and creeping Things, both clean and unclean, was let down before him; a Voice at the same Time giving him Liberty to arise, and kill any of them to satisfy his Hunger. *Peter*, as yet fond and strict in the Observation of legal Rites and Ceremonies, refus'd, saying, *Not so Lord, for I have never eaten any Thing that is common or unclean*. But the Voice reproving him for his Refusal, replied, *What God hath cleansed, that call thou not common*. This was done thrice, and the Vessel was again taken up into Heaven. *Peter*, though again come to himself, was in a great deal of Perplexity what the Vision should mean; and so continued, till the three Men sent by *Cornelius* were come to the Gate and knocked, enquiring, whether *Simon*, who was surnamed *Peter*, was lodged there. Before they had received their

their Answer, the Spirit inwardly suggested to Peter, that there were three Men at the Door enquiring for him, and ordered him to go along with them without any Doubting or Fear. Peter then having received their Message, invited them in, and lodged them all Night; and the next Day went along with them, being accompanied with six Jewish Converts from Joppa, who might be Witnesses of what had passed in this memorable Action.

Cornelius, full of Expectations of what Peter should reveal to him from God, with great Impatience waited for his coming; and because he would have his Kindred and Friends Partakers of such happy News, he invited them to meet him at his House. On the third Day Peter arriv'd at Casarea, and just as he was entering the House, Cornelius, in Respect to him as the Messenger of God, fell down at his Feet and worshipped him. Peter, tho' such Protestation was an usual Form of Respect in those Eastern Countries, yet knowing that the Romans paid such Veneration to their Gods only, and so that the Honour given to him was more than human, refused to accept it, and bid him stand up on his Feet, and pay him no other Respect than as a Man, more than which he did not pretend to be.

While he thus talked with Cornelius, he entered into the House, where he found many met together to hear him. Peter being again a little touched with his natural Averſion to Heathen Company, and supposing that even they would wonder at his Freedom to converse with them, told them, *That tho' they must needs know it was always accounted unlawful for a Jew to keep Company with the Men of another Nation, yet he would not have them wonder at his doing so now, because he had received a particular Command from God not to count them common or unclean, and so to be avoided, whom he had cleansed by his Spi-*

rit, and qualified to bear his Word; therefore he very readily came to them, as he had been requested, without Delay or Difficulty.

Having made this Excuse, he asked them, *Why they had sent for him?* Cornelius undertook the Answer, and said, *That he did it by an express Command of God; who, as he was fasting and praying, sent an Angel to him, and ordered him to send to Joppa for Simon surnamed Peter, of whom he should hear some special Message from God; and that for this Reason it was that they were all met to attend his Words.*

Peter, comparing these Things with the Vision mentioned before, and perceiving that the Partition-Wall between Jew and Gentile was broken down, and that God had call'd him in a special Manner to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, began, and thus deliver'd himself to them. *That now he perceived plainly, that the Jews were no longer God's particular Favourites and People, but that the Gentiles might be as acceptable to God as they, upon their Obedience; for God is no Respector of Persons, but in every Nation, he that fears God, and worketh Righteousness, is accepted of him: That the Instruction which he had to deliver to them from God was this, even the same that had been for some Time preach'd to the Children of Israel, That Jesus of Nazareth was anointed with the Holy Ghost above Measure, and endued with a Power of doing Miracles, which he exercised in the Performance of good Works, and healing such as were possessed with the Devil; an Argument that God was with him in a more special Manner, since he was able to conquer the Power of our Spiritual Enemy: That he was put to a shameful Death at Jerusalem, being crucified and slain; but that God rais'd him from the Dead on the third Day after, and by several manifest Appearances to his Disciples, who eat and drank with him after he was risen from the Grave; That he was Lord of all, and should be Judge of all the World, - as well*

well the Quick as the Dead: That God tendered Peace and Reconciliation to all Mankind by him, and whosoever believed in him should have Remission of Sins: And that though indeed the Jews generally opposed this Doctrine, that Jesus is the Messiah, yet all the Prophets unanimously agree in this Truth, and bear Witness of him.

While Peter was thus speaking, the Holy Ghost, who had already purified their Hearts by Faith, fell upon all that heard him, to the great Astonishment of those Jewish Converts who accompany'd St. Peter, and who were so prepossessed with an Opinion that God would never bestow the Graces of his Spirit upon the Gentiles, that they would never have believed it, had not they heard them speak with Tongues, and magnify God in several Languages.

When Peter saw the Gentiles thus baptized with the Holy Ghost, of which the Baptism of Water is but a Type and Instrumental Conveyance, he thought it unreasonable to deny them this latter; and therefore immediately ordered them to be baptized with Water in the Name of the Lord, and so united to the Church as true Members of it. Cornelius and his Friends being thus Partakers of the heavenly Gift, were not willing to part with Peter, who had been the Means of their Conversion; and therefore, for their better Instruction and Confirmation, they prayed him to tarry with them certain Days; which he accordingly did.

The News of the Baptism of Cornelius and his Friends by Peter, soon came to the Ears of the Apostles and other Brethren in Judea, and they were much offended at him for preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles. When he came to Jerusalem therefore, the Jewish Converts, who still retained their old Antipathy to the Gentiles, and judged them unworthy of all Spiritual Mercies, fell upon him, and blamed him extremely for conversing

with the Gentiles, and eating with them. But Peter made his Defence of this Action to them, by relating how God had removed his Antipathy against the Gentiles, by a Vision from Heaven; by which he was convinced, that all Creatures were lawful to be eaten by God's Permission, and all Men to be associated with, whom God hath thought fit to cleanse by his Grace: How Cornelius sent for him by God's Order, and the Spirit commanded him to go along with the Messengers, and preach the Gospel of Salvation to him. This Apology gave them Satisfaction, and they magnified God's Mercy in admitting the Gentiles to be Sharers of the Gospel Grace, and granting them also a Possibility of being saved by Repentance.

In the Time of St. Peter's Abode at Jerusalem, it was that St. Paul, who after his Conversion had passed three Years in preaching the Gospel in Arabia, and chiefly in the Capital City of that Kingdom Damascus, being forced to flee from thence by the Persecution of the Arabian Governor, went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and stayed with him fifteen Days.

After St. Paul's Departure from Jerusalem, the Church there, which had enjoyed a Calm for some Time, underwent a second Persecution, on this Occasion. Agrippa, whom St. Luke calls Herod, the Grandson of Herod the Great by his Son Aristobulus, having obtained of Claudius the Government of Judea, and the adjoining Countries, in as ample a Manner almost as his Grandfather enjoyed them; came to Jerusalem at the Passover, to be inaugurated into his Kingdom: And being desirous to ingratiate himself with the Jews, he fell severely upon the Christians, who, being hated by the Jews, were a most acceptable Sacrifice to them. Among those who suffered by his Cruelty, James the Brother of John, usually called James

James the Great, was the Chief. His Death, who was a Leader and Governor of the Church, was more pleasing to the *Jews* than a Multitude of private Christians: Which when *Herod* perceived, he proceeded to apprehend *Peter* also, who being a Person of great Note among the Christians, would gain him equal Respect from the *Jews*, if he could put him to Death. *Peter* therefore was seized, and put in Prison, under the Guard of Sixteen Soldiers, with an Intention to put him to Death, as he had done *St. James*, as soon as the Season would give him leave to do it. For it being the Passover, which was a solemn Feast among the *Jews*, they thought it was not lawful to pollute it with the Effusion of Blood. *Peter* was therefore kept in Prison; and the Christians, who wished for his Deliverance, but had no other way to effect it but by Prayer, were not wanting in their earnest Addresses to Heaven for it, but continually supplicated God on that Account.

Constant and importunate Devotion is very prevailing with God, and seldom goes away unanswered. *Herod's* Power and Policy was over-master'd by the Christian Piety: For the very Night before his intended Execution, an Angel sent from God came into the Prison, while *Peter* was fast asleep between two Keepers, bound to them with two Chains. The Angel, sufficiently lighted with his own Rays, struck *Peter* so as to awake him, took off his Fetters, bid him gird his Garments about him, and follow him. All this *Peter* took to be but a Dream, 'till having past the first and second Guards, gone through a great Iron Gate, which open'd to them of its own Accord, and walked a Street's Length in the City, he lost his heavenly Guide. Then he perceived that this was real Matter of Fact, and praised God, who had sent his Angel, and delivered him out of the Hand of *Herod*, and from all the Ex-

pectation of the People of the *Jews*. While he thought on this, he came to the House of *John*, whose Surname was *Mark*, where many were met together to pray for him; and knocked at the Door. The Maid, who came to let him in, perceiving that it was his Voice, was so overjoy'd, that she could not stay to open it, but ran to tell those within, that *Peter* was at the Door: Which they at first look'd upon as a mere Effect of Fancy; but she persisting in it, they concluded it was his Angel, or some Messenger sent from him.

The Door being open'd, they were extremely surprized with Joy and Wonder. But he briefly related to them in what Manner God had deliver'd him, and charging them to acquaint the Brethren with it, presently withdrew for greater Security to another and more secret Place. The next Morning there was a great Disturbance among the Soldiers about *Peter*. They wondered and trembled at his Escape, fearing *Herod's* Displeasure, which fell heavily upon them: For being disappointed of his Prey, he put the Keepers to Death, as the Abettors of his Escape.

S E C T. VII.

Peter goes into Asia Minor, and thence to Rome, where he converts many, and meets with Philo the Jew. Preaches in Africa, Sicily, Italy, and Britain. Crucified. Writings attributed to him.

WHITHER *Peter* fled, *St. Luke* doth not relate, but leaves us wholly in the Dark: However, since *Herod's* Rage could never be avoided within his own Dominions, it is therefore probable, that he went into *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and those other Countries of the *Lesser Asia*, where *Eusebius* expressly tells us, he spent some Time in preaching the Gospel. Indeed his Epistles to them

make it exceeding probable. In these Countries he confined his Labours to the *Jews* only; who had, either by former Captivities, or late Persecutions, been driven to inhabit here; and by the Grace of God made large Conversions of them.

The exact Time of his Abode in these Regions is not known, but his Success might invite him to tarry the longer. From hence, it is probable, he passed to *Rome*, where he is said to have first laid the Foundation of the Christian Faith by his diligent preaching, and extraordinary Miracles. His Labours here met with a Success answerable to the Greatness and Civility of that City: For the *Romans*, convinced by the Miracles which he wrought in Confirmation of the Doctrine he preached, not only yielded a ready and chearful Faith and Obedience to it, but persevered in it, with that Firmness and Constancy, that *St. Paul* tells us, they became famous in all the World for their Faith and Obedience, *Rom.* 18. 16, 19. Here, as *Eusebius* relates, *Peter* met *Philo*, the learned *Jew*, who was then at *Rome*, upon an Embassy to *Claudius* from the *Jews* of *Alexandria*; and had several Conferences with him; from which *Philo* gathered so many things, that his last Writings contain many Christian Principles and Rules, though disguised under a different Method, and favouring of the *Jewish* Philosophy.

Several of the Ancients assert, that one Cause of *Peter's* going to *Rome*, was to oppose the Progress of *Simon Magus's* Doctrine, who he heard had gotten thither, and much bewitched the People with his Magical Arts and Delusions. This *Simon* was so great a Proficient in Sorcery, that by his strange Illusions he gained an Opinion in the Minds of the People, that he was the great Power of God. But when he saw himself outdone by *Philip*, he seem'd to lay aside his Art for a Time and become a Christian, tho'

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with no other Design than to add *Philip's* Power to his own, either by Cunning or Purchase. *Peter* having given him that sharp Reprimand for his Attempt, which discouraged him for the present, and made him seem penitent, he left *Samarita*, possibly through Shame of being thus overcome. After he had passed through many other Countries where the Name of *Christ* was not preached, endeavouring to possess their Minds with an Opinion of himself, so as to make them averse to the Gospel, he came to *Rome* in the Reign of *Claudius*, where he performed so many strange Things by his magical Skill, that he was honoured as a God by the Senate, and had an Altar erected to him in the *Insula Tiburina*, with this Inscription, *SIMONI DEO SANCTO*; To *Simon the Holy God*. It was not easy to root out suddenly the Prejudices, which the People had entertained of *Simon*; but *Peter*, by his Doctrines and Miracles, so cleared up the People's Minds concerning him, that he was looked upon generally as an Impostor, and his Miracles to be Magical Illusions: Tho' he seems to have still retained a good Opinion among the great ones of *Rome*, till *Peter*, at the latter End of his Life, brought him to a shameful and strange End; as we shall see hereafter, when we shall relate that Rencounter.

When *Peter* had been several Years at *Rome*, it happened that the Emperor *Claudius*, who had been very kind to the *Jews* in the Beginning of his Reign, finding them to become turbulent and seditious among themselves, banished them all by his Edict from *Rome*; among whom *Peter* himself was included, who thereupon went to *Jerusalem*.

Not long after *Peter's* Arrival at *Jerusalem*, there happened a Controversy at *Antioch*, between the *Jewish* and *Genile* Converts, about the Observation of the Rites and Ceremonies of *Moses's* Law, and

and particularly about Circumcision; which they asserted must be observed, or they could not be saved. The first Movers of it were certain converted Jews of Judea; who being formerly Pharisees, were zealous for the Law of Moses, and coming to that City, were for imposing the same Yoke upon the Gentiles, which they had unnecessarily subjected themselves to. Paul and Barnabas opposed their Tenet, and in a set Disputation maintained the Christian Liberty against them; but with no good Effect, for they could neither convince the Adversaries, nor satisfy the Disciples. Hereupon it was unanimously determined by the Church of Antioch, That Paul and Barnabas, and some other of the chief Members, should go up to Jerusalem, and have the Judgment of the Apostles and Elders of that Church upon this Question. As soon as they were got thither, and were welcom'd by the Church, they discovered the Occasion of their coming; namely, to propound the Point which had been so much debated among them. *Whether it was necessary for the Christians to be circumcised, and to keep the Law of Moses, in order to their being saved.* This Question seem'd to the Apostles and Elders of Jerusalem so important at that Time, that they called a Council about it, that so, after a common Debate and Variety of Opinions, they might pass a concurrent Definition upon it.

In the Council, after much disputing, Peter delivered his Judgment, and said, *That God having made Choice of him to be the first of the Apostles who should preach the Gospel to the Gentiles; the same God who was best able to judge of the Hearts of Men, had borne Witness to them of his merciful Acceptance, by bestowing his Holy Spirit on them as well as on the Jews; having made no Difference between the one and the other, but equally purifying their Hearts by Faith.* This Opinion was seconded by

Paul and Barnabas, and lastly James the less, then Bishop of Jerusalem, concluded the Council with a Speech to the same purpose. In fine, a Decree was unanimously compos'd to this Effect: *That the Gentile Converts should not be troubled with the Observation of the Mosaiacal Rites in general; but for the present they should be obliged to abstain from Meats offered to Idols, and from Fornication, and from Things strangled, and from Blood; not as Things unlawful, except Fornication, but to avoid giving Offence to tender Consciences.* This Decree they included in a Synodical Epistle, and sent it down by Paul and Barnabas, and other chosen Men, deputed on purpose, to Antioch: Which when the Church received, they were much comforted at this Approbation of their present, and Direction for their future Practice. This Decree St. Paul left in most of the Heathen Churches of his Plantation, to be a Warrant of their Practice against the Judaizing Christians of that Time.

A little Time after St. Paul's Arrival at Antioch, Peter, who had been the chief Person in deciding the Controversy at the Council of Jerusalem, went also down to Antioch, and there, consonant to the Gospel Liberty confirm'd by that Council, conversed with the Gentile Converts, eating with them, and living as they did, and not as the Jews, who observed the Distinction of Meats prescribed by the Law. But when certain Jewish Christians of Jerusalem, who were renacious of their Ceremonial Law, came down to Antioch, Peter, for fear of offending them, began to withdraw and separate himself from the Gentiles, refusing to eat or to hold Communion with them. This, from so great an Apostle, confirm'd the Jews in their superstitious Observation of the Law, and perplex'd the Gentiles with new Doubts: So that what was so lately settled, was in Danger of being quite destroyed. For

even *Barnabas* himself, as well as the other *Jews*, was carried away with his Dissimulation, and followed his Example.

St. *Paul* seeing this, and knowing that *Peter* did not walk uprightly according to the Truth of the Gospel, but was much to be blamed, severely expostulated with him to his Face, and reproved him before the whole Church. This Reproof, tho' very smart and impartial, *Peter* heard with becoming Patience and Humility, and doubtless conform'd his future Carriage thereto.

How long St. *Peter* continued at *Antioch* after this, and whither he went immediately when he departed from it, we are wholly at a Loss to know, and therefore must follow the best Accounts we can obtain from Antiquity. It is beyond Controversy, that he was diligent in enlarging *Christ's* Kingdom by his Preaching; and, if we may believe the Relations of various Authors, he propagated the Gospel in many Parts of the World: For besides the Eastern Parts, he is said to have preached in *Africa*, *Sicily*, *Italy* and even in our *Britain*, where he is said to have continued a long Time, and to have brought over many to the Faith. Some few Years before his Death, it is probable he went again to *Rome*; and meeting there with St. *Paul*, they both set themselves most vigorously to the preaching of the Gospel; teaching the People the Commandments of God, and exhorting all to the Practice of Virtue, Justice, and Charity; shewing a public Abhorrence of the Vice and Corruptions of the City, their lascivious Sports and Dances, their idolatrous Feasts and Worship, their carnal Pleasures and Delights, which debase the Vigour of the Soul, and corrupt the Purity of the Mind; and endeavouring, by most serious and prevailing Arguments to draw them from the Practice and Love of every Thing of that Nature.

Nero was at that Time Emperor of

Rome; and *Simon Magus* that great Enemy of the Christian Truth, was in great Favour with him; he being a professed Patron of Magicians, and all who maintained secret Ways of Commerce with infernal Powers. This Man not only opposed the Doctrine of the Apostles, but by all Means possible rendered them odious to the Emperor. St. *Peter*, foreseeing by the Spirit, that the Calumnies of *Simon* and his Adherents would hasten his Death, bestir'd him the more to confirm those, whom he had been any Ways instrumental in the Conversion of, in the Truth they had received, and with greater Courage set himself against the Seducements of this great Deceiver of Mankind, who had so greatly bewitch'd the People of *Rome* by his magical Tricks and Cheats. For in this last Year of his Life he seems to have wrote his two Epistles to the dispersed *Jews* in *Pontus*, *Asia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Bythinia*; and in a set Encounter with *Simon* discovered his magical Impostures, and thro' the Power and Judgment of God, brought him to an exemplary and miserable Death.

For the Apostle meeting with *Simon Magus* at *Rome*, and finding him still pretending to be some great One, even the *Christ*, he could not but zealously oppose that his presumptuous Arrogancy.

But *Simon*, it seems, more incensed by the Opposition, offered to give the People such an evident Demonstration of his being what he pretended, as was beyond Contradiction; for he would immediately ascend up into Heaven as the Son of God: Whereupon he raised himself up into the Air, by the Help of two invisible Devils, as in a Chariot of Fire, like *Elijah*; and by his magical Power seem'd to be posting to Heaven. St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul* seeing the Delusion, betook themselves to their Prayers, and obtained of God that the Imposture should be discovered, for the Honour of his Son. Whereupon, at the

Almighty's Order, the Devils forsook him; and he being deserted of them, fell head-long to the Ground, and was so bruised and wounded by the Fall, that he died within a short Time after.

The News of this Defeat of *Simon* soon came to the Emperor's Ears, who was highly offended with *St. Peter* for this Action, as well as for his preaching, and laid out all Ways to apprehend him. *St. Ambrose* reports, That the Christians knowing that *St. Peter* was sought for, prayed him to fly to some more secure Place for a while, for the Benefit of the Church. *Peter*, tho' unwillingly, yielded to their Importunity, and made his Escape by Night: But as he passed the Gate, he met with a Person in the Form of *Christ*, who being asked, *Whither he was going?* told him, *To Rome, to be crucified again.* Which *Peter* taking for a Reproof of his Cowardise, in flying from his Persecutor, returned again into the City, and was presently put into the *Mamertine Prison* with *St. Paul*. Here they were kept eight or nine Months, in strict Imprisonment; but they spent their Time in all private Acts of Devotion: and, as Occasion offered, preached the Gospel to their Guards, and Fellow-Prisoners; of whom, it is said, they converted *Proteffus* and *Martinian*, the Captains of their Guards, with forty seven others.

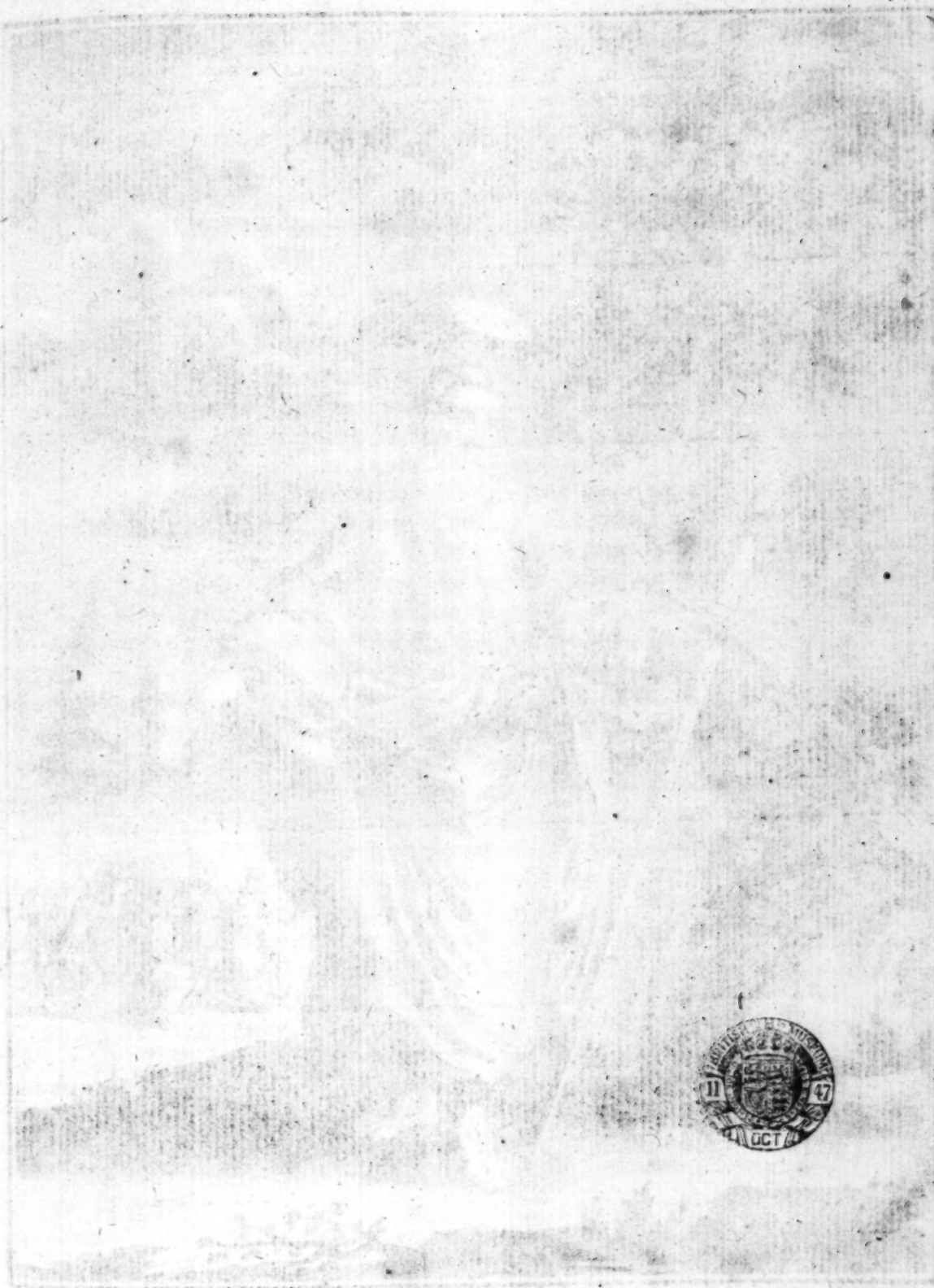
Peter having glorified God by an holy Life, a zealous preaching of the Gospel, and a Constancy in Suffering, was at length called to his Martyrdom, to glorify God as much by his Death, as he had done by his Life, that the Words of his Master might receive a Completion; *When thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thine Hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not.* (For though the Spirit was willing, yet the Flesh was weak.) He desired to be dissolved, to be with *Christ*, and glorify

Christ by his Death; but Nature shrunk from a Dissolution, and feared the Pains of a violent Death; yet he submitted to the Will of God, and drank the Cup, tho' bitter, which *Christ* gave him.

Nero partly to revenge the Death of *Simon Magus*, and partly to avoid the Odium which he had brought upon himself for setting *Rome* on Fire, fell upon the Christians, as the Persons guilty of the Fact, and stirred up a bloody Persecution against them at *Rome*, and in most other Places of the World. *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul* are said to have been executed among others; and both to have been first scourged. This we may be sure of, because our Lord foretold it, That *Peter* suffered Martyrdom by Crucifixion: And that he suffered at *Rome*, hath been constantly affirm'd by all Antiquity. It is reported of him, that when he came to the Cross, he requested of the Officers, that he might be crucified with his Head downwards; giving this Reason for it, *That he was not worthy to suffer in the same Posture as his Lord did before him.* This Request, which was an eminent Token of his Humility, was granted him by the Romans.

St. Peter suffered Martyrdom on the same Day with *St. Paul*, in the Year of our Lord LXXV, according to the Chronology of *Monsieur Pagi*. His Body is said to have been embalmed by *Marcellinus* the Presbyter, after the Jewish Manner, and buried in the *Vatican*, near the *Triumphal Way*. Over his Grave a small Church was soon after erected; which being destroyed by *Heliogabalus*, his Body was removed to the Cemetery in the *Appian Way*; till the Time of Pope *Cornelius*, who re-conveyed it to the *Vatican*, where *Constantine* honoured his Memory with a stately Church. That which now bears his Name there, is one of the Wonders of the World, having all the Advantages which Riches and Art can bestow upon it.

SAINT PAUL



SAINT PAUL.



*He was Beheaded by the Command of Nero the Roman Emperor,
in the 67.th year of his Age.*

The LIFE of St. PAUL.

SECT. I.

St. Paul's Parentage and Education. Goes to Damascus to persecute the Christians. Conversion, and the Manner of it. Visited by Ananias.

ST. Paul informs us, that he was a Jew of the Seed of Abraham, of the Tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews: By which latter Expression he means, that he was descended of Ancestors who were all originally Jews, and had no Profelytes among them. He was born two Years after our Saviour. His Father was a Pharisee. The Place of his Nativity was Tarsus, the Metropolis of Cilicia, above three hundred Miles distant from Jerusalem; an exceeding rich and populous City. It was a Roman Municipium, or free Corporation, invested with the Privileges of Rome by the two first Emperors, as a Reward for the Citizens firm Adherence to the Casars in the Rebellion of Cassius. So that St. Paul was born a Roman Citizen, and often pleads this Privilege at his Trials. The Inhabitants of Tarsus, for their greater Proficiency in Learning, frequently travelled into other Countries, to improve themselves in their Studies. Jerusalem had so many Jews from thence, that they had a Synagogue of their own there, called the Synagogue of the Cilicians. Saul was also by his Father and Mother sent

thither in his Youth, to be brought up at the Feet of that eminent Doctor Gamaliel, in the most exact Knowledge of the Law of Moses: To whose excellent Instruction he so diligently conformed himself, that, without boasting, he asserted of himself, That touching the Righteousness of the Law he was blameless, and durst appeal to his Enemies to alledge any thing to the contrary even in his Youth. He joined himself to the Sect of the Pharisees, the most strict Sect of the Jewish Religion; but, withal, the proudest and greatest Enemies to Christ and his Gospel.

With Regard to his double Capacity, of Jewish Extraction, and Roman Freedom, he had two Names, Saul and Paul; the first Hebrew, the other Latin. Saul, a Name famous in the Tribe of Benjamin, in Account of the first King of Israel; and Paul, no less celebrated among the Romans. In his Education we must include the Art of Tent-making, which mechanic Trade was no Reproach to his more ingenious Studies; the wisest and most learned Rabbies being so educated. The Reason of this Custom was, that, if need were, they might be able to maintain themselves by such Trades. This, with other Things, we may suppose he learnt at Tarsus, till he was of a fit Age to be sent to that great University of Jewish Learning, Jerusalem. Nor did he follow only the Example of the Rabbies in this particular, but their Doctrine also, for

We have observed in the foregoing History, that St. Peter and St. Paul were joined in their Death: For this Reason we have thought fit not to separate them in their Lives. And besides, though St. Paul was not one of the twelve Apostles, yet he was called in so extraordinary a Manner, by the immediate Voice of Christ from Heaven, and did and suffer'd so many Things for his Name, that, as he says of himself, *he was not behind the very chiefest Apostle*, and therefore is justly entitled to hold this Rank in the Order of the Apostolick Lives.

for they taught, *That it was a Parent's Duty to circumcise, redeem, and marry his Son; and to instruct him in the Law, and in some honest Trade.* And they added, *that he that did not teach his Son a Trade, made him a Thief.* The Tents which *Saul* made, were for the Use of Soldiers and Mariners, and consisted of Skins sewed together.

Saul having had so good an Education in the Jewish Learning, and being naturally of a very hot Temper, became a great Zealot for the Law of *Moses*, and the Traditions of the Elders, which his Masters had told him was Zeal for God. This made him impatient of all Opposition to the Doctrines and Tenets he had imbibed, and a vehement Blasphemer and Persecutor of the Christians, who were commonly reputed the Enemies and Destroyers of the *Mosaick* Oeconomy. We must not, however, lay all the Pride and Hypocrisy of the *Pharisees* to the Charge of *St. Paul*; since we find him declaring, that he had ever been careful to act according to the Persuasion of his his Conscience, by which he thought himself bound to do many Things contrary to the Name of *Jesus of Nazareth*. 'Twas only the Prejudices of his Education, and the natural Warmth of Temper, that excited him to those violent Persecutions of the Christians for which he was famous. The first Engagement he had with them, in the Defence of his present Sentiments, was among his Countrymen of the *Cilician* Synagogue, in the Disputation they had with *Stephen* about the *Messiah*. That holy Deacon was too hard for them in the Dispute; but they were too powerful for him in their civil Interests: For being enraged at him for his convincing Arguments, they convened him before the High-Priest, and by false Accusations had him condemned to Death. How far *Saul* was concern'd in this cruel Action, it doth not appear;

only thus much is evident from his own Confession, *That he was an Abettor in his Martyrdom*; for he stood by, consented to his Death, and kept the Raiment of them that slew him.

After the Death of *Stephen*, the Persecution grew more violent against the Church at *Jerusalem*. In this Persecution *Paul* was one of the most active and zealous Instruments. His false Zeal, as himself owns, transported him even to Fury and Madness; making him join unspeakable Cruelty to his Ignorance and Infidelity: For he made Havock of the Church, entering in every House where he had any Suspicion that any, who professed Christianity, either dwelt or concealed themselves, and dragging them out by Force, whether Men or Women, committed them to Prison, and loaded them with Chains; And when they were put to death, he joyfully gave his Suffrage against them.

But God, who had destined him to be the greatest Pillar of that Church which he made such Havock of, was pleased to give a miraculous Turn to his Proceedings. His Violences against the Christians of one City did not satisfy his false Zeal; but breathing out Threatnings and Slaughter against the Disciples of the Lord in all Places, where his Interest could gain him Admission, he went to the High-Priest *Caiaphas*, and procured of him Letters to the *Jews* of *Damascus*; by which he was not only commissioned to seize and apprehend the Christians there, but the *Jews* were commanded to be assistant to him in discovering and taking them, whether Men or Women, that so they might be carried to *Jerusalem* and punished. Into such Excesses and extravagant Acts was God pleased to suffer this Vessel of Election, whom he had chosen to eternal Life from his Mother's Womb, to run, and so long to continue in them, that he might in him teach us not to condemn

damn as Reprobates, whom we see great Sinners; and to shew us an Example of his Patience in waiting long for the Conversion of Sinners, that none may doubt of their Acceptance to Pardon, after the Commission of enormous Crimes, when so great a Persecutor of the Church, and Murthrer of Stephen, found Mercy, and became so great an Apostle.

Paul being thus armed with a Commission, went full of Fury to Damascus, attended with some Companions in the same Design. In the Way, as he journeyed from Jerusalem to Damascus, in execution of his Order from the Sanhedrim, a refulgent Light, far exceeding the Brightness of the Sun, darted upon him; by which being affrighted, both he and his Companions, with their Horses, immediately fell flat on the Ground. Jesus, who by this Means sought to humble his proud and furious Spirit, and make him willing to hear his Words, seeing him in a great Agony, spake thus to him in the Hebrew Tongue, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* He said not, *Why persecutest thou my Servants, Disciples or Friends?* but *Me, Myself;* because when one Member suffers, all the Members suffer with it; and the Head usually complains of the Hurt done to any of the Members.

Saul, though in great Fear, yet considered that it was a Vision, and replied, *Who art thou, Lord?* To which the Voice answered, *I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest: It is hard for thee to kick against the Pricks.* As if he had said, *All thy Attempts to extirpate the Faith in me, will prove successless, and like kicking against Spikes, will prove thy own Wounding and Torment.* Saul, convinced of his Folly in acting against Jesus, submitted to his Will, and asked him, *Lord, what wilt thou have me do?* Jesus then informed him of the Intent of his Appearance. *But rise,* said he, *and stand upon thy Feet; for I have appeared*

unto thee for this Purpose, to make thee a Minister and a Witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those Things in the which I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the People, and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to open their Eyes, and to turn them from Darkness to Light, and from the Power of Satan unto God; that they might receive Forgiveness of Sins, and Inheritance among them which are sanctified by Faith that is in me. And having so said, referred him for further Instruction and Baptism to the Ministry of Ananias, and for that End commanded him to go into the City. Thus graciously did our Lord at first reveal himself to this sanguinary Persecutor, and in the Midst of this awful and majestic Appearance spoke Words of Peace and Comfort to him. The Company which attended him, heard the Voice, without seeing the Speaker: *Tho' elsewhere 'tis affirm'd, they saw the Light, but heard not the Voice.* Which Places are easily reconciled thus: They heard a confused Sound, but not a distinct, articulate Voice: Or, more probably, being unskilled in the Hebrew Tongue, in which our Lord spoke to St. Paul, they heard the Words indeed, but understood not the Sense and Meaning of them.

But as the plain Words pierced the Ears of our Apostle, so the heavenly Light shone full in his Eyes. After the Vision was past, he rose from the Earth: but opening his Eyes, he could not see, they being dazzled with the Glory of the Light that appeared unto him. Wherefore they led him by the Hand into Damascus, to the House of Judas, where he remained three Days without his Sight, neither eating nor drinking, but spending the Time in Prayer to God for the Sins of his past Life. In the mean while, God by his Holy Spirit appeared to Ananias, in a Vision, to give him Orders to instruct and baptize Saul of Tarsus.

Ananias, tho' a very pious and devout Christian,

Christian, and ready to obey the Divine Will in all Things, was at first afraid to attempt the Work, lest he should throw himself into the Hands of that bloody Persecutor, of whose Cruelties he had already heard from *Jerusalem*, and for which he had a Commission to do the like in that City. He thought his pretended Conversion was but an Art to ensnare the Christians: But *Christ* gave him a Relation of his Appearance to him, and how he had humbled him in his Journey; and though he had been a Persecutor, yet now, being converted, his forward Zeal would be very serviceable to him; for he had made Choice of him to preach his Gospel to the *Gentiles*, and to *Kings*, and to the Children of *Israel*. *Ananias*, satisfied with this Account from the Mouth of Truth, went on the Errand; and coming to *Saul*, who, being by a Vision informed both of his Person and Office, joyfully expected him, delivered his Message to him, saying, *That Jesus, who appeared to him in the Way, had sent him to restore his Sight, and by the Infusion of his Spirit to give him the Knowledge of those heavenly Truths, which he blindly and ignorantly persecuted: That he would receive him by Baptism into the Church, and make him a Member of his Body.* And putting his Hands upon him, there fell from his Eyes thick Films, as if it had been Scales. Immediately upon this, *Saul* received his Sight; and being baptized, conversed with the Christians at *Damascus*: Nor did he only converse with them; but, to the great Wonder and Amazement of the whole Church, preached the Gospel which he once sought to destroy; boldly asserting, *That Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God*; and proving it to the *Jews* with such demonstrative Evidence, that they were confounded, and could not answer him.

St. Paul stayed but few Days at *Damascus* after his Conversion, neither went

he up to *Jerusalem*; but being commanded to go to the *Gentiles*, he retreated into *Arabia Petraea*, that is, into the Country round about *Damascus*, which then was in the Power of *Aretas*, King of the *Arabians*, and Father-in-law to *Herod Antipas*. Here he received a full Revelation of all the Mysteries of Christianity; for he himself testifies, that he conversed not with Flesh and Blood. And having preached here a small Time, he returned again to *Damascus*, setting himself earnestly and studiously to his Ministerial Work, frequenting the Synagogues there, powerfully confuting the *Jewish* Objections against *Jesus Christ*, and converting both *Jews* and *Gentiles*. He was indeed very zealous in his Preaching, and had an extraordinary convincing Force in his Arguings: Which because the *Jews* could not withstand, at length, after two or three Years continuance in those Parts, they made Friends with the Governor of *Damascus*, under *Aretas* the King, to have him put to Death. And for that End, they not only themselves kept a continual Watch to apprehend him, and searched all the Houses where they supposed he might be, but obtained a Guard of the Governor to observe the Gates, that he might by no Ways escape. But his Christian Brethren, having Notice of their Design, were as careful to preserve him, as his Enemies were to destroy him. And, as an Instance of their Care, finding no other Means to send him safe away, they let him down from one of their Houses, through a Window, in a Basket, over the Wall, and so he escaped: Shewing us hereby, *That 'tis not unlawful to make an Escape from Persecutors, and save our Lives, where the Glory of God doth not call immediately for the contrary, and the Good of the Church may require our Preservation.*

SECT.

Saul's Conversion.

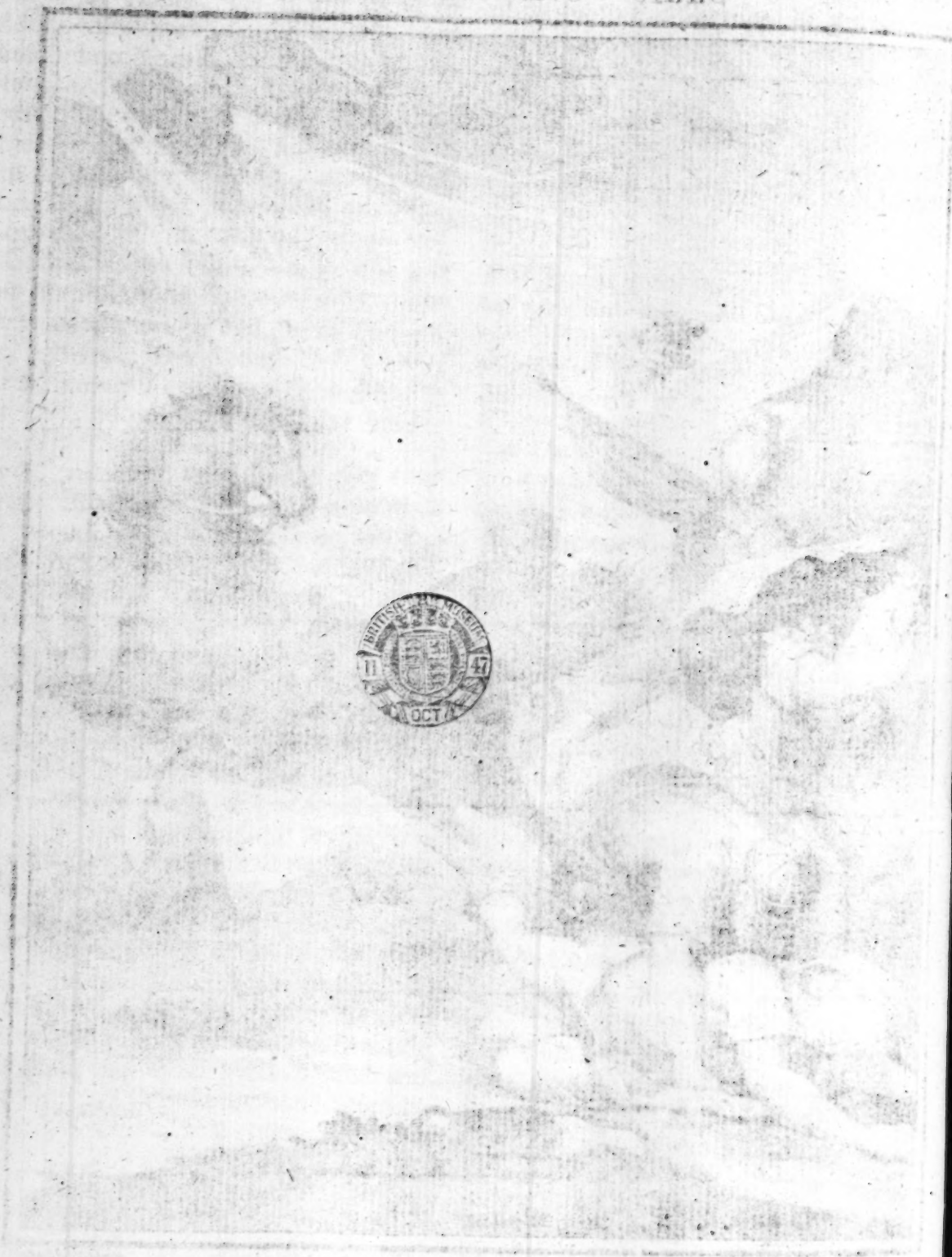


ACTS 9. Verse 3.4.5.

Islett Sculp

*And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him,
Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou ME? And he said who art thou LORD.*

1801 (1800) June



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S E C T. II.

St. Paul goes to Jerusalem to see St. Peter. Preaches in Syria and Cilicia. Fetch'd by Barnabas to preach at Antioch. Smites Elymas the Sorcerer with Blindness.

ST. Paul, having gotten off the Danger he was in at *Damascus*, went up to *Jerusalem*, to see *Peter* and the Church there. *Peter* was then newly returned from confirming the People of *Samaria*, who were converted by *Philip*. When *Paul* was arrived at *Jerusalem*, he sought the Company and Fellowship of the Christians of that City: But they, knowing how furious an Enemy he had been to them, could not believe that he was converted, but being afraid of some close Design against them, avoided his Company. *Barnabas*, either being more bold than others, or else having had some better Information than others, took him, and brought him to *Peter* and *James*, and told them both the Manner of his Conversion and the Effects of it; That *Jesus* had shewed himself to him in his Journey to *Damascus*, and miraculously brought him over to the Obedience of the Gospel; and that he had at *Damascus* preached *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, with Confidence and Zeal. The Church being thus informed of the Sincerity of his Conversion, admitted him to an intimate Communion with them; and he remained in a familiar Converse with the Apostles and Disciples fifteen Days at *Jerusalem*. In this City, during these fifteen Days, he was very active to preach the Gospel, and endeavoured by his Disputations to convert the *Hellenist-Jews*; but they, after their usual Manner, fell to Violence, and sought to kill him; which when the Disciples perceived, they conducted him down to *Cæsarea*, and so sent him by Sea to *Tarsus*, which was his own native City.

NO. LXXXV.

Being arrived at *Tarsus*, he kept on his Course of preaching to his own Country-men; and going into the neighbouring Countries, instructed the Regions of *Syria* and *Cilicia* in the Knowledge of *Christ* and his Gospel; where finding great Success, he continued three Years.

While *Paul* was thus busied at a distance, the Apostles at *Jerusalem* heard that some Christians, *Cyprians* and *Cyrenians*, who had been driven from *Jerusalem* by the late Persecution, which happened about *Stephen*, were come to *Antioch*, *Phenice*, and *Cyprus*, preaching the Gospel as they travelled, tho' to none but the *Jews*. At *Antioch* they met with more than usual Success; God so blessing their preaching, that a great Multitude believed, and turned unto the Lord. As soon as this News came to the Ears of the Apostles, they judged it convenient to send down *Barnabas* thither, to instruct them more fully, to confirm them in the Truth, and to settle a Church among them. When *Barnabas* was come, he much rejoiced to see the Progress which the Gospel had already made among the *Antiochians*; and perceiving that, by the Help of some able Assistant, he might complete the Conversion of that City, he went to *Tarsus* to seek *Paul*, with whom he had contracted a most intimate Friendship, and whom he knew to be a most powerful Preacher: And having found him, he brought him down to *Antioch*, where they both unanimously and diligently spent their Time in teaching and instructing all that would come to hear them, for the space of a whole Year; God so blessing their Labours, that Infidelity was almost perfectly banished out of the City. And here it was that the Disciples were first called Christians; for before they were called *Nazarenes*: But this new Appellation soon prevailed all over the World, and put the other almost out of Use.

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While *Paul* and *Barnabas* remained at *Antioch*, there came down several Prophets from *Jerusalem* thither; of whom one, named *Agabus*, foretold by the Spirit, That there should be a great Famine in all the World, the next Year; which accordingly came to pass, and particularly raged in *Judea*. *Claudius Cesar* then reigned. When the Christians of *Antioch* heard of the Miseries of their Brethren in *Judea*, they resolved to send them Relief, and make a charitable Collection, according to the utmost of their Abilities; and entrusted *Barnabas* and *Paul* with the Carriage of it; who having brought it to *Jerusalem*, put it into the Hands of the Bishops and Elders, to be dispos'd of among the Brethren, as to them should seem most agreeable to the Wants and Necessities of the Church.

Paul and *Barnabas* having thus fulfill'd their Ministry, return'd again to *Antioch*, and brought along with them *John*, surnamed *Mark*, the Kinsman of *Barnabas*. Not long after their Arrival, while the Church was busied in the Course of Divine Service; such as Prayer, celebrating the Sacraments, Preaching and Fasting; the Holy Ghost, by one of the Prophets of that Church, commanded that *Paul* and *Barnabas* should be set apart for a special Office, in preaching the Word. Whereupon *Simeon*, *Lucius*, and *Manabben*, having solemnly separated them, by Prayer, Fasting, and Imposition of Hands, to the Work for which God had nominated them, dismissed them to that Work. But before they set forth, *Paul* was taken up into the third Heaven, or Paradise; and, that he might be every Way fitted for his Apostolate, was admitted to the Knowledge and Sight of the ineffable Mysteries of Heaven, and the Glories of God, which Man can neither express or comprehend. This was done, doubtless, that he might be equal with the very chiefest Apostles in Knowledge and Re-

velation, and might be encouraged to preach the Gospel boldly among those barbarous Nations, whither he was to go, in hopes of the future Enjoyment of that Glory of which he had so clear a Prospect. But lest he should be exalted by the Abundance of Revelations, and be unfit to compassionate the weak and tempted, God put into his Flesh some sinful and unruly Lusts, thro' the Ministry of *Satan's* Agents, which he calls a *Thorn in the Flesh*; by which he was so humbled and grieved, that he besought God thrice to remove it from him. Nevertheless the Divine Wisdom thought fit to continue it in such Strength all his Life, that had not he given him a great Sufficiency of Grace, and excited him to constant Mortification, he had certainly become a Cast-away. Thus it pleased God to exercise the greatest of his Saints with Temptations, that the tempted may neither despair of his Favour, nor his choicest Servants harden themselves against those who are so tempted.

Paul, being thus prepared for his Apostolate, took his Companion *Barnabas*, and departed to *Seleucia*, a City of *Syria* adjoining to the Sea, from whence they sailed to *Cyprus*, an Isle of the *Mediterranean Sea*. In one of the chief Cities of this Island, *Salamis*, they first began their ministerial Office, and preached the Gospel in the Synagogue of the *Jews*: *John*, who accompanied them thither, attending their Motions, and doing any Offices in the Church, especially about the Poor. Leaving *Salamis*, they went up and down the Island, preaching the Word of God; and at length came to *Paphos*, a large City, situate on the other Side of the Island, and the Seat of the Roman Proconsul. The Proconsul at this Time was *Sergius Paulus*, a very wise and prudent Man, yet very much seduced by the Magical Arts of a Jewish Impostor, one *Barjesus*, otherwise called *Elymas*

Elymas the Sorcerer. While they were in this City, the Governor himself, doubtless having heard of the Miracles and Doctrine of these Apostles, was very desirous to hear them preach, and accordingly sent for them to come before him. But *Elymas the Sorcerer*, unwilling to lose so great an Admirer, opposed his Intent, and sought to divert the Deputy from believing in *Christ*; casting the worst of Calumnies on the Apostles and their Doctrine. When *Paul* perceived this, he was filled with a pious Anger, and zealous Indignation at his Wickedness, and setting his Eyes upon him, said unto him: *O thou subtil and mischievous Wretch, who, like a true Child of the Devil, art busy to promote his Kingdom, and to that End settest thyself against the Preaching of Truth and Righteousness, how darest thou oppose the Dispensation of Heaven and the Ways of God? Thinkest thou that this impudent Fighting against God shall pass without Punishment? No, it shall not; but since thou art such an active Minister of the Prince of Darkness, and standest out so perversely against the Light, thou shalt find thy Fault in thy Punishment, for thou shalt be blind, not seeing the Sun for a Season.* St. Paul had no sooner pronounced these Words, but *Elymas* was smitten with Blindness, and could not go without leading. This Miracle astonished the Governor, that he could not but believe their Doctrine; which brought such Testimonials along with it that it was from God.

Paul, after this successful Victory over the Power of *Satan*, staid a while in *Paphos*, and then left *Cyprus*, with the rest of his Company, and sailed to *Perga* in *Pamphylia*, Country of the *Lesser Asia*. Here they were no sooner arrived, but *John-Mark*, weary of this travelling unsettled Life, bade them adieu, and returned to *Jerusalem*; probably upon the News that *Herod* was dead, and that

Peter appeared again in public. *Paul* staid not at *Perga*, nor in the adjoining Towns, but hastened to *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, the Capital City of those Countries; from whence he knew it would be most proper for him to disperse the Knowledge of the Gospel into the neighbouring Regions. Here they began to preach, immediately upon their Arrival; for going into the Synagogue on the next Sabbath, among the other *Jews*, and there being invited by the Rulers of the Synagogue to make a Descant upon the Lessons out of the Law and Prophets just before read to the Assembly, according to the Custom, *Paul* took that Opportunity to declare to the *Jews* of that Place; *That the Messiah was come, and that Jesus was he.*

From thence they went to *Iconium*, the Metropolis of *Lycaonia*, another Province of the *Lesser Asia*, where they again entered into the Synagogues of the *Jews*, notwithstanding the ill Treatment they had met with from the *Jews* in all other Places; for so great was their Zeal for the Gospel, that no ill Usage could deter them from preaching it. Wherefore they, according to their usual Course, began their Preaching there; and God so blessed their Word, that many, both *Jews* and Profelytes, believed. Their Success encouraged them to continue a long Time in this City, to instruct the Converts, by teaching them more fully, and to confirm them by Miracles. But though they had gained a considerable Part of the City to the Faith, yet there remained many in Unbelief: The old Leaven of Jewish Malice began to ferment again, and the unbelieving *Jews*, having stirred up the *Gentiles* against the Apostles, and by Calumnies made them ill-affected to the Christians, at last proceeded to take them and stone them, being armed with the Authority of the Magistrates of the City. The Apostles had Warning of their Design; wherefore

fore they got away, and fled into the next Cities of the same Country, *Lystra* and *Derbe*; and there abiding, preached the Gospel to the Inhabitants, and to the People of the adjoining Towns.

At *Lystra*, among the Converts which *St. Paul's* preaching brought over to the Faith, there was a certain Man who was lame from his Mother's Womb, and had never walked. *Paul* perceiving it, and that he had Faith to be saved, thought fit to add the Cure of his Body to that of his Soul, knowing that it would be not only beneficial to him, but to all the rest, in confirming their Faith. Wherefore, that the Miracle might be more conspicuous, he said to him in a loud Voice, in the Midst of them all, *Stand upright on thy Feet*: And immediately his Strength was restored, and he leaped and walked. This Miracle amazed all the *Lystrians*, who being sensible that such Works could be done only by a divine Power, cried out in the Speech of *Lycaonia*, *The Gods are come down to us in the Likeness of Men*. And presently, after their superstitious Manner, they called *Barnabas*, *Jupiter*, on Account of his venerable Gravity, and *Paul*, *Mercurius*, because he was the chief Speaker, as *Mercury* is fabled by the Poets to be the Interpreter of the Gods, and the usual Attendant upon *Jupiter*. The Fame of this being spread over the City, almost all the Inhabitants came together, and proceeded to sacrifice to the Apostles; and for this End the Priests of *Jupiter* brought Oxen dressed up with Garlands, after the *Gentile* Manner, to the Place where they were. But as soon as the Apostles, *Barnabas* and *Saul*, heard of it, they were much disturbed at the superstitious Attempt; and rending their Clothes in Sign of their Grief for, and Abhorrence of, the Fact, ran to them, and told them, *That they were mistaken in the Object of their Worship; for tho' they*

did many Miracles in the Name, and by the Power of Christ, yet they were no more than Men, of like Passions with themselves. By these Arguments did they at length keep them from their intended Idolatry, tho' with much Difficulty.

But notwithstanding this Veneration of the Apostles, so changeable are Mens Minds, that the *Lystrians*, by the Persuasion of certain *Jews* who came down from *Jerusalem*, turned their Enemies; and having stoned them, drew them out of the City, supposing they had been dead, as indeed *St. Paul* was in all Appearance. Thus did God bring that Shower of Stones, which *Paul* poured out upon *Stephen*, upon his own Head, though not with so fatal Consequence: For as the Disciples were attending upon his Corpse, probably in order to carry him to his Grave, he arose and returned into the City with them; But because he would not provoke his Persecutors, he departed the next Day, in Company with *Barnabas*, to *Derbe*; where they taught the People, and converted many, no Danger being able to fright them from their Work. After this, they returned again to *Lystra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch* in *Isidria*, to confirm the Souls of the Disciples, and encourage them to persevere in the Faith, notwithstanding the Discouragements they might meet with; or he assured them, that all Christians must expect, through much Tribulation, to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. This being done, he ordained them Elders in every Church, to teach and instruct them; and then left them to the Protection of God, to whose Care they recommended him by Fasting and Prayer. And passing through *Pisidia*, they came to *Pamphylia*, where having preached a little while at *Perga*, a City of that Province, they went to *Attalia*, a Sea-Port Town, and the Metropolis of the Country. And thus having gone through a large Course

of Ministry, they returned from thence to *Antioch* in *Syria* by Sea. Here they summoned the Church together, and gave them an Account of their Work, and the Success of it among the *Gentiles*: And they continued here a long Time. This was about three Years after their first setting out, when they were, by the divine Commission, set apart to this Work of converting the *Gentiles*.

SECTION III.

St. Paul confers with the Apostles at Jerusalem about his own Doctrine and Practice. Parts with Barnabas in Anger, and chuses Silas for his Companion. Invited to Macedonia by a Vision. Preaches at Philippi. Converts Lydia, and casts out a Devil from a young Woman. Imprisoned. Converts the Goaler, and is delivered from Prison.

ST. Paul, in his Voyage to *Jerusalem*, took Opportunity to confer privately with the Apostles, and most eminent Pillars of that Church, in the Presence of *Barnabas* and *Titus*, about some difficult Points of the Christian Doctrine and Apostolical Office, and to give them an Account of his Teaching: But both his Doctrine and Practice were upon Examination found so pure and blameless in every particular, that they saw no Reason either to add any Thing to it, or take any Thing from it: Wherefore, after they saw that it was the same Spirit that inspired him, which inspired them, they received him into their Fellowship.

Paul carried *Titus* with him to *Jerusalem* at this Time: And because *Titus* was known to be a *Greek*, and a *Gentile* born, the Apostle was much importuned to have him circumcised. But *Paul*, though he was willing at all Times to abridge himself of his Christian Liberty to please

others to their Edification, and though he knew it to be a thing indifferent, and did afterwards yield to have *Timothy*, a Person of like Condition, circumcised; yet would by no Means consent to it in the present Case, when the *Jews* requir'd him to do it as of Necessity, and sought thereby to enslave those whom *Christ* had made free, and to entangle them again in the same Yoke of Bondage. Nor did the Apostles endeavour to oblige him to it, knowing of what ill Consequence such Practices might be to the Church.

When these Things were over, *Paul* and *Barnabas*, who had been deputed from the *Antiochians* to the fore-mentioned Council, returned back to them with that decretal Epistle before recited; which being read amongst them, gave them Abundance of Comfort and Satisfaction. *Paul* and *Barnabas* having remained some Time at *Antioch*, after the Council at *Jerusalem*, teaching and preaching the Word of God; *Paul*, who had daily on him the Care of all the *Gentile* Churches, propounded to *Barnabas* to go and visit the Cities which they had converted, and confirm and strengthen them in the Truths they had received. *Barnabas* freely consented to such a pious Proposal, but was very earnest to take along with them his Kinsman *John-Mark*. *Paul* was against his Desire, because he had before found *Mark* unfit for that Work, having in a somewhat unaccountable Manner, either through Fear or Unfoundness of Faith, left them about five Years before at *Perga* in *Pamphylia*, *Barnabas*, whose natural Love to his Sister's Son made him over-see former Faults, and hope better of him for the future, was angry at this Refusal and Rejection of him; and so there began a Contest about it. They were both resolute in their Judgment; and, though very good Men, yet were so inflexible in their Passions, that the Matter caused a Rupture

Rupture and Separation between them. So liable are the best of Men to human Passions and Infirmities; which the all-wise God often improves to his own Glory, and the Good of the Church, as he did in the present Case. *Barnabas* took *Mark*, and sailed to *Cyprus*; and *Paul* chose *Silas*, or *Silvanus*, a Person of eminent Abilities, who had been with him at the late Synod, and attended him back to *Antioch*, to assist him in the Visitation of the Churches. Accompany'd with this Man, he went on his intended Voyage, being recommended by the Prayers of the Faithful to the Protection and Favour of God. He first visited the Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and confirmed them in the Faith by his Instructions and Exhortations. From hence *Dr. Cave* thinks he sailed into *Crete*, and having founded a Church there, left *Titus* to settle it, and ordained him the first Bishop of it. From *Crete* he went to *Derbe* and *Lystra*, Cities of *Lycaonia*, where he had made some Converts three Years before. Here he met with *Timothy*, a Christian himself, and born of Christian Parents: He was but young, but very eminent for his Wisdom, Piety, and good Sense; but that which drew *Paul's* Affection the most strongly to him, was his being particularly well skilled in the Holy Scriptures, which had been diligently taught him from his Childhood. From this Circumstance, the Apostle, knowing him a Person who might do much Service to the Gospel, determined to take him for his Companion. *Timothy's* Father was a *Gentile* born, tho' his Mother was a *Jewess*; which was the Occasion that the young Man had not been circumcis'd in his Infancy. Now, tho' *Paul* much opposed the Necessity of legal Rights, and would not suffer *Titus* to be circumcis'd, yet in this Case he thought it the prudentest Course to become a *Jew*, that he might gain the

Jews; and therefore circumcised *Timothy*, that his Preaching might be more acceptable in the Places where he went, where the Christians were most of them *Jews*.

From *Lycaonia* *Paul* passed through *Phrygia* and *Galatia*, and going through *Mysia* came down to *Troas*. He had a Desire in his Journey to have preached the Word of God in the Province of *Asia*, properly so called (otherwise denominated *Ionia*) and in *Bithynia*; but by a special Revelation of God's Spirit he was forbidden it. While he remained at *Troas*, preaching the Gospel, a Vision appeared to him in the Night: A *Macedonian* seemed to stand before him, intreating him to come into his Country and help them. From whence the Apostle gathered, that it was the Will of God that he should go into *Macedonia* to preach the Gospel; and, accordingly prepared to pass out of *Asia* into *Europe*. The Historian *St. Luke* beginning in this Place to use the Term, *We Immediately we endeavoured to go into Macedonia*; most Interpreters think he became, from this Time, *Paul's* inseparable Companion, having been converted by him at *Antioch*, and now attending upon him in the Ministry of the Word. But Bishop *Pearson* will have him to have been *St. Paul's* Disciple at *Antioch*, eight Years before.

St. Paul being thus invited into *Macedonia*, was diligent to find out the speediest Passage thither. Accompany'd therefore with *Silas*, *Luke*, and *Timothy*, he took Ship and came to *Samothracia*, an Isle of the *Aegean Sea*, not far from *Thrace*; and the next Day to *Neapolis*, a Port of *Macedonia*. From *Neapolis* they went to *Philippi*, the Metropolis of that Part of *Macedonia*, and a Roman Colony; where they staid some Days. In this City, *Paul*, according to his Custom, preached in a *Proseucha*, or Oratory

the *Jews*, which stood by a River's Side at some Distance from the City, and was much frequented by the devouter Women of their Religion, who met there to pray, and to hear the Law. To these St. Paul preached the Word of God, and, by the Influence of God's Spirit, converted, among others, a certain Woman named *Lydia*, a *Jewish* Profelyte, and a Seller of Purple in that City, tho' born at *Thyatira*: Who, being baptiz'd, with all her Family, was so importunate with St. Paul and his Companions to abide at her House, if they judged her sincere in her Conversion, that they could not deny her, but were constrained to accept of her Entertainment.

So long as they continued in this City, they kept on their daily Course of Worshipping at the same Oratory. And, after several Days, as they were going to the same Place of Devotion, there met them a Damsel who had a prophetic Spirit, by whom her Masters got great Advantage. This Woman followed Paul, and them that were with him, crying, *These Men are the Servants of the most High God, which shew unto us the Way of Salvation.* Paul took no Notice of her at first, not being willing to multiply Miracles without Necessity: But when he saw her following them several Days together, he began to be troubled at it, and, in Imitation of our Saviour, who would not suffer the Devil to confess him lest his false and lying Tongue should prejudice the Truth in Mens Minds, commanded the Spirit, *in the Name of Jesus*, to come out of her: The Devil, tho' unwillingly, obeyed, and went out of her at that very instant.

This miraculous Cure proving to the Loss of her Masters, who got so much Gain by her Sooth-saying, brought their Odium and Anger upon the Apostle and his Assistants. By their Instigation, the Multitude arose, and seizing upon Paul

and his Companions, hurried them before the Magistrates, and Governor of the Colony; accusing them of introducing many Innovations, which were prejudicial to the State, and unlawful for them to comply with, being *Romans*. The Magistrates, being concerned for the Tranquility of the State, and jealous of all Disturbances, were very forward to punish the Offenders, against whom the whole Multitude testified; and therefore commanded the Officers to tear off their Clothes, and scourge them as seditious Persons. Then committing them to close Custody, they gave the Goaler more than ordinary Charge to keep them safely; who thereupon thrust them into the inner Prison, and put them into the Stocks. But it was not the most inmost obscurest Hole in the Prison, nor the most silent and melancholy Time of the Night, that could intercept the Beams of divine Joy and Comfort from shining into the Souls of these pious Men. They were all Brightness and Serenity within, and at Midnight prayed and sung praises to God, so that they were heard all over the Prison. And the Effects of their Prayers were quickly seen and felt there. An Earthquake shook the Foundations, and opened the Doors; loosed the Chains, and set the Prisoners at Liberty. The Goaler roused out of his Sleep by this Commotion, and concluding from what he saw, that he had lost all his Prisoners, and consequently must answer for them, was about to dispatch himself with his own Sword, which Paul observing, hastily cried out to him, *Do thyself no Harm, for we are all here.* The Man was as much surprized at the Goodness of the Apostles, as he was at the Greatness of those Things, which God, he doubted not, had wrought for their Sakes: And immediately he came to them, with a Light in his Hand, fell down at their Feet, brought them out of the Dungeon

to his own House, washed their Stripes, and begged of them to instruct him in the Knowledge of that God who was so mighty to save.

St. Paul, not resenting the Severity he had shewed to them, but glad to see the Power of God, in working so great a Change in so rough a Temper, replied, *That if he believed in Jesus Christ, he might be saved, and all his House.* The Goaler, after a competent Instruction, received the Faith, and was baptized immediately, together with his whole Family; and as a Testimony of his Sorrow for the Severity used against them, entertained them in his House with much Kindness and Civility.

But as soon as it was Day, the Magistrates, either hearing what had happen'd, or reflecting on what they had done, as too harsh and unjustifiable, sent their Serjeants to the Goaler, to order him to discharge the Apostles. The Goaler, with seeming Joy, delivered the Message, and had them depart in Peace; but Paul, that he might make the Magistrates sensible what Injury they had done them, and how unjustly they had punished them without Examination or Trial; and also to let them know, that he did not take this Discharge as a Favour; sent them Word, *That for as much as they had scourged and imprisoned them contrary to the Laws of the Romans, whose Subjects they were, he expected they should come themselves, and make them some Satisfaction.*

The Magistrates, considering of what dangerous Consequence it was to provoke the formidable Power of the Romans, came very submissively, and craved their Pardon, and that they might part without further Disturbance: Which small Recompence these good Men accepted of, and retired to the House of Lydia; where they comforted their Brethren with the Account of their Deliverance, and then

parted; having laid the Foundation of a very eminent Church, as appears from St. Paul's Epistle to the *Philippians*.

Paul and his Company, having left *Philippi*, travelled Westward through *Amphipolis*, and *Apollonia*, and came to *Thessalonica*, the Metropolis of all *Macedonia*, about one hundred and twenty Miles from *Philippi*: At *Thessalonica*, as soon as they were arrived, Paul, according to his Custom, went into the Synagogue of the *Jews*, and preached to them; his ungrateful Entertainment in other Places, not discouraging him from going on in so glorious a Work. His Doctrine was much opposed by the *Jews*, who were prejudiced against *Jesus* the Messiah, because of his ignominious Death.

While the Apostles continued in *Thessalonica*, they lodged in the House of a certain Christian, named *Jason*; a very considerable Man, who entertained them courteously: Which the *Jews* of this City, who, not believing themselves, envied the Prosperity of the Gospel, being sensible of, gathered a Number of lewd and wicked *Ruffians*, and beset the House of *Jason*; intending to take Paul and his Companions, and expose them to the Fury of the prophane and incensed Rabble. But they were disappointed in their Attempt; Paul and *Silas* being removed from thence by the Christians, and concealed in some other Place: Wherefore they seized upon *Jason*, and some other of the Brethren, and carried them before the Magistrates of the City, accusing them, as they had done the Apostles themselves at *Philippi*, of disturbing the Peace of the Empire, and setting up *Jesus* as a King, in Derogation to the Emperor's Dignity and Authority. This Accusation moved both People and Magistrates against them; and though *Jason* was only accused as one who harboured these Innovators, yet the Magistrates would not

dismiss

dismiss him and his Companions, without obliging them first to give Security.

As soon as the Tumult was over, the *Thessalonians*, who had been converted by them, sent away *Paul* and *Silas* by Night to *Berea*, a City about fifty Miles South of *Thessalonica*, but out of the Power of their Enemies. Here also his Love to his Countrymen the *Jews*, and his Desire of their Salvation, incited *Paul* to preach to them in particular; and for that End he went into their Synagogue, and explained the Gospel to them; proving the Truth of what he said from the Scriptures of the Old Testament, which were acknowledged by them to be infallibly true. These *Jews* were of a more ingenious and candid Temper than those of *Thessalonica*; and as they heard him with great Reverence and Attention expound and apply the Scriptures, so they enquired and searched diligently, whether his Proofs were proper and pertinent, and consonant to the Sense of the Texts he referred to: Which when they found, many of them believed, and by their Example brought over many *Geniiles* to the Faith; among whom were several Women of Quality. The News of this good Success was carried to *Thessalonica*, and much incensed the inveterate Enemies of the Gospel there; who repair'd to *Berea*, and rais'd Tumults against the Apostles, so that *Paul*, to avoid their Fury, was forced to leave the Town: But *Silas* and *Timotheus*, either not so well known, or not so much envied, continued there still. At this Time *Sosipater* was converted by *St. Paul*.

Paul leaving *Berea* under the Conduct of certain Guides, it was given out, that he intended to take Sea and depart out of *Greece*, that his Persecutors might not follow him; but the Guides, according to *Paul's* Order, brought him to *Athens*, and left him there, having received a Message from him to *Silas* and *Timotheus*,
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That they should come to him with all Speed. *Athens* was anciently the most famous Academy of all *Greece*, and yielded very learned and illustrious Philosophers: And at this Time it had not so far degenerated, but that it was accounted a Place well stored with learned and wise Men. The Inhabitants of it were very religious and devout, for the wisest Men are generally the most pious: They had a great Number of Gods, whom they adored. False indeed they were; but yet such as they, in the Want of Revelation, accounted true: And so careful were they that no Deity should want due Honour from them, that they had an Altar, inscribed, *TO THE UNKNOWN GOD*. Divers Reasons are given for this Inscription; and some affirm, That it was the Name which the *Pagans* generally gave to the God of the *Jews*. Others are of Opinion, That it included all the Gods of *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Africa*; besides the *Unknown God*. While *Paul* remained at *Athens*, he could not but take Notice of their Idolatry; and it much grieved him to see so much Zeal and Devotion misplaced; which if he could but settle upon its proper Object, he thought it would be an eminent Piece of Service to God.

Wherefore he laboured all he could for their Conversion; and not only on the Sabbath-Days disputed with the *Jews* and Profelytes in the Synagogues, but took all Opportunities, where-ever he met with a convenient Auditory, to instruct the *Athenians* in the coming of the Messiah to save the World: And this he often met with in the Market-Place, whither the *Athenians* daily came to hear and tell the News, which was almost all the Business of their Lives. His Doctrine was new, and strange to the *Athenians*; and tho' they did not persecute him as the *Jews* did, yet his preaching of *Jesus* was entertained by the Philosophers of the *Epicurean* and *Stoic* Sects, as a fabulous Legend,

Legend, and by those that had the more
ober Thoughts of it, as a Discovery of
some new Gods, which they had not yet
gotten among all their Croud; which
tho' they were not unwilling to receive,
yet because the *Areopagus*, the supreme
Court of the City, was to judge of all
Gods to whom publick Worship might
be allow'd, they brought him before
those Judges, to give an Account of his
Doctrine.

Paul being set before the Judges of this
High Assembly, readily gave them an
Account of his Doctrine in a grave and
eloquent Speech: Wherein he did not
tell them that they were horrible and
gross Idolaters, lest that should offend
them; but having commended them for
their religious Disposition, he took Occa-
sion from the Altar dedicated to the Un-
known God, to make an handsome De-
fence of his Doctrine; telling them,
*That he endeavoured only to explain that
Altar to them, and manifest the Nature of
that God whom they ignorantly worshipped;
which is the God that made the World,
and all Things therein; and who being
Lord of all, dwells not in Temples made
with Hands, nor is to be worshipped in
lifeless Idols: That being the Creator of
all Things, he could not be confin'd to Man's
Workmanship, whether Temples or Statues;
nor stands in need of Sacrifices, since he is
the Fountain of Life to all Things. That
from one common Original he had made the
whole Race of Mankind, and had wisely de-
termin'd their Dependance on him, that they
might be obliged to seek after him and
serve him. A Truth perceivable in the
darkest State of Ignorance, and acknow-
ledged by one of their own Poets. This be-
ing the Nature of God, it was highly ab-
surd to render him to his Creatures, by an
Image or Similitude which we can conceive.
That the Divine Patience had been too
much exercised already with such gross A-
buses in Religion; but now God expected a*

*thorough Reformation of them, in that he
had sent his Son Jesus Christ to make him
known to the World, and also had appointed
a Day of general Judgment, wherein Mens
Religion shall be try'd by the Test of the
Gospel, before his Son Jesus, whom he hath
declared Judge in this Case; and ratified
his Commission to that Office, by raising him
from the Dead. No sooner had he men-
tion'd the Resurrection, but some of the
Philosophers mocked and derided him;
others, more modest, yet not satisfied
with the Proofs he had given, gravely
answer'd, They would hear him again upon
the same Subject. And so *Paul* departed
from the Court. Yet not without some
Success; for a few of his Auditors believ-
ed, and attended his Instructions; among
whom were *Dionysius*, one of the Sena-
tors and Judges of the Court; and *Da-
maris*, whom some think to have been his
Wife. It is generally believ'd, that *Di-
onysius* was afterwards constituted by St.
Paul the first Bishop of *Athens*.*

While *Paul* continued at *Athens*, *Ti-
motby*, according to his Order, came to
him out of *Macedonia*. *Silas* did not re-
turn along with him, as it seems; being
detained in *Macedonia* either by Sicknels
or Business. *Timothy*, at his Arrival,
brought him an Account, That the Chri-
stians of *Thessalonica* were under Persecu-
tion from their Fellow-Citizens, ever
since his Departure: At which *Paul* was so
much concerned, that he had some De-
sign to go to them again himself, and by
his Presence to confirm them in the Faith;
but being hindered by the Malice of the
Enemies of the Gospel, he sent *Timothy* to
them, to supply his Absence, and esta-
blish and comfort them in the Faith; that
none of them might be deterred, or dis-
couraged by Persecutions, which he had
before told them should be the constant
Attendants of their Profession. *Timothy*
had not long left *Paul*, before that Apo-
stle went from *Athens* to *Corinth*, a Place
of

of great Trade, and populous, where he lodged in the House of one *Aquila*, a Jew.

While *Paul* lodged in the House of this *Aquila*, because he saw it would be an Hindrance to the Progress of the Gospel among the *Corinthians*, to receive Maintenance from them, he wrought with *Aquila* at his Trade, which was the same which he had himself learn'd, namely, Tent-making. *Aquila* was a converted Jew, born in *Pontus*, but had his settled Habitation at *Rome*, till *Claudius*, by his Edict, banished all the Jews for their Turbulency from thence, upon which Occasion he and his Wife *Priscilla* came to *Corinth*. On the Sabbath-Days the Apostle taught here in the Jewish Synagogue, and by his convincing Arguments brought the Jews and Greeks to the Faith; thus laying the Foundations of a Church in this City.

During *St. Paul's* Stay at *Corinth*, *Nativus* the Brother of *Seneca*, called *Gallio*, because he was adopted by *Gallio* a Roman, was, by the Interest of his Brother, made Proconsul of *Achaia*. He was a Person of excellent Virtues, and great Probity. The Jews, for this Reason, thought him a fit Judge of their Quarrel against *Paul*; and therefore having seized upon the Apostle, they carried him before *Gallio's* Tribunal, and accused him of introducing a new Way of worshipping God, contrary to the Law. *Paul* was about to have made his Defence, but *Gallio* prevented both him and his Accusers, by telling the latter, that if they had laid any Thing of Wrong or Injustice to his Charge, he would have given them the Hearing; it being his Business, as a civil Judge, to take Cognizance of Matters of Right and Wrong; but since it was nothing but a Controversy of Words and Names, and Matters that concerned their Religion, he would not meddle with it; and so dismissed the Cause; and when the Jews

continued to be clamorous, he commanded his Officers to drive them out of the Court. Whereupon some of the Townsmen seiz'd upon *Sosthenes*, one of the Rulers of the Synagogue, who had been a forward Man in this troublesome Business, and beat him before the very Seat of Judicature, the Proconsul not at all concerning himself about the Matter, or rather conniving at it. Thus did the Apostle's Enemies in vain attempt his Ruin: God having warranted his Security, begun now to verify it in Fact, That no Man should be able to hurt him.

After this Tumult was over, *Paul* staid a considerable Time at *Corinth*. At eighteen Months End he took his Leave of the Church, and embarking at *Cenchrea*, sailed into *Syria*, with a Purpose to be at *Jerusalem* at the following Passover. Being arrived at *Jerusalem*, he saluted the Apostles and Elders of that Church, and staid and celebrated the Feast with them: After which he went down to *Antioch*, where he spent some Time, and then travell'd over *Galatia* and *Phrygia*, strengthening and confirming the Disciples there.

SECT. IV.

Apollos teaches at *Ephesus*. *Paul* returns to *Ephesus*, and baptizes twelve Disciples, who had received only *John's* Baptism. *Demetrius* and the Craftsmen raise a Tumult about *St. Paul's* Doctrine, which is appeased by the Town-Clerk. *Paul* goes from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia*: Goes to *Miletus*. Premonish'd of his sufferings at *Jerusalem*, but could not be kept from going thither. Arrives at *Jerusalem*, is joyfully received, and conforms to the Jewish Rites.

HAVING visited the Church at *Jerusalem*, and kept the Feast,

we took Notice that Paul went down to Antioch in Syria, and after some little Stay there, passed thro' the Provinces of Galatia and Phrygia, confirming the new Converts. In this Journey it was, that he enjoined the Galatians to make Contributions to the Poor every Lord's Day. While he was making this large Circuit, Providence took Care of the Churches of Ephesus and Corinth by the Means of one Apollos, an eloquent Jew of Alexandria, and, exquisitely well skill'd in the Law and the Prophets: Who coming to Ephesus, tho' he was only instructed in the Rudiments of Christianity, and John's Baptism, yet he taught with great Courage and a most powerful Zeal. Having been fully instructed in the Faith of Christ by Aquila and Priscilla, he pass'd over into Achaia, being furnished with Commendatory Letters from the Church of Ephesus to that of Corinth. In this last Place he prov'd highly serviceable, watering what Paul had planted, confirming the Disciples, and powerfully convincing the Jews that Jesus was the true and only Messiah promised in the Holy Scriptures.

While Apollos was thus happily employ'd, Paul having pass'd thro' the Upper Coasts, that is, the Parts of Asia farthest distant from the Sea, as far as Cappadocia, return'd again to Ephesus, where he settled his Abode for three Years. He brought along with him Gaius of Derbe, Aristarchus a Thessalonian, Timotheus, and Erastus, Corinthians, and Titus. The first Thing he did here, was to examine certain Disciples, *Whether since their Conversion they had receiv'd the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghost?* They gave him to understand, *That the Doctrine which they had receiv'd, had nothing in it of that Nature; nor had they ever heard that any such extraordinary Spirit had of late been bestow'd upon the Church.* He demanded farther, *In what Name they had been baptized?* since in the Christian Form of

Baptism, the Name of the Holy Ghost was always express'd. They reply'd, *They had received no more than John's Baptism;* which though it obliged Men to Repentance, yet did it expressly mention nothing of the Holy Ghost, or his Gifts and Powers. Hereupon St. Paul inform'd them, *That though John's Baptism did openly oblige to nothing but Repentance, yet it did implicitly acknowledge the whole Doctrine concerning Christ and the Holy Ghost.* When they heard this, they were baptized according to Christ's own Prescription, in the Name of the Blessed Trinity; and after Imposition of the Apostle's Hands, receiv'd the Gift of Tongues, and other miraculous Powers then common in the Church. The Number of these Disciples were about Twelve.

Before St. Paul left this City of Ephesus, an Accident happened, which brought him into great Trouble and Danger. There was in this Place the famous Temple of Diana, a Structure so magnificent, for Beauty, Riches, and Capaciousness, that it was reckoned one of the Seven Wonders of the World. But that which gave it the greatest Fame and Reputation, was an Image of Diana kept there, and which the idolatrous Priests perswaded the People, was formed by Jupiter, and dropt down from Heaven; for which reason it was had in great Veneration, not only at Ephesus, but in all Asia: Insomuch that People procured silver Shrines or Figures of this Temple, an Image of such a Size as to carry in their Pockets, either for Curiosity, or to stir up their Devotion. This occasioned a great deal of Business for the Ephesian Silversmiths: Of whom one Demetrius was the chief Trader, and Master-workman. This Man plainly perceiving, that Christianity tended to the Subversion of Idolatry, and consequently to the Ruin of their gainful Employment, called all the Shrine-makers together, and pathetically repre-

represented to them, *How certainly they must be reduced to a starving Condition; if they suffered Paul to bring their Temple and Goddess into Contempt, by persuading People as he did, that they were no Gods which were made with Hands.*

This fired them with a Zeal which they could no longer contain, but they cryed out with one Voice, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians.* They ought to have considered, that if Paul was able to destroy their Gods, it would be in vain for them to oppose him; but Interest and Superstition meeting in an heady Crowd, admitted of no Arguings. They were all in a furious Rage and Zeal for the Goddess, and resolved to expose Paul to the Beasts in the Theatre, if they could find him. The whole City was filled with the Tumult; and the Crowd missing of Paul, laid hold of Gaius and Aristarchus, two Macedonians of St. Paul's Company, and hurried them into the Theatre, with an Intent to have cast them to the wild Beasts. Paul, who was at present out of the Tumult, hearing of the Danger of his Brethren, would fain have ventured after them, to have spoke in their Behalf, had he not been dissuaded, not only by the Christians, but by the Gentile Governors of the theatrical Games, who were his Friends, and sent to him to assure him, that he would only endanger himself without rescuing his Companions.

Great was the Noise and Confusion of the Multitude, most of them not knowing what they were about; and therefore some cry'd one thing, some another. In this Distraction Alexander, a Jewish Convert, was singled out by the Multitude, and, by the Instigation of the Jews, went about to make his Defence; in which no doubt he would have laid the Blame upon St. Paul, if he was, as 'tis generally thought, that Alexander the Copper-Smith, of whom the Apostle complains, that he did him much Evil, and greatly withstood

his Words; and whom he deliver'd over to Satan for his Apostasy, for blaspheming Christ, and reproaching Christianity. But the Multitude perceiving him to be a Jew, and therefore suspecting he was one of Paul's Associates, rais'd another Outcry for near two Hours together, wherein nothing could be heard, but *Great is Diana of the Ephesians.* This brought the Town-Clerk, who kept the Register of the Games, to endeavour the Suppression of this Riot; who having obtain'd Silence,

discreetly and calmly told the People, *That the World knew what Devotion the Ephesians paid to the great Goddess Diana, and the Image which fell down from Jupiter; so that it was a needless Piece of Zeal, which they exprest at that Time. That if Demetrius and his Fraternity had any Thing to alledge against them, the Courts were open, and they might bring their Action against them: Or if they were questioned about the Breach of any of their Laws, the Cause ought to be heard in a regular Assembly: That they ought to consider this, and be quiet; having already rendered themselves obnoxious to the Displeasure of their Superiors, if they should call them to an Account for that Day's Tumult.* With this prudent Discourse he appeas'd and dismiss'd the Multitude.

Gaius, Aristarchus, and Alexander, were releas'd without Hurt. Paul's Escape was so narrow, that he speaks of it, as of a miraculous Deliverance. *We had, says he, the Sentence of Death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God who raiseth the Dead, who delivered us from so great a Death.* And elsewhere when he tells us, *He fought with Beasts at Ephesus,* he probably had an Eye, either to the Design the enraged Multitude had to throw him to the wild Beasts in the Theatre, tho' this Design was not executed; or to the Manners of the People, who sufficiently deserved the Character of Savage and Brutal in an high Degree.

Shortly

Shortly after this Disturbance, *Paul* called the Christians together, and took his Leave of them, with the tenderest Expressions of Love and Affections. He had now spent almost three Years at *Ephesus*, and founded a very considerable Church there; over which he ordained *Timothy* Bishop, as several of the Antients testify. He travelled about two hundred Miles Northwards to *Troas*, before he took Shipping, expecting and desiring to meet *Titus* there; but missing of him, he pursued his Voyage into *Macedonia*. Some believe, it was in this Passage, that he preached the Gospel as far as *Illyricum*; Part of *Macedonia* bordering upon that Province. He met with many Troubles and Dangers in this Journey; *without were Fightings, within were Fears*, as he speaks himself. But God, who comforteth those that are cast down, comforted him by the Arrival of *Titus*, who gave him an Account of the good Effects his Epistle had at *Corinth*.

After three Months Stay there he went to *Philippi*; from thence he went to *Troas*, and proceeded to *Assos*, a Sea-port Town, where taking Ship, he sailed to *Mitylene*, a City in the Isle of *Lesbos*. The next Day they sailed thence, and came over against *Chios*; and the Day following arrived at *Samos*, another Island in the *Ægean Sea*, and landed at *Trogylum*, a Promontory of *Ionia*, near *Samos*. The Day following they proceeded to *Miletus*, a famous City upon the Coasts of *Asia*, in the Province of *Caria*, about thirty Miles South of *Ephesus*.

And now *Paul* and his Companions proceed on their Voyage towards *Jerusalem*. From *Miletus* they came with a strait Course to *Coos*, and the next Day to *Rhodes*, two Isles in the *Ægean Sea*. From thence to *Patara*, the Metropolis of *Lycia*, where they went on board another Vessel bound for *Tyre* in *Phanicia*, and arrived there after five Days Sail.

Some of the *Tyridu* Christians, who had the Gift of Prophecy, shew'd *Paul* the Danger of his going up to *Jerusalem*. But this did not hinder him from proceeding on his Journey, after a Week's Stay in this Place. When he parted from *Tyre*, the Christians, with their Wives and Children, accompanied him to the Ship; whom he embraced, and prayed with them on the Shore, as he had done at *Miletus*. From *Tyre* they sail'd a few Leagues to *Ptolemais*, a City of *Phanicia*, near *Galilee*; where only saluting the Brethren, they came the next Day to *Cæsarea*. Here they lodged in the House of *Philip the Evangelist*, one of the seven Deacons, who converted the *Samaritans* and the Eunuch. *Philip* had four Daughters, all Virgins, who had the Gift of Prophecy. During their short Stay in this Place, *Agabus*, the Christian Prophet, came thither from *Judea*; who taking *Paul's* Girdle, bound his own Hands and Feet with it; signifying, that *the Jews would so bind St. Paul, and deliver him to the Gentiles*. Whereupon his own Company, and the Christians of *Cæsarea*, earnestly besought him, that he would not venture himself among them. But the Apostle ask'd them, what they meant by these compassionate Dissuasives, which could only tend to add more Affliction to his Sorrow. For I am ready not to be bound only, said he, but also to die at *Jerusalem*, for the Name of the Lord Jesus. When the Disciples found he was not to be moved from his Resolution, they importun'd him no further, but left the Event to the Divine Will and Pleasure. And so *Paul* and his former Attendants with some others who joined them at this Place, took up their Carriages, and soon arrived at *Jerusalem*, where they were joyfully received by the Christians, and lodged in the House of one *Mnason* a *Cyprian*, said to be one of our Lord's seventy Disciples. This was *St. Paul's* last Journey to *Jerusalem*,

Jerusalem, that we are certain of, and the fifth after his Conversion. His first was A. D. 38, his second in 44, his third in 49, his fourth in 54, this last in 58, about twenty three Years after his Conversion, and nine from the Council of *Jerusalem*.

SECT. V.

Of St. Paul's Travels into Asia, and from thence into Macedonia and Greece, till his fifth Return to Jerusalem.

ST. Paul having passed through Syria, Galatia, and Phrygia, after he set out a fifth Time from Jerusalem, came again to Ephesus in Asia, where he now made a long Stay, as related in the preceding Section. From Ephesus he went into Macedonia, and so into Greece, where he also spent a considerable Time preaching the Gospel round about from Jerusalem to Illyricum.

When St. Paul had gone over those Parts, he came into Greece, a Country renowned throughout the antient World for Learning and Arts, insomuch that they divided Wisdom among themselves, looking upon it as if it belonged only to them, and hence styling all other Nations Barbarians. To this St. Paul alludes, when he saith, *I am a Debtor both to the Greek and to the Barbarian, to the Wise, and to the Unwise.* As to the Signification of the Name or Extent of Greece, it was used by common Writers to denote Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Hella, or Greece properly so called, and the Peloponese, now Morea. But the Romans distinguished all these only into two Provinces, Macedonia and Achaia; under the former of which they comprehended Epirus and Thessaly; under the latter, Greece properly so called, and the Peloponese. Now the Word Greece, as it is

taken in the Old Testament in the largest Sense, so as to include Macedonia; so in the New Testament it is plainly taken exclusively of Macedonia, and as equivalent to Achaia in the Roman Acceptation of it; that is, so as to include not only Greece properly so called, but also the Peloponese, wherein lay Achaia propria, and where the City Corinth stood, which St. Paul is supposed to have visited during his three Months Stay at this Time in Greece.

St. Paul being after this resolved for Syria, and understanding that the Jews had a Design to kill him by the Way, he altered the Course of his Journey, not going the direct Way out of Greece, but returning through Macedonia to Philippi, and sailing thence to Troas; whence after a Week's Stay, he went by Land to Assos, a Sea-port Town at the South-West Part of the Province of Troas, and lying over-against the Isle of Lesbos or Mitylene; which therefore St. Paul touched at next.

For St. Paul taking shipping at Assos, came to Mitylene, one of the principal Cities of the Isle Lesbos, and which in Time became the most considerable, so as to give Name long since to the whole Isle, hence called now-a-days Mitylene. Sailing from Mitylene, St. Paul came the next Day over-against Chios, an Isle also in the Archipelago, next to Lesbos or Mitylene, both in Situation and Bigness; whence also this Island is esteemed by the Turks worthy of a Fort. It's chief Town is of the same Name, and both now-a-days commonly termed Scio. This Isle lies over-against Smyrna, and is reckoned not above four Leagues distant from the Asiatic Continent. Setting Sail from Chios, or Scio, St. Paul arrived, the next Day at Samos, another Isle of the Archipelago, on the South-East of Chios, and about five Miles from the Asiatic Continent, from thence to Miletus, a Port Town on the

the *Asiatic* Continent, in the Province of *Caria*; proceeding from thence to *Coos*, another Isle of the *Archipelago*: From *Coos* St. Paul came the Day following to *Rhodes*, another famous Isle on the South of the Province of *Caria*, in the *Lesser Asia*, accounted for Dignity next to *Cyprus* and *Lesbos* among the *Asiatic* Isles. It was remarkable among the Antients for the Clearness of its Air; infomuch that it is said by some of them, that there is no Day in the whole Year wherein the Sun does not shine there. On which Score *Phæbus* or the Sun was thought by them to have a peculiar Kindness for this Isle, and was look'd upon as the more peculiar God thereof. Hence there was erected in the Harbour of the City of *Rhodes*, and consecrated to the Sun, a vast Statue of Brass, called a *Colossus*, seventy Cubits high; every Finger of it being said to be as big as an ordinary Man; and standing astride over the Mouth of the Harbour, so that the Ships sailed between its Legs; on Account of its vast Bulk esteem'd one of the seven Wonders of the World. It was thrown down by an Earthquake, and some Years after the Brass thereof was carried by the *Saracens* into *Egypt*, nine hundred Camels being loaded therewith. The City of *Rhodes* was esteemed formerly one of the principal Universities of the *Roman* Empire; *Rhodes*, *Marseilles*, *Tarjús*, *Athens*, and *Alexandria*, being reckoned the old Academies of that Empire.

Sailing from *Rhodes*, St. Paul touched next at *Patara*, a Sea-Port of *Lycia*, formerly beautified with a fair Haven and many Temples, one of them dedicated to *Apollo*, with an Oracle in it, for Wealth and Credit not much inferior to that of *Delphi*.

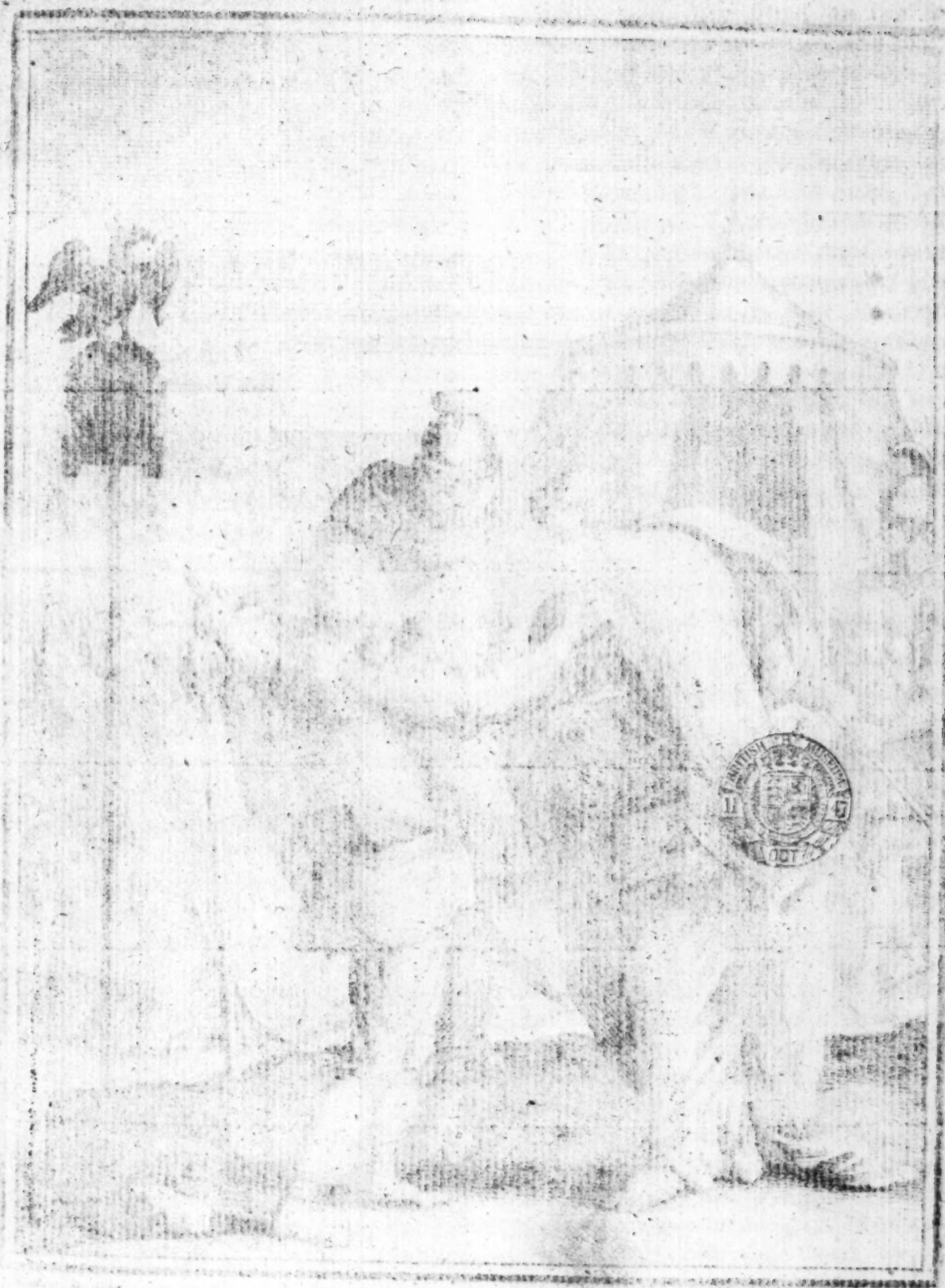
At *Patara* St. Paul and his Companions finding a Ship bound for *Phœnicia*, went aboard her, and leaving *Cyprus* on the left Hand, they sailed for *Syria*, and

arrived at *Tyre*, where the Ship was to unlade. Having staid here a Week, they took Ship again, and came to *Ptolemais*. From hence, having staid one Day, St. Paul with his Company departed and came to *Cæsarea*; and thence to *Jerusalem*, where the Brethren received them gladly.

St. Paul being arrived with his Company at *Jerusalem*, with the Collection he had made for the Saints, was received with great Joy by the Christians there. The next Day after his Arrival he went to the House of St. *James*, where the Elders of the Church were met to salute him. To these he declared the Success of his Ministry among the *Gentiles* of several Countries, and what very great Miracles God had enabled him to do for their Conversion: Which when they heard, they magnified God's Goodness to Mankind.

Paul had been almost seven Days in *Jerusalem*, and had neither disputed with any Man, nor assembled the People, either in the Synagogues, or in the Temple, or in any other Place of the City: He was wholly taken up in disposing of the Alms he brought to the *Jews*, and offering the Sacrifices appointed by the Law. But at the End of the seven Days, certain *Jews*, who had opposed him in *Asia*, being come to *Jerusalem*, to celebrate the Feast of *Pentecost*, and there seeing him in the City with *Trophimus* an *Ephesian*, who was a *Gentile*, afterwards happened to light upon him in the Temple, and immediately fell upon him crying out to all the *Jews*, To help them in apprehending a notorious Criminal, who had defiled the Temple by bringing Heathens into it, (supposing *Trophimus* to be then with him) and was a professed Enemy to the *Jews* and their Law, teaching Men, in all Places he came to, that they ought to despise both. At this Cry all the City was in an Uproar: The People ran together,

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Pauls sisters son discovers y^e plot of y^e Jews.



ACTS 23. Verle 16.

Hulett Sculp

*And when Pauls sisters son heard of their lying
in wait, he went and entred into the castle, and told Paul.*

gether, and laying Hands upon the Apostle, drew him out of the Temple, that they might beat and kill him without Fear. *Claudius Lyfias* the Roman Tribune was then Captain of the Garrison, which the Romans always kept at Jerusalem, in the Castle *Antonia*, especially at the three great Festivals, to prevent any Tumults that might arise by the great Concourse of that People, who were very seditious, and required a watchful Eye to keep them in Obedience. The great Tumult of the People upon this Occasion looked seditiously; wherefore, as soon as *Lyfias* had Information of it, he immediately took Soldiers and Centurions, and marched down upon the Rioters. His Presence awed the Rout, who thereupon left beating of *Paul*; and the Captain took him from them, and having bound him with double Chains, demanded, Who he was, and what he had done? But the Answers of the clamorous Multitude were so confused, that not being able to discover anything certain, he commanded him to be carried into the Castle. The Soldiers were forced to take him in their Arms, to secure him from the Outrage of his Pursuers; who all cried, That he should be put to Death; tho' none of them alledged a just Cause for so doing. The Governor therefore commanded him to be kept in Chains, till his Cause could be better examined and tried.

As *Paul* was about to be carried into the Castle by the Soldiers, hoping to pacify the People, he desired Leave of the Captain to speak to them, from the Stairs. The Captain hearing him speak Greek, asked him, Whether he was not that Egyptian, who some Time before had stirred up a Sedition in the City, and was fled for his own Safety, after his Associates were scattered and destroyed. *Paul* replied, that he was no such Man, but a Jew of Tarsus, a Freeman of a rich and honourable City; and therefore begged of him, that he might have Leave to

make his Apology to the People: Which being granted, *Paul* stood on the Stairs near the Door of the Castle; and making Signs for Silence, began to address himself to them in the Hebrew, or rather the Syriac Tongue: Hearing which, they grew calm, and attended to his Discourse, which was to this Effect: He told them, *he was born and educated in the Jewish Religion, in the most exact Knowledge and Observance of the Law; and had distinguished himself for his Zeal against Christians, binding and imprisoning both Sexes, and prosecuting them to death; as the High-Priest and Sanhedrim could bear him witness: By Virtue of whose Commission he was going to Damascus to carry on the Prosecution against those People, at that very Time when his Conversion happened; (The Particulars whereof he repeated) That after he came back again to Jerusalem, while he was praying in the Temple, he fell into a Trance, and heard a Voice commanding him to depart from Jerusalem, and preach the Messiah to other Nations.*

These last Words disturbed his Auditors, who hitherto had given him a fair Hearing. They were shock'd to hear a Jew defend his teaching Religion to the Gentiles, and demanded speedy Execution to be done upon him, as not to be endured any longer upon Earth. And as Men prepared to stone him forthwith, they cast off their Clothes, and threw Dust into the Air. *Lyfias* now saw it was Time to carry him into the Castle, without more Ceremony: And not being able all this while to learn his Crime, he resolved to extort it from himself, and to scourge him till he confessed; to which End he commanded him to be bound to a Post: But as the Executioner was binding his Hands, *Paul* asked a Centurion that stood by, *What Law they had for binding and scourging a Roman, without Trial or Sentence?* The Centurion immediately went, and intimated this to his Captain *Lyfias*; advising him

him to have a Care what he did, for the Prisoner was a Roman. And the Roman Laws prohibited such a Usage of any Citizen of theirs, under very severe Penalties. When the Captain heard this, he came himself, and question'd Paul about this Privilege which he pleaded; and finding he made good his Claim, he ordered the Lictors to desist, fearing lest what they had done already should prove of ill Consequence to himself.

The next Day he caused his Chains to be knock'd off; and being still desirous to know his Crime, resolved to proceed with him in another Way. He summoned the Jewish Sanhedrim to meet, and brought Paul to give an Account of himself before them. Ananias the Son of Nebedæus was then High Priest of the Jews, and President of the Assembly: Who, when St. Paul began to assert his Innocence, and *that he had lived in all good Conscience before God, till that Day*, commanded the Standers-by to strike him on the Face. Paul, justly provoked with this Violence, sharply replied, *God shall smite thee, thou whited Wall: For sittest thou to judge me after the Law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the Law?* Some that were present reproved him for reviling God's High Priest: Which Reproof the Apostle took in very good Part, excusing his Inadvertency, and alledging that Law which saith, *Thou shalt not speak evil of the Ruler of thy People*. But withal knowing how to mix the Wisdom of the Serpent with the Innocence of the Dove, and perceiving that the Council consisted of the two potent Sects of Pharisees and Sadducees, he openly declared himself a Pharisee, *the Son of a Pharisee, and that he was called in Question about the Hope and Resurrection of the Dead*. Hereupon the Doctors of the Law, who were Pharisees, and believed the Resurrection of the Dead, stood up to acquit him, affirming, *That they could not find wherein he had offended:*

that possibly he had received a Revelation from the Holy Spirit, or some Angel; and if so, their opposing his Doctrine would be fighting against God. At length the Contention grew so high, that Lyfias was constrained to send a Party of Soldiers, and fetch Paul out of the Sanhedrim into the Castle, fearing he would have been torn to Pieces in the Tumult. For Lyfias thought himself obliged to keep a Roman Citizen from Danger, though he was willing to have gained the Favour of the Jews in punishing him, if they could have proved any thing capital against him.

After Paul had escaped this Danger, Jesus Christ, who is wont to come seasonably with his Comforts in the Depth of Fears and Sorrows, appeared to him the following Night, and bid him be courageous, and of good Cheer; For as he had defended and owned the Faith of him at Jerusalem, so he should do at Rome also: He would carry him safe through all the Dangers he might meet with from the Jews, and bring him to Rome.

The next Morning certain Jews, some of the Apostle's most desperate Enemies, finding he was too hard for them in Courts and Assemblies, resolved to end the Controversy by Assassination. For the executing of which, above forty of them combined together, and sealed the horrid Conspiracy with an Oath, and a particular Curse upon themselves if they eat or drank till Paul was dead. Having acquainted the Sanhedrim with their Design, they moved them for the compassing of it, to desire the Governor Lyfias, that Paul might be sent down to them on the Morrow for a stricter Examination; and an Ambuscade of Conspirators would intercept him, and kill him. But by a special Providence Paul's Nephew was acquainted with the Plot, who went into the Castle, and discovered it to his Uncle, and by his Direction to the Governor. Lyfias
saw

saw Reason in the Circumstances of the Relation, to believe it; and immediately ordered a Guard of four hundred Foot, and seventy Horsemen, to conduct *Paul* to *Antipatris*, and thence to *Cæsarea*, where *Felix* the Governor of that Province had his Residence.

The Chief Priests, according to the People's Request, went to desire *Lysias* to bring down *Paul* to their Council, and were much surprized when they heard that he had escaped. *Lysias* told them, That he had sent him to the Governor; and if he were a Malefactor, they might have Justice done against him at *Cæsarea*. Whereupon about five Days after, *Ananias* the High-priest, with some others of the Sanhedrim, being disappointed of their Designs at *Jerusalem*, followed *Paul* to *Cæsarea*, with one *Tertullus* for their Advocate, who after an insinuating Address to *Felix*, began his Charge against *Paul*, accusing him of Sedition, Heresy, and Profanation of the Temple. The Truth of this Charge being affirmed by the *Jews* there present; the Apostle, having Leave from *Felix*, entered upon his Defence, with telling the Governor, *It was a great Comfort to him, that he was to answer before one, who for many Years had sat in that Place, as Judge of that Nation.* And first for the Sedition, he shewed him that it was a mere Calumny; that he had not been a Fortnight in *Jerusalem*, which Time he had spent, not in Disputes and popular Harangues, but only in performing his Devotions, for which End he came thither. As for the Heresy charged upon him, he ingeniously acknowledged, that his Worship of God was in the Way which they called so; but such a Way as was agreeable to the Sense of the Prophets, and the Faith of his Forefathers; believing what his very Accusers allowed, that there should be a Resurrection of all Men, good and bad; in Expectation of which he was careful to live

with an unblameable Conscience towards God and Man. And lastly, to the Charge of prophaning the Temple, he owned he was in it, but not in a riotous Manner, as some *Asiatick Jews* had falsely suggested, but only to purify himself according to the Rites and Customs of the *Mosaic Law*. This he averr'd, and challenged his Accusers to prove the contrary; appealing farther to them, whether any Thing of Moment had appeared against him in the Sanhedrim, except the Clamours of the *Sadducees* for his maintaining the Doctrine of the Resurrection.

When *Felix* had heard both Sides, he would not pass any Sentence at present; but put them off, saying, *When I have got a more perfect Knowledge of this Way of Christianity, and when I have spoken with Lysias, and understand the Truth concerning the Tumult, I will then determine the Difference between you.* In the mean Time the Captain of the Guard shall have the Prisoner in Custody. But he ordered *Paul's* Confinement to be very easy, and that none of his Friends should be denied Admittance to him. And after certain Days, *Felix* came with his Wife *Drusilla*, and heard *Paul* concerning the Faith of Christ. And as he reasoned of Righteousness, Temperance, and Judgment to come, *Felix* trembled. These Points touched him to the Quick; for he himself was guilty of Tyranny and Bribery; and his Wife *Drusilla*, who was a *Jewess*, had forsaken her Husband and her Religion, and lived with him in Adultery, as *Josephus* and *Tacitus* relate. For these Reasons they broke up abruptly, and referred the rest of the Discourse to a more convenient Opportunity.

This Governor had afterwards frequent Conferences with *Paul*, not so much for the Sake of his Discourse, as in Hopes he would offer him a good round Sum to obtain his Discharge. But getting nothing from him after a two Years Imprison-

prisonment, and being then removed from his Government, to soften the *Jews*, whom he had provoked by his Oppressions and Cruelties, *he left Paul bound*. This confirms the fore-mentioned Character of his corrupt Dealings. However this did not pacify the *Jews* so far, but that he himself was sent bound to *Nero*, to answer for the Abuses of his Trust. *Ananias* likewise was deposed from his Priesthood by *Agrippa*, and came to a miserable End, suffering the Punishment of his Injustice, which *St. Paul* had denounced against him.

Porcius Festus succeeded *Felix*, and was a Man of a much better Character. Three Days after his Arrival at *Cæsarea*, he went up to *Jerusalem*, where the High Priest and Rulers of the *Jews* quickly began to inform him against *Paul*, and besought him that he might be removed from *Cæsarea* to *Jerusalem*, intending to lay their Assassins in the Way to murder him. But the Divine Providence overruled the Mind of *Festus* in such a Manner, that he would not consent to their Request; but ordered his Accusers to be shortly at *Cæsarea*, where he should be ready to hear them. After ten Days he returned hither himself, and sat in Judgment upon *Paul*; the *Jews* alledging many grievous Things against him, but without any good Proof; while he sufficiently cleared himself, and made it appear, *That he had done nothing against the Jewish Laws, nor against the Temple, nor against the Roman Government*. Here *Festus*, willing to gratify the *Jews* at his first coming among them, asked *Paul*, *If he would go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these Matters?* The Apostle well apprehending the Consequences of such a Removal, replied, That being entitled to the Privileges of a *Roman Citizen*, he was in the proper Court where he ought to be tried: That he refused not the Sentence of Death, if he had de-

served it, even by the *Jewish Laws*: But since he had committed no capital Offence against his Country, he ought not to be given up to a Set of malicious Prosecutors. He therefore solemnly appeal'd to the Emperor himself, to be heard by him in Person. This Way of Appealing was frequent among the *Romans*, being introduced to secure the Lives and Fortunes of the People from the arbitrary Dealings of corrupt Magistrates. *Festus* was a little startled at this; but it being a Privilege so often claimed, and so plainly granted by the *Roman Laws*, he durst not deny it; and therefore answered, *Hast thou appealed unto Cæsar? Unto Cæsar shalt thou go?*

Some Time after this, King *Agrippa*, who succeeded his Father *Herod* in the Tetrachate of *Galilee*, with his Sister *Berenice*, and a splendid Retinue, came to welcome the new Governor into his Province, and continued with him for some Time. Amongst other Things, *Festus* thought fit to acquaint them with *St. Paul's* Case; how severely he had been prosecuted by the *Jews*; and how, to escape their Violence, he had appealed unto *Cæsar*: Whereupon he held him in Durance, till he had an Opportunity to send him to the Emperor at *Rome*. *Agrippa* had before heard of *Paul*, and the Account *Festus* gave of him, raised a greater Curiosity in his Mind to see and hear him; which *Festus* promised he should the next Day. Accordingly on the Morrow, the King and his Sister, with the Governor, and other Persons of Quality and great Officers, went together into the Place of Judicature, where *Paul* was brought out and set before them.

Hereupon *Agrippa* told the Apostle, that now was his Time to speak for himself: Who, after Silence made, particularly addressed himself to the King, *declaring it his Happiness, that he was to plead before a Judge so well skill'd in all Points*
and

and Customs of the Jewish Law. That the Jews who stood there, knew how he had been educated in the strictest Sect of their Religion, that of the Pharisees; and that what he was now arraigned for, had always been an Article of their Faith, and clearly grounded upon Holy Scripture, namely, *The Resurrection of the Dead*. He next gave an Account, how outrageous he had once been against Christians, compelling them to blaspheme, and beating them in every Synagogue: How miraculously he had been converted, by an amazing Light and Voice from Heaven: What an express Revelation he had to go and preach to the Gentiles, which was the main Ground of the Quarrel his Countrymen had against him, and for which they went about to kill him. As Paul was thus intent upon his Apology, Festus, wholly unacquainted with these Matters, cried out to him, *Paul thou art beside thyself; much Learning doth make thee mad*. But he calmly replied, *That his Words were not the Effect of Madness, but serious and sober Truths; That he submitted them to King Agrippa, who both understood the antient Prophecies, and could not but perceive that the Things which had lately happened to Jesus Christ, were the just Accomplishment of them*. His Discourse had such an Influence upon Agrippa, that he openly declared, *he was almost persuaded by it, to embrace the Christian Faith*. To which Paul returned his hearty Wishes, *That both he and the whole Auditory were not in Part only, but entirely, as much Christians as himself, and unlike him only in his Sufferings on that Account*. Here ended St. Paul's Apology for the Christian Faith. The Assembly broke up, and in their Discourses one with another, acquitted him of any Crime. Agrippa told Festus expressly, that *he might have been discharged forthwith, had not his Appeal to Cæsar bound him to appear at Rome*. For the Appeal being once made,

the inferior Judge had no Power either to acquit or condemn.

Pursuant therefore to this Appeal, Festus delivers Paul, and his Associates, Luke, Aristarchus, Trophimus, Epaphras, and some others, to Julius, a Centurion or Captain of a Company belonging to the Legion of Augustus. In September they went on board a Ship of *Adramyttium*, a Port of *Mysia*, which probably being a trading Ship, was to sail along the Coasts of the *Lesser Asia*. Having sailed about twenty-five Leagues Northward, they cast Anchor at *Sidon*; where Julius the Commander, a very courteous Person, permitted Paul to go on Shore to visit his Friends, and refresh himself. Putting out from hence, they were obliged by contrary Winds to sail under the Island *Cyprus*: And coasting by the Provinces of *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia*, after one hundred and eighty Leagues Sail from *Sidon*, they landed at *Myra*, a Port of *Lycia*, where this Ship finished its Voyage. They then went on board a Ship of *Alexandria*, bound for *Italy*, carrying to the Number of two hundred seventy six Persons. The Winds were still contrary, and sailing Westward, it was several Days before they got seventy Leagues, which brought them against *Cnidus*, a City and Promontory of *Caria*: From whence they turned Southward; and after thirty Leagues Sail, stood over-against *Salmone*, a Promontory of *Crete*; and at last, coasting the Isle, came to a Place called *The fair Havens*, near the City *Lasea*, or *Thalassa*. Sailing grew now dangerous in those Seas, it being the Month of *October*, the Days short, the Clouds thick, the Weather dark and stormy: Wherefore Paul, by divine Impulse foreseeing the Dangers and Damages they should sustain in going forward, advised them to winter in that Place. But because the Harbour was incommodious, the Owner of the Ship, with most of the Company, were for

were for wintering at *Phanice*, another and much better Haven of *Creta*, about fifty Leagues Westward: And a favourable South Wind just then blowing, the Commander *Julius* was more influenced by these Motives, than by the Advice of St. *Paul*. So forward they went, and sailed close by the Island, hoping to compass their Port. But these Hopes suddenly vanished. For soon after there arose a violent North-East Wind, which so furiously bore upon them, that the Seamen cou'd not govern the Ship, but were forced to give it up to the Mercy of the Winds and Wayes, which carried it to a small Island called *Clauda*, on the South-West of *Crete*. Here they were obliged to undergird the Ship, to save it from splitting. And being more violently to's'd by the Storm, the next Day they lightened the Ship, by casting out the Merchant Goods. Two Days after they threw also the Tackle and Furniture of the Vessel over board. And being deprived of the Sight of Sun, Moon, and Stars, for many Days together, nothing but Horror surrounding them, they were all grown hopeless and comfortless, except St. *Paul*, who stood forth in the Midst of them, and mightily encouraged them, *Reminding them indeed of their Error, in not wintering where he advised them, whereby all this Damage and Trouble had been prevented; and forewarning them, that they should still be shipwreck'd upon a certain Island; but yet assuring them, that not one of their Lives should be lost; for God had sent an Angel to him last Night, with this Message, Fear not Paul, thou must be brought before Caesar; and lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee.*

For fourteen Days together the Ship was continually tossed in the Sea, till they were got about two hundred and thirty Leagues West from *Crete*. Then the Mariners founded, and finding but twenty Fathom of Water, they concluded

they were nigh Land: Sounding a second Time, and finding but fifteen Fathom, they durst not venture any further, but let down four Anchors at the Stern, and earnestly wished for the Day. And under this Colour of casting Anchor, they likewise privately let down the Boat, intending in that to convey themselves to Land, and leave the Soldiers and Passengers to shift for themselves. *Paul* perceiving what they were about, told the Centurion and Soldiers, that though God had promised to preserve them, yet they must not expect it without using the Means for their Preservation; which was, to stay the Mariners, whose Care and Management of the Ship was absolutely necessary on this Occasion. Hereupon the Soldiers cut the Ropes of the Boat, and let it fall into the Sea, so that the Sailors could not get off. Now the Apostle comforted them with repeated Assurances of Safety: And the Apprehensions of Death having been upon them a fortnight together, so that they had eaten very little, next to nothing, he invited them to a hearty Meal; affirming it was well worth their while to take Care of their Bodies, for not a Hair of any Man's Head should perish. *Then he took Bread, and gave Thanks to God in Presence of them all; and when he had broken it, he began to eat.* All the rest follow'd his Example, and cheerfully fell to their Meat. Having well refreshed themselves, they lightened the Ship, by throwing the Over-plus into the Sea. This was before Day. In the Morning they discover'd Land, not knowing what Country it was: But perceiving a Creek, with a Kind of Haven, they resolved, if it were possible, to thrust the Ship in there, or at least to bring it as near Land as the Shore would permit. Whereupon the Sailors weighed Anchor, loosed the Rudder-bands, hoisted up the Main-sail to the Wind, and made directly for Shore. In their Passage they unexpectedly

perfectly fell into a Place where two Seas met, where the Vessel ran a-ground; so that the Head of the Ship being fixed and immoveable, the Stern was soon broke in pieces with the Torrent and Violence of the Waves. In this Extremity, every one casting about how to save himself, the Soldiers, afraid of loosing their Prisoners, cryed out to kill them, to prevent their Escape. But the Captain, desirous to save Paul, and probably in Confidence of the Deliverance he had promised, kept them from so barbarous an Execution, and commanded that such as could swim should throw themselves first into the Sea, that they might be the more helpful to others. And the rest upon Planks, and broken Pieces of the Ship, shifted so well, that St. Paul's Prediction was verified, and they came all safe to Land.

The Island upon which they were cast, was *Melita*, now *Malta*; inhabited by *Carthaginians*, but subject to the *Romans*, who treated this shipwreck'd Company with great Humanity, making good Fires to dry their Cloaths; and cherish their Bodies benumb'd with Cold. While Paul was busied in throwing a Bundle of Sticks upon the Hearth, a Viper, dislodged by the Heat, came out of the Wood, and fastened on his Hand. The Islanders seeing this, readily concluded that he could be no better than a Murderer, who tho' he had escaped the Sea, yet could not break loose from the Hands of Divine Justice. But Paul shook off the venomous Creature into the Fire, without receiving any Harm; according to that Promise of our Lord, *They shall take up Serpents*. The People observed him a great while, expecting when he would swell or drop down dead, knowing how penetrating the Venom of that Creature was. But when they saw he remained unhurt, they changed their Opinion of him, and said, *He must sure be some God*.

The Governor of the Island, a noble

Roman whose Name was *Publius*, invited these distressed Travellers to his House, and entertained them for three Days with great Kindness and Hospitality. For which he was gratefully requited in the miraculous Cure of his Father, then sick of a Fever and Bloody-Flux; to whom Paul went in, and prayed, and layed his Hands on him, and healed him. When this was reported abroad, others also who had sick Persons in their Houses, brought them to the Apostle, and had them healed. This made the Islanders esteem and honour their Guests very highly, and furnish their Ship, when they departed, with Plenty of all necessary Provisions.

After three Months Stay in this Island, Paul and his Company set sail for Rome, in an *Alexandrian* Vessel, named the *Castor and Pollux*, which had lain there all the Winter. In their Passage Northward, after forty Leagues Sail, they put in at *Syracuse*, a famous City of *Sicily*, and tarried there three Days. After which they sailed fifty-four Leagues farther to *Rhegium*, a Port and City of *Calabria* in *Italy*: From whence they sailed with a South Wind eighty Leagues farther, and in two Days arrived at *Puteoli*, a Port of *Campania* in *Italy*, near *Naples*, where the Ships of *Alexandria* usually landed. Here Paul meeting with some Christians, at their Request tarried with them a Week, and then proceeded on his Journey to Rome by Land, which was near a hundred Miles. The Christians at Rome hearing he was coming to them, went out to meet him; some as far as *Appia forum*, fifty one Miles from Rome; others as far as the Place called *The Three Taverns*, thirty one Miles Distance: When Paul saw them, he blessed God, and took Courage, believing Christianity was in a thriving Condition at Rome, since the Professors of it durst come so publickly to receive him. When they were come to Rome, *Julius* the Captain deliver'd his Prisoners.

Prisoners to the *Præfectus Prætorii*, or Captain of the Emperor's Guards, *Afranius Burrus*, a good-temper'd Man, and much in Favour with *Nero*, whose cruel Disposition he is supposed much to have restrained. However he might deal with the other Prisoners, he was very obliging to the Apostle; permitting him to dwell in his own hired House, or Lodgings, with the Soldier that kept him; whose Business, it is believed, was more to protect him from the Attempts of the Jews, than to prevent him from making his Escape. In these Lodgings he continued two whole Years, instructing all that came to him, without any Molestation.

S E C T. VI.

St. Paul converses with the Jews of Rome, and brings over many of them to Christianity. Released from Prison, preaches in divers Countries. Returns to Rome, and is again imprisoned.

THREE Days after *St. Paul's* Arrival at *Rome*, as soon as he was recovered from the Fatigue of his Journey, he sent for some of the chief Men among the Jews, in order to talk with them, before they could imbibe any Prejudice against him. When they were come to him, he informed them, *That though he had broke none of their Laws, Civil or Ecclesiastical, yet the Jews of Jerusalem had delivered him up a Prisoner into the Hands of the Romans; and would not suffer him to be set at Liberty, though the Roman Magistrates, who try'd him, had found him free from any Capital Offence: For which Reason he was constrained to appeal to Cæsar, not with an Intention to accuse his Countrymen, but only to secure himself.* The Jews replied, *That they had received no Advice from Jerusalem concerning him, nor any Complaints by any of their Countrymen who*

came from thence. But as to the Doctrine which he owned himself a Preacher of, they desired to be better informed about that, it being every where decry'd both by Jew and Gentile. Accordingly they agreed on a Day when to meet again.

At the Time appointed great Numbers of them came to hear *Paul*; who discoursed to them on these two Points; First, *That the promised Kingdom of the Messiah was a spiritual, and not an earthly Kingdom.* Secondly, *That Jesus of Nazareth was the true Messiah.* Both these he proved from the Writings of *Moses* and the Prophets, and insisted largely upon them, from Morning till Evening. Several of the Jews who heard him, were persuaded by what he said, to believe; others persisted in their Infidelity. To these last the Apostle applied that of *Isaiah*, spoken to their Fore-fathers, *That they should be judiciously blinded and hardened; so that seeing they should see, and not perceive; and hearing they should hear, and not understand.* Which Words *St. Paul* cited, not only to confirm those Jews that embraced the Truth, that they might not be offended at the Unbelief of some of their Brethren, but to stir up these obstinate People to Jealousy. He concluded all with a plain Declaration to them, *That for the future he would preach the same Doctrine of Salvation to the Gentiles; who would readily hearken to it, and embrace it.* Upon which the Jews went away, and had great Disputing among themselves about what *Paul* had said, some opposing, others as zealously defending the Truth of it.

During the whole two Years that *St. Paul* was a Prisoner at *Rome*, he received all that came to him, either out of Curiosity or Kindness, and preached to them the Kingdom of God; teaching those Things which concern the Lord *Jesus Christ* with all Confidence, and without any Opposition or Discouragement; in-
somuch

omuch that his Imprisonment served very much for the Propagation of the Gospel, and made the Apostle famous at Court, where he had converted several to Christianity.

One of the most eminent Fruits of St. Paul's Imprisonment was the Conversion of *Onesimus*, who of a Slave, Renegade, and Thief, became a Faithful Servant of *Jesus Christ*, and was thought worthy by St. Paul, of the Names of *his dear and faithful Brother, his Son, his Bowels, Himself*. He was a Native of *Colosse*, a City of *Phrygia*, and Servant to one of the Inhabitants there, *Philemon*, who had embraced the Christian Faith, and was Paul's intimate Friend. *Onesimus* being a faulty Servant, to escape Punishment, ran away from his Master to *Rome*; where he met with St. Paul, whom probably he had known, at least heard of, in his Master's Family. The Apostle having dealt with him so, as to reform his vicious Inclinations, baptized him into the Christian Faith. *Onesimus* after his Conversion became a very good Man, and extremely serviceable to the Apostle in his Imprisonment, who was very desirous to have kept him with him, to minister to him in his Master's stead: But because he had not *Philemon's* express Consent, without which it was unlawful; he sent him back to his Master, writing at the same Time a very kind Letter in his Behalf, interceding for his Pardon, and desiring his Master to use him, notwithstanding his former Faults, as a Brother; promising also, that if he had wronged him, or owed him ought, he would repay it. St. Paul was about sixty-three Years old when he wrote this Letter, and a Prisoner; tho' he had Hopes shortly to be freed and be at *Colosse*: For which Reason it is, that he desires *Philemon* to get him a Lodging. *Philemon* having received this Epistle, and finding how helpful *Onesimus* had been to St. Paul, sent him back a-

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gain to the Apostle, whom he afterwards served faithfully in the Ministry of the Gospel.

In the Year of our Lord 63, and the ninth of *Nero's* Reign, as Bishop *Pearson* computes it, St. Paul was released out of Custody, and restored to full Liberty. Having gain'd many of the *Romans* to *Christ*, he left them, to travel into other Parts of the World. About the Time of his Departure, and before he pass'd out of *Italy*, he wrote his famous and most elaborate Epistle to the *Hebrews*; that is, to the converted *Jews* dwelling in *Jerusalem* and *Judea*; the *Jews* of other Countries being called *Hellenists*.

There is Reason to think, that St. Paul went with *Timothy* into *Judea*, as he had promised in his Epistle to the *Hebrews*. After some short Stay there, he pass'd into the Proconsular *Asia*; but not with *Timothy* in his Company, for he met him at *Ephesus*. Here he excommunicated *Hymeneus* and *Philetus* for denying the Resurrection of the Dead, and other Articles of Faith: Then he ordered *Timothy* to have his Residence at this great City, and to take the Charge of all the Proconsular *Asia*. But whether *Timothy* was now first ordained Bishop of this Place, or whether it was in the Year 57, when St. Paul took his Leave of the *Ephesians*, is not determined among learned Men.

From *Ephesus* he pass'd into *Macedonia*, and visited the *Philippians*, as he had promised them. This was the fourth Time of his coming among them. Here he tarried a considerable Time; and from hence, in all Probability, he wrote his first Epistle to *Timothy*. He had promised to see him in a short Time; but lest he should be prevented, he gave him Instructions by Letter how to behave himself in his Charge at *Ephesus*.

St. Paul having a Design to remove out of *Macedonia*, and winter in *Thrace*, at the City of *Nicopolis*; he wrote a Letter

to *Titus*, then in *Crete*, to meet him at *Nicopolis*; sending *Artemas* and *Tychicus* to supply his Place in governing the Church of *Crete* in his Absence. *Paul* had some special Service for him to do in *Macedonia*, and the next Year sent him into *Dalmatia*.

St. Paul having winter'd at *Nicopolis*, went forward on his Progress, and made a visit to the *Corinthians*, where he appointed *Eraclus* to continue; and then cross'd the Sea into *Asia*. Having visited *Ephesus*, and left *Timothy* there, and called at *Miletum* not far distant, where he left *Trophimus* sick, he travelled Northwards to *Troas*, and lodged at the House of *Carpus*, one of his Disciples. At this Time probably it was, that he suffered at *Antioch* in *Pysidia*, *Iconium*, and *Lysra*, those Persecutions which he mentions in general, in his second Epistle to *Timothy*, and thanks God for his Deliverance from them.

The Fathers, *Albanasius* and *Austin*, relate, that about this Time God revealed to *St. Paul* that his Death approached: And *Albanasius* says, that it was particularly made known to him by God, that he should suffer Martyrdom at *Rome*, and that thereupon, instead of avoiding it, he hastened with Joy thither. *Nero* had shut up the Temple of *Janus* in Token of universal Peace, was gone into *Greece* with a pompous Retinue, and had left one of his wicked Instruments, *Helius*, sole Governor of the City in his Absence, when *St. Paul* came a second Time to *Rome*. Finding *St. Peter* there, he joined with him in labouring the Conversion of both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, in reclaiming People from their excessive Sports and Debaucheries, which were much in Fashion under the libertine Government of *Nero*, and instilling in them right Notions of God, and a Love of Virtue. Their Endeavours were successful, and it is certain that some ven of the Emperor's Household were

made Christians by their Means. *Chrysostom* says, that one of *Nero's* Concubines was of this Number, who presently changed her Course of Life from Lewdness to great Sobriety and Virtue. And the Father adds, That it was not their teaching of the People, but the Conversion of this Concubine, whom he was very fond of, that incensed the Emperor against the Apostles. Be that as it will, we find in general, that this unacceptable Reformation of Manners, together with the Opposition of their Enemies, provoked *Nero*, or his Deputy *Helius*, to arrest the Apostles, who were committed to the *Mamertine Prison*: Where they ceased not to preach, and converted many, as the Antients report.

In this Imprisonment, and before he appeared at *Nero's* Tribunal, he wrote his second Epistle to *Timothy*, who was at that Time in some Part of *Asia*, but not at *Ephesus*. It is evident from his own Words, that it was written near his Death, which he intimates to be an involuntary Death, or Martyrdom: For which Reason it is that *St. Chrysostom* says, *This Epistle was, as it were, his last Will and Testament*. The Apostle therein not only desires *Timothy* to come to him before Winter, but exhorts him a-new to discharge all the Duties of a Bishop and Doctor with a Zeal suitable to those excellent Graces he had received, and with a generous Contempt of the World; since the Spirit of Christianity is not a Spirit of Fear, but of Love and Courage, and of a sound Mind. The Reason why he desired *Timothy's* Coming, was, because he had none of his old Companions and Disciples with him, but only *St. Luke*. *Demas* had forsaken him, and was gone to *Thessalonica* about his worldly Occasions. *Crescens* was gone to *Galatia*; *Titus*, to *Dalmatia*; and *Tychicus* he had sent to *Ephesus*. There were doubtless many Christians at *Rome* of eminent Piety and
Courage

Courage, of whom he names *Eubulus*, *Pudens*, and *Linus*, who had ministred to him in his Bonds: But he desired to have some of his Scholars about him, to assist him in his Ministry, and to comfort the Faithful under Persecution, who also might manage that Church after his Death. He speaks of *Philetus* and *Hymeneus*, as Persons who had erred from the Faith; because they maintained, That the Resurrection of the Flesh was already past, and there was no other to come but that from Sin: Which Opinion led away many. What is spoken of *Jannes* and *Jambres*, the Magicians, that withstood *Moses* in *Egypt*, is not taken out of a Book which some pretend to have been written by these two Magicians, but from some antient Tradition or Writing among the *Jews*.

St. Paul telling us, in this second Epistle to *Timothy*, That he had sent *Tychicus* to *Ephesus*, has given Ground for many to believe, that he now sent his Epistle to that Church. It bears the Name of the *Ephesians* only, but some have thought it a circular Letter sent to the neighbouring Churches as well as them, particularly to that of *Laodicea*, under whose Name it is quoted by *Tertullian*. This Letter was sent by *Tychicus*, to whom St. Paul gives the Character of *Dear Brother, A faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, and His Companion in the Service of the Gospel*: Nor was *Tychicus* sent only as a Messenger, but that he might take care of the *Ephesian* Church in *Timothy's* Absence.

And now this illustrious Apostle of the *Gentiles*, having for above thirty Years served God in the Gospel of his Son, with much Affiduity in writing and preaching, and numberless Travels and Sufferings;

finished his Course. and, according to his own Desire, was dissolv'd and went to *Christ*. *Nero*, at the Sollicitation of *Helius*, was upon his Return from *Greece*; but while he was yet in some remote Parts of *Italy*, the two Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, were, by the Order of the then present Governors, led out to Execution, as *Clemens Romanus* testifies. *Nero* is said by others to have been present at their Martyrdom, and to have seen the Execution with Pleasure, as having overturned the Church by destroying the chief Architects of it: But the Church is founded upon the Rock *Christ Jesus*, not upon *Paul*, nor *Peter*, nor any of his Apostles; and the Blood of those that die for the Faith, are the strongest Cement and Props of it. *Paul*, as being a *Roman* Citizen, was beheaded, at a Place called *Aqua Salvæ*. But *Peter* was crucified, as not having a Right to that Privilege. The Day of their Martyrdom was the twenty-second of *February*, A. D. 68, and in the fourteenth Year of *Nero's* Reign, according to Bishop *Pearson's* Calculation in his *Annals of St. Paul*; tho' *Antony Pagi* places it in A. D. 65. Thus died that holy, learned, and incomparable Apostle St. *Paul*, at the Head City of the World, who himself was the most eminent of the Apostles, and the chief Minister of the Church.

St. *Paul's* Body was buried in the *Via Ostiensis*, about two Miles from *Rome*. Over his Grave *Constantine the Great* built a stately Church, at the Instance of Pope *Silvester*, about the Year 318. Yet *Valentinian*, or rather *Theodosius* the Emperor, (for the one finished what the other begun) thinking it too small for so great an Apostle, took it down, and built one more noble in the Room of it.

The LIFE of St. ANDREW.

St. Andrew's Parentage and Trade. He is made a Disciple of Christ by St. John the Baptist. Becomes a constant Follower of Christ. Made an Apostle. Consults Christ about introducing to him certain Greeks. Asks when the Temple should be destroyed. His Acts after the Death of our Saviour. Crucified in Achaia. Why esteemed the Patron of Scotland.

THE Reason why the sacred History, which hath been so copious in its Accounts of the two former Apostles, is so sparing in those that follow, mentioning no more of some than their bare Names, is conjectured by the learned Dr. Cave to be this; That it seemed good to the Spirit of God, not to enlarge the sacred Volume with any further Relations of the first Beginnings of Christianity, than what concerned Judea, and the neighbouring Countries, with some of the most eminent Parts of the Roman Empire. So much being sufficient to evidence the Truth of the antient Prophecies, *That the Law of the Messiah should come forth from Sion, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem*: And the Divine Wisdom accommodating the Gospel to the Circumstances of the meanest and most laborious Part of Mankind, who neither have Leisure for much Reading, nor a Capacity to retain and digest any great Variety of Matter: For which Reasons all the fundamental Points of Religion in both Testaments, are delivered with great Brevity and Plainness.

St. Andrew was born at Bethsaida, a City of Galilee, situate upon the Banks of the Lake of Gennesareth. He was the Son of Jonas, or John, a Fisherman of that Town, and Brother to Simon Peter;

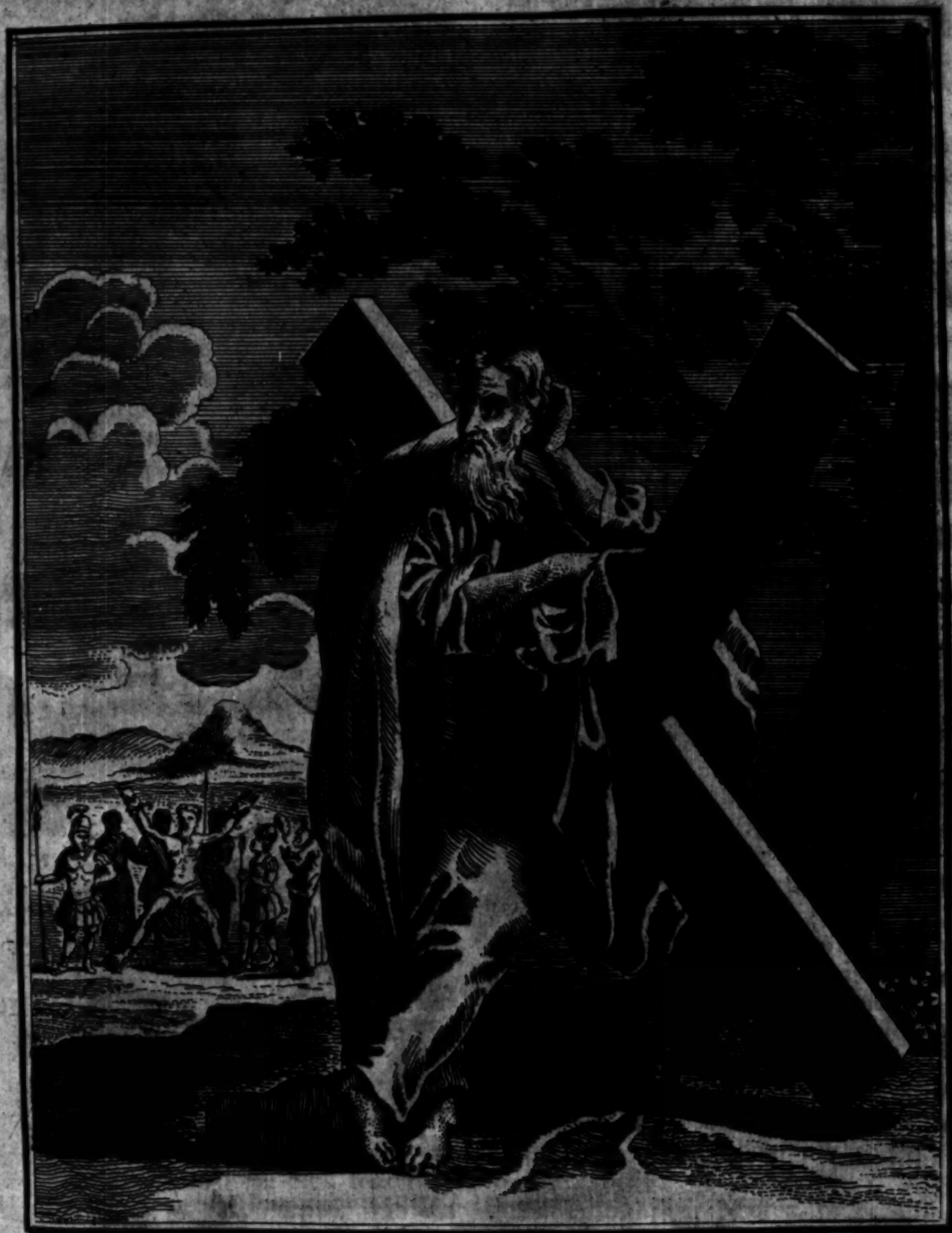
but whether elder or younger, the Holy Scriptures have not acquainted us, nor do the primitive Fathers clearly resolve us.

As soon as Andrew had obtained the Knowledge of the Messiah, and was confirmed in that Faith, that Jesus was he, he departed from him. After which, the first Person he met with, was his Brother Simon. He could not forbear imparting to him the joyful News, that he had found the Desire of the World, and their long-expected Happiness, the Christ, who was promised by the Prophets: And thereupon carried him immediately to Jesus. Simon, embracing the same Faith with his Brother, was no sooner come to Jesus, but the Saviour of the World admitted him as a Scholar and Adherent, giving him the Name of Peter: And from this Time both he and his Brother became Jesus's Disciples; not constantly attending upon him, as they afterwards did, but hearing him upon Occasions, and returning to their Trades again; according as their Family Affairs, and the Business of their Calling would permit. At this first coming to him, they tarried one Day with him to hear his Doctrine, and the next Day returned home again.

Towards the End of this Year, Jesus Christ, meeting Andrew and Peter together a Fishing, called them to a constant and inseparable Attendance upon the Ministry of his Gospel; which he expresses to them under Terms relating to their Trade, *making them Fishers of Men*: Whereupon they immediately left their Nets to follow him, and never went from him again, but were soon set apart by him, to be of the Number of his twelve Apostles.

Not long after this, Jesus Christ went down to Capernaum, and lodged at the House

SAINT ANDREW.



*By the command of the Pro-Consul of Achaia, he was
first scourged and then crucified, on a Cross the form of the
letter X.*

SAINT ANDREW



By the command of the Privy Council of Scotland
 first printed and then corrected and set in the form of an

House of *Andrew* and *Peter*, where *Peter's* Wife's Mother lay sick of a Fever. After he had been in the House a While, both of them made known her Condition to him, and desired her Cure. *Jesus*, who was always ready to hear the Prayers and Desires of his Disciples, speedily granted their Request, and taking her by the Hand, rebuked the Fever; and it left her: And she arose, and ministred unto them; shewing her perfect Recovery by doing Household Work.

The Year following, our blessed Lord, having celebrated the Passover at *Jerusalem*, returned again into *Galilee*, and there chose him twelve Disciples. At the Head of these both *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke* place *Peter* and *Andrew*; the one deserving the Preference for his Zeal and Firmness to *Christ*, and the other for his first Adherence to *Christ*.

Some Months after this, *Jesus Christ*, who was now grown famous over all *Jewry* for his Miracles and Teaching, and was thronged in all Places he went to by the Multitude; (partly to get Cure for their Sick, and partly to hear his Doctrine;) being tired with Company, withdrew himself from them: And because he could enjoy no Privacy where he was commonly known or lived, he took Ship, and crossing the Lake of *Gennesareth*, retired into a desert Place, belonging to the City of *Bethsaida*. But the Multitude, either observing the Ship on the Lake which Way it sailed, or getting Intelligence of his Design, went after him on Foot, and getting to the Shore before him, met him when he came out of the Ship. *Jesus* seeing their Zeal and Diligence, was moved with Compassion to them, and healed all the Sick that they brought to him for that Purpose. It was just Night when they came to *Jesus*; wherefore his Disciples desired him to

send the Multitude away, to get themselves Provision in the neighbouring Towns. But *Jesus*, who knew they had left their Houses to follow him, was not for sending them away, till he had refreshed them with Meat; and therefore required his Disciples to give them somewhat to eat. The Disciples judged this a Thing almost impossible for them; and therefore *Philip* said, *Two hundred * Pennyworth of Bread is not sufficient for them, that every one may take a little: And how can we satisfy them, who have not so much?* But *Andrew*, who had a stronger Faith in *Jesus*, told him, That there was a Lad with them, who had five Barley-loaves and two small Fishes; which tho' they were indeed nothing among so many, yet if he would undertake to feed them by his Power, as *Elisha* did the two hundred Men with twenty Loaves, they might be sufficient, since he was greater than *Elisha*. Whereupon *Jesus* made the Multitude sit down, and fed them to the full: And not only so, but he multiplied the Meat to such a Degree, that there was more left than was at first.

Six Days before the *Passover* wherein he suffered, *Jesus Christ*, coming to *Bethany* to the House of *Lazarus*, abode there, and almost every Day went up to *Jerusalem*. Upon one of those Days, perhaps the second Day of his coming thither, certain *Grecians*, who came to worship God at the Feast, came to *Philip*, and desired him to shew them *Jesus*. *Philip* told *Andrew* of it; but neither of them dared to gratify their Desire, till they had consulted their Master about the Lawfulness of it; because he had before so strictly forbidden them not to preach to the *Gentiles* or *Samaritans*. They therefore told their Master, that the *Grecians* had a Desire to see him.

Jesus replied, That this Desire pro-

* This was a great Quantity, according to the Coin and Price of Things in that Country.

ceeded from a Divine Instinct in their Minds. He had indeed hitherto restrained them from preaching his Gospel to the *Gentiles*; but now the Hour was at Hand, when he should be glorified by the Conversion of the *Gentiles*. His Death would be a plain Demonstration that he was rejected by the *Jews*: And after that, as Corn, being sown, brings forth much Fruit; tho' it die and rot in the Earth; so, tho' he was crucified and buried, yet his Gospel, being preached thro' the World, should gather him Abundance of Profelytes out of the *Gentiles*.

Three Days after this, as *Jesus* and his Disciples went out of the Temple, one of them spake to him about the exquisite Building of that Structure, and the Magnificence of it: Whereupon *Jesus* foretold the utter Ruin and Destruction of it. Some of them hearing this, were very desirous to know the Time when this Calamity should befall their Nation; and therefore, when he was in the Mount of *Olives*, *Peter*, and *John*, and *James*, and *Andrew*, asked him privately, *When it should come to pass, and what should be the Signs of that great Revolution?* Which they asked, that they might forewarn their Brethren of it, or escape from it themselves, if it should happen in their Days.

This is all which the Scripture speaks in particular of this Saint and Holy Apostle, *St. Andrew*. What it says of him in Conjunction with the rest of the Apostles, doth no otherwise concern him, than that it shews he continued in their Communion, had the same Concern for the Gospel, and joined with them in preaching and promoting of it. And even thus we have no Mention of him, longer than our Saviour's Ascension. What became of him afterward, the Scripture relates not: And what is gathered from other Histories, is of little or no Credit.

Sophronius, who lived a little after *St. Jerome*, and translated his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, hath added all the Apostles who left no Writings: And in those Additions says, That *St. Andrew* preached in *Scythia*, *Sogdiana*, and in the great City of *Sebastiopolis*, which stands upon the River *Phasis* in *Colebis*.

Origen in *Eusebius* confirms the former Relation; and *Æcumenius* adds the *Sace*, a People bordering on *Sogdiana*, between *Scythia* and *India*.

Theodoret writes, that he preached the Gospel in *Greece*; particularly, says *Gregory Nazianzen*, in *Epirus*.

Jerome finds him in *Achaia*; and *St. Paulinus* adds, that he preached in *Argos*, and put all the Philosophers there to Silence.

St. Philastrius relates, that he came out of *Pontus* into *Greece*; and assures us, that at *Synope* in *Pontus* they hold, by an antient Tradition, that they received the Gospel from *St. Peter* and *St. Andrew*; and they pretend to have his Image, and the Pulpit he preached in.

The modern *Greeks* attribute to him the Founding of the Church of *Constantinople*, then called *Byzantium*; which the antient *Greeks* seem altogether ignorant of.

The *Muscovites*, in divers Parts of their State, pretend that *St. Andrew* preached among them; but upon what Grounds they can give no Account; no more than of what they assert of *St. Polyxenus*, who, they say, came out of *Spain* into *Achaia*, to be instructed by *St. Andrew*.

St. Andrew, having taken many People in the Net of the Gospel, confirmed the Truths he had preached, by the Effusion of his Blood, at *Patra* in *Achaia*; being condemned to be crucified by *Ægeas*, the Proconsul of the Province. Which Sentence he soon after suffered, as is generally thought, on the thirteenth Day of

of November. All the particular Circumstances of his Death are very largely described in a Letter attributed to the Priests and Deacons of *Achaia*, his Disciples: But the Authority of that Piece is not to be depended upon; it having been condemned by all the Antients, as being composed by Hereticks. In what Year after *Christ's* Death he suffered Martyrdom, is not known; some fix it in the Year 95, in the Persecution of the Church under *Domitian*, whose Proofs, however, are weak. His Body was interred at *Patra*, where he died; and afterwards removed to *Constantinople*, in the Year 357. Here he was buried in the Apostles Church, the Place destined for the Burial of the Emperors, and the Reception of the Apostles Relicks, by *Constantine*, when he built it.

The Occasion and Manner of St. *Andrew's* Suffering is related by *Surius*, *ad diem 30 Novemb.* p. 653. Which Account, said there to be written by the Presbyters and Deacons of the Church of *Achaia*, though *Dr. Cave* will not maintain it to be genuine, yet he observes 'tis mentioned by *Philastrius*, who flourished *A. D.* 380, and was doubtless writ long before his Time. 'Tis briefly thus: That St. *Andrew* having converted several at *Patra*, and attempting as much upon *Aegias*, the Proconsul of *Achaia*, met with much Outrage from this great Officer, who at last delivered him up to be scourged and crucified on the Thirteenth of November. And that his Death might be more lingering, he was fastened to the Cross, not with Nails, but with Cords. That as he was led to Execution, he shewed a chearful and composed Mind, and that being now come within Sight of the Cross, he saluted it with this Address: 'That he had long expected and desired that happy Hour; that the Cross had been consecrated by bearing the Body of *Christ*; that he came joyful and triumph-

ing to it, that it might receive him as a Disciple and Follower of him who once hung upon it, and be the Means to carry him safe to his Master, having been the Instrument upon which his Master did redeem him.' Having prayed, and exhorted the Converts to Constancy and Perseverance in their Religion, he was fastened to the Cross, whereon he hung two Days, preaching to the People all that Time: And when great Importunities were used with the Proconsul to spare his Life, he earnestly begged of our Lord, that he might at that Time glorify him with his Death, and so quickly expired. The Form of his Cross is said to have been something peculiar, being in the Figure of the Letter X, and stiled a Cross decussate, composed of two Pieces of Timber, crossing each other in the Middle. His Body being taken down was embalmed, and honourably interred by *Maximilla*, a Lady of great Quality and Estate. Afterwards it was removed to *Constantinople* by the Emperor *Constantius*, *A. D.* 357, according to *Antony Pagi*, and buried in the great Church, which was built to the Honour of the Apostles. A Church was built at *Patra*, and dedicated to him, famous in the Reign of the Emperor *Justinian*, now turned into a *Turkish* Mosque. Certain Acts and a Gospel are attributed to him, but spurious, and always rejected by the Church.

The Occasion of St. *Andrew's* being acknowledged for the Tutelar Saint of *Scotland* is thus related by *Buchanan*. *Albistan* King of *England*, having invaded the *Picts*, who then inhabited the South of *Scotland*, and overtaking their King *Hungus* at *Haddington*, about twenty-eight Miles from the Borders, the *Picts*, being inferior in Strength, kept strong Guard in the Night, whilst *Hungus* betook himself to his Prayers. After which, composing himself to Sleep, he thought

thought he saw St. *Andrew* the Apostle standing by him, and promising him the Victory. Which Vision when he had declared to his People, it inspired them with Courage next Day to join Battle; which as soon as begun, St. *Andrew's* Cross appeared in the Air, in Form of an X, and so terrified the *English*, and animated the *Picts*, that they obtained a signal Victory, and slew *Atbelstan* in the Field of Battle, by the River *Tyne*:

Which Place bears the Name of *Atbelstan's Ford* unto this Day. Hereupon *Hungus* ascribed the Victory to St. *Andrew*; and, besides other Gifts, offer'd him the Tythes of his Royal Demesnes. So that the *Scots* having succeeded the *Picts* in these Countries, thought they had also a Right to St. *Andrew's* Tutelage. *Achaicus*, who was then King of *Scotland*, instituted an Order of Knighthood in Honour of St. *Andrew*.

The LIFE of St. JAMES the GREAT.

St. James the Great; why so called. His Parentage and Education. His first Knowledge of Christ. Called to follow Christ. Named Boanerges. Present at Christ's Agony, &c. He preaches in Judea. His Martyrdom. The Officer that apprehended him, suffered with him. Time of his Death. His exemplary Life. His Body where interred.

THE Epithet of *Great* was given this Apostle, to distinguish him from the other Apostle of the same Name, who for the like Reason was called *the Less*. 'Tis generally supposed that these Appellations were given them with respect to their Age, the first being the Elder of the two. *James the Great* was by Country a *Galilean*, born probably either at *Capernaum* or *Bethsaida*; Neighbour to *Simon Peter*, and Partner with him in the Trade of Fishing. He was the Son of *Zebdai* or *Zebedee*, who followed the same Calling. *Origen* concludes they were a richer Family than *Andrew* and *Peter*, because mention is made of their hired Servants; but since they were not less laborious, and mended their Nets with their own Hands, it should seem there was but little Difference in their Circumstances. Whether

our Apostle had any Knowledge of Letters, is uncertain. Dr. *Cave* conjectures he might be the same whom the *Jews* in their *Talmud* stile Rabbi *James*, or *Jacob*, the Son of *Zebedee*: Others are persuaded that he had never studied Books, but was wholly illiterate.

His Mother's Name was *Salome*, whom the Gospel sometimes calls *Mary*, and reckons amongst those religious Women who usually attended our Lord, and supplied him with Necessaries; and at the Time of his Passion, followed him with Tears and Lamentations; and when he was taken down, embalm'd his dead Body with costly Spices and Ointments, according to the *Jewish* Fashion, before it was laid in the Tomb. Indeed she is, according to the Mode and Custom of the *Jews*, stiled the Sister of *Mary*, the Mother of our Lord; not her own Sister in a strict Sense (the blessed Virgin being in all likelihood an only Daughter) but her Cousin-german, the *Jews* being wont to call such near Relations, Brothers and Sisters. In this respect *James* had the Honour of a near Relation to our Lord himself. Brother he was to St. *John* the Apostle and Evangelist, and much older than he, being supposed to be twelve Years at the Nativity of our Lord, where-

SAINT JAMES THE GREAT.



*By the command of Herod he was beheaded at Jerusalem.
And so he became the first Apostle that suffered Martyrdom.*



as *John* was not born till the eighth Year of *Christ*, being but twenty-five when called to the Apostleship.

St. *Epiphanius* holds, That the Disciple of *John the Baptist*, who went with *Andrew* to *Jesus Christ*, was either *James*, or *John* his Brother. If so, they were acquainted with *Christ* at the same Time with *Peter* and *Andrew*. But since the Gospel authorizes not this Conjecture, all that can reasonably be asserted, is, that by conversing with *Peter* and *Andrew*, they had an early Conviction that *Jesus* was the *Christ*.

But whatever Preparatives *James* had for a speedy Belief in *Christ*, or whether it was miraculous, this is certain, from the Holy Gospel, That he became a constant Disciple of *Christ* at the same Time with his Partners *Andrew* and *Simon*, and his Brother *John*; and upon the same Occasion; namely, the prodigious Shoal of Fishes which *Christ* with a Word drove into their Net, after they had toil'd all Night, the properest Time for that Business, and taking nothing. Overcome with this astonishing Manifestation of *Christ*'s Divine Power, he easily quitted his Share in the Ship and Fishing Trade, to his Father *Zebedee* and the Servants, and followed him, who promis'd to make him a *Fisher of Men*; preferring, like good *Abraham*, Obedience to the Divine Command, before all the Endearments of the nearest Relations, and forsaking all that he either had, or was like to have, to rely upon that Power and Goodness which governs all Things, and to become a constant Attendant upon *Jesus* in his Ministry. Nor is it implorable but that *Zebedee* himself approved of his Son's Change of his Life, especially since we find his Wife *Salome* so heartily devoted to the Service of our Lord. Not long after this, he was advanced from the Station of an ordinary Disciple, to the Apostolical Office; and only so, but honour'd

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with some peculiar Acts of Favour beyond most of the Apostles, being one of those three whom our Lord usually made Choice of to admit to the more intimate Transactions of his Life, from which the other nine were excluded. Of this we have the following Instances.

1st, When *Jairus* the Ruler of the Synagogue had prevailed with our Lord to come to his House, and cure his little Daughter, who then lay at the Point of Death, and was actually dead before he came to her; *Jesus* suffered none else to follow him thither, and see his miraculous Power in restoring the Damsel to Life, save *Peter*, and the two Brothers, *James* and *John*.

2^{dly}, At that glorious Transfiguration of our Lord upon Mount *Tabor*, mentioned by three of the Evangelists; where his Face did shine as the Sun, and his Raiment was white as the Light; where *Moses* and *Elias* appeared in their heavenly Lustre, discoursing with him concerning his approaching Sufferings; and a Voice was heard issuing from an exceeding bright Appearance, saying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am pleased; hear ye him*: None but these three, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, were admitted to this Fore-taste of celestial Glory.

3^{dly}, These three were again selected out of the rest, to be Spectators of a very different Scene, we mean the bitter Agonies which their Master underwent in the Garden at *Getsemane*, the Night before his Crucifixion; to be as it were his Assistants and Comforters in the Horrors of the Night, and Conflicts of his troubled Soul.

4^{thly}, After the Resurrection, express Notice is taken, that our Lord shewed himself to the Sons of *Zebedee*; and St. *Paul* says, *He was seen of James, then of all the Apostles*.

Now though after *Christ*'s Ascension, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, assumed no

Preheminence over their Fellows in Matters of Church Government, as *Clement of Alexandria* well observes; yet it is evident from the foregoing instances, that our Lord did on many Occasions admit them to a more intimate Converse, than he did the rest. What were the Grounds of this Preference, we are not expressly told by any of the Evangelists: But we think, we may collect from their general Characters, that it was their peculiar Zeal and Activity which recommended them.

Our Lord, a little before his Death, had taken up firm Resolutions to go up to *Jerusalem*; tho' he was sure to meet with very unkind Entertainment from the *Jews*. Not being diverted by that Foreknowledge, he sent his Disciples before him, to prepare some Refreshments for them in their Journey, in a Village of *Samaria*, that was in their Way. The *Samaritans*, who tho' they worshipped the same God with the *Jews*, and much after the same Manner; yet contended, that Mount *Gerizzim* was the proper Place for God's Worship, and not *Jerusalem*; discovering either by his Disciples Discourse, or other Circumstances, that they were not of their Judgment, refused to give them an Entertainment, or suffer them so much as to inn among them. *James* and *John* being furiously angry at this inhospitable Humour of the *Samaritans*, thought they deserved a remarkable Punishment for their uncivil Treatment of so great a Person as their Master was, and therefore asked him Leave to call down Fire upon them, as *Elias* did upon the Captains and their Companies. For they had so great Faith as to believe, that they should be able to do so great a Miracle, if he gave them Leave, and allowed them to do it.

But *Jesus*, who was the greatest Pattern of Patience and Meekness, staid their misguided Zeal with a serious Reprimand;

telling them, That tho' they were his Disciples, they had not yet perfectly learn'd the proper Temper of a Christian, who ought to behave himself with Mildness and Patience, not with Revenge and Anger, at such Injuries as these. Nor did they less mistake his Office, who came into the World not to destroy Men's Lives for their Sins, but to save them from their Sins, and by a patient Forbearance convince them, and win them to himself. Wherefore, as if he regarded not their incivility, he went to another Village, to try whether he could find any better-tempered Men. Indeed the Zeal of the Brothers in this Case was too fierce and sanguinary, and therefore severely check'd by their Master; however, as it was heartily intended for their Master's Honour, it was easily set right, and would be of admirable Use, when guided by a sufficient Light of Divine Knowledge.

In this same Journey to *Jerusalem*, their active Spirit hurries them into another Mistake. Imagining that our Lord, by Virtue of his irresistible and all-commanding Power, was going to erect a temporal Dominion and Monarchy, they put their Mother upon soliciting for their Advancement to the most honourable Stations in it. She presuming, it may be, upon her Relation to *Christ*, and knowing he had promised his twelve Apostles, That when he was come into his Kingdom, they should sit on twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of *Israel*; and that he had already taken her two Sons into special Favour; after a low Reverence, and Leave obtained to propose her Request, she beseeches him to grant, that her two Sons might sit, the one on his Right Hand, and the other on his Left, in his Kingdom. *Jesus*, knowing well that the Sons spake by the Mother's Mouth, directed his Answer to them, telling them, they knew not what they asked; the Pre-ferments

ferments in his Kingdom being not of a secular, but spiritual Nature, and attainable, not by the most forward and ambitious, but by the most laborious and suffering Persons. *Are ye able, says he, to drink of that bitter Cup which I shall drink of, and to be baptized with that bloody Baptism which I must be baptized withal?* They too peremptorily affirmed, *that they were able to do and suffer all this.*

'Tis plain *Christ* had an Eye to the Circumstances of his own Passion; at which Time these over-confident Zealots fail'd in their Courage, and deserted him as well as the rest. However, our Lord, out of his infinite Goodness, treats them with Candour, and tells them, they should indeed have their Portion of Sufferings as well as he; (and accordingly we find St. *James* was martyr'd, and St. *John* underwent many Trials and Hardships;) but for the Honours and Dignities of his Kingdom, he would not make any Disposal of them, otherwise than in Conjunction with the good Pleasure of his heavenly Father.

This Request of the two Sons of *Zebedee* offended the rest of the Apostles, whose Minds, 'tis likely, were not thoroughly purged from such ambitious Desires. But their Master moderates betwixt them, shewing them the Nature of the Evangelical State; that it was not here, as in secular Kingdoms, where the great Ones exercise their Authority upon the Less; but that in his Kingdom Humility was the surest Way to Honour, and Condescension to the lowest Services for the Good of Men's Souls, the best Qualification for the chief Places; and that this was no more than what he recommended by his own Example, *who came not to be minister'd unto, to be serv'd with any Pomp and Grandeur; but to serve others, even to the laying down of his Life for the Redemption of Mankind.* With this Dis-

course he settled their Minds, and put an End to their Contentions.

Being at *Jerusalem* some few Days before the *Passover*, and with their Master when he foretold the Ruin of the Temple, *James* and *John* were some of those who enquired of him, *When it should happen? Whether there should be any certain and evident Presages of it?* Being moved with the same Fear and Curiosity with *Andrew* and *Peter* about this lamentable Calamity, which should befall their Brethren and Nation.

We have already mentioned, That just before the Apprehension of *Jesus* in the Garden of *Gethsemane*, *James* and *John* were particularly separated from the rest of their Disciples to be Spectators of the bitter Agony that he underwent there, from the Thoughts of his Father's Displeasure, and the Bitterness of that Cup of Torment, which he was to drink off for our Sins; when his Soul was filled with deadly Sorrow, and his Body sweat out Drops of Blood, as a Sign of it: But their Sleepiness prevented their beholding his Sufferings, else they might here perhaps have better seen how much it costs to redeem Souls, than they could when they beheld him upon the Cross.

Some Days after the Resurrection of *Christ*, *James* and *John* went a Fishing, with some other Disciples, in the Sea of *Galilee*. But how *James* was employ'd, either by our Lord's Command, or by the Agreement of the Apostles, in promoting and preaching the Gospel after *Christ's* Ascension, we have no Account from any authentick History. The Addition to St. *Jerome's* Catalogue of famous Men, tells us, That St. *James* preached the Gospel to the twelve Tribes of the *Jews*, in their Dispersions up and down the World; tho' it is most probable, that he preached chiefly in *Judea*, because he was martyred at *Jerusalem* not many Years after *Christ's* Death, and so tasted

of the Cup of *Christ's* Passion the first of all the Apostles; and that by the Word *Dispersion* the Author means that Dispersion which was made upon the Death of St. *Stephen*.

The *Spanish* Writers contend, that he preached in their Nation, where he planted a Church, and then returned to *Jerusalem*. But of this there is no Mention in any ancient Writers, earlier than the middle Ages of the Church: when 'tis mentioned by *Isidore*, the Breviary of *Toledo*, and the *Arabick* Books of *Anastasi* Patriarch of *Antioch*, concerning the Passions of the Martyrs; and some others after them. Nay, *Baronius* himself, though endeavouring to render the Account as plain and plausible as he could, and to remove what Objections lay against it, yet after all confesses, he did it only to shew that the Thing was not impossible, nor to be accounted such an extravagant Fable as some Men make it.

St. *James* suffered Martyrdom at *Jerusalem*, A. D. 49, in the Fourth Year of the Emperor *Claudius*, according to Bishop *Pearson's* Chronology; and about the Time of the *Passover*, as some think. The Occasion of his Death was this: *Herod Agrippa*, Son of *Aristobulus*, and Grandson of *Herod the Great*, being lately made King of *Judea*, resolved, at his first Entrance on his Government, to ingratiate himself with the *Jews*. To this End he became, not only an accurate Observer of the *Mosaick* Law, but a vehement Persecutor of the Christians, because of the mortal Hatred which the *Jews* bare to them. And understanding that St. *James* was an active, stirring Man amongst them, and who by his holy Life, and persuasive Discourses, gained many to the Profession of Christianity, he caused him to be apprehended, threw him into Prison, and in a short Time pass'd Sentence of Death upon him.

Clement of Alexandria, and after him *Eusebius*, relate a notable Passage concerning the Officer, or rather his Accuser, who had him before the Judges: That observing the great Courage and Constancy of Mind wherewith St. *James* underwent his Trial, he was so affected with it, that he repented of what he had done, became himself a Christian, and owning the Faith of *Christ*, was condemned to be beheaded with the Apostle. As they were both led together to Execution, he begged Pardon of St. *James* by the Way, for apprehending him. The Apostle paused a little to consider, not whether he should pardon him, but whether he should acknowledge him for a Christian, who had not been baptized: But God immediately revealed it to him by his Spirit, *That Martyrdom supplies the Want of Baptism*. Whereupon the Apostle embraced him, saying, *Peace be with you*; and having kissed them, they were both beheaded together.

The Death of St. *James* happened eleven Years after the Death of *Jesus Christ*, according to the Computation above referred to, but nine according to others. He was the first Martyr among the Apostles, as St. *Stephen* was amongst the rest of the Saints; and so they were both, in some Sense, the first Fruits of the Martyrs. By his Death was our Saviour's Prediction verified, *That he should drink of the Cup which he drank of*.

The Church indeed by his Sufferings lost one of her main Pillars, upon which the *Jews* thought she stood: But after his Death it remained no less firm than before, that all her Enemies might see, that she is not founded upon the Authority of Men, but upon the Rock *JESUS CHRIST*; Which is the Reason that the Church has never been unwilling to lose her chief Members, that God might not only have the Glory of their Deaths, but be

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SAINT JOHN.



He was Banished into the Island of Patmos where he wrote his Book of Revelations.

be seen to be her immediate Supporter and Defender against her Enemies Malice and Power.

Epiphanius says, That *St. James* always lived a Batchelor, in much Temperance and Mortification, neither eating Flesh nor Fish; that he wore only one Coat and a Linen Cloak; and that he was holy and exemplary in all Manner of Conversation. His Body was interr'd at *Jerusalem*; and if we may believe some *Spanish* Writers, removed afterwards to *Iria Flavia*, and thence to *Compostella* in *Spain*. Though *Isaac Vossius* will have these two to be one and the same Place, which, after the Story of *St. James's* Translation had gotten some Footing, began to be called, *ad Jacobum Apostolum*; thence in after Times *Giacomo Postolo*, which was at last contracted into *Compostella*; where it is held at this Day in great Veneration, and incredible Miracles are reported to be done by it. But it must be remembered, that the Account of its Translation thither hath no good Foundation in any approved History.

After *St. James's* Death, the Divine Vengeance closely pursued *Herod*, and severely punished him for shedding the

Blood of this holy Apostle: For, departing from *Jerusalem*, he went to *Caesarea*; and there, as *Josephus* relates, celebrated Sports in Honour of *Caesar*, his Patron and Benefactor. Upon one of the greatest of these Days, when the Nobility of those Parts, and the common People, were gathered together in great Numbers to see the Shews, he rode attired in most splendid Robes of Gold and Silver interwoven, which by the Reflection of the Sun, almost dazzled the Eyes of the Beholders, and presented himself before the whole Assembly, and made an elegant Oration to them. His Flatterers extolled it as the Voice of a God, and not a Man; as nothing but a Divine Rhetorick could have uttered such noble and lively Expressions. *Herod*, proud of such Encomiums, rebuked not their vain Words; but, as if they had really made him what they pretended to think him, was willing to believe himself more than a Man. God, who cannot bear such Rivalship, seeing this Piece of Arrogancy in an Enemy of his Gospel, immediately smote him by his Angel with an incurable Distemper, and he died miserably, being devoured of Worms.

The LIFE of St. JOHN the Evangelist.

St. John, Apostle and Evangelist, his Pedigree and Relations. His Age and Piety. Called the beloved Disciple, and why. Prepares Christ's last Passover. Present at Christ's Agony. And at the Crucifixion. Made the Guardian of the Virgin Mary. Preaches to the Churches of Asia. His Sufferings under Domitian. Banished to Pathmos. His Revelations given him in Pathmos.

ST. John the Evangelist was the Brother of *James the Great*, the Son of *Zebedee* and *Salome*. Several have believed that he was that Disciple of *John the*

Baptist, who went with *St. Andrew* to *Jesus*; and so much the rather, because he is not named. For *St. John* in his own Writings modestly conceals his own Name, tho' he is particular enough in the Mention of others. His Conversion to *Christ* is uncertain; but the miraculous Draught of Fishes at *Jesus's* Command, made them all Captives to his Will and Doctrine who were present at it. And from that Time *John*, with the rest of the Partners, became inseparable Companions and Attendants of him, leaving his Father and all worldly Concerns to follow him. He was present at the Cure of

of *Peter's* Wife's Mother, the Raising of *Jairus's* Daughter, and the Transfiguration in the Mount, with his Brother *James*.

Jesus Christ, when he called him to the Apostleship, gave him, in Conjunction with his Brother, the Name of *Boanerges*, that is, *The Sons of Thunder*: To shew the Strength and Greatness of their Faith, and because they were designed to publish the Majesty of God through all the World; not to fear the Power of Man, but to exalt themselves above them. This Sirname was more especially attributed to St. *John*, who was indeed the *Son of Thunder*; because he so clearly taught the Divinity of *Jesus Christ* in sublime Words, and hath made manifest the Truth of the Divine Secrets, whose Obscurity like Clouds, till then deprived us of their Splendor.

This holy Person was thought the youngest of all the Apostles, being about twenty-five or twenty-six Years old when he was called: And the Length of his Life, after *Christ's* Death, proves that he was very young when he first became his Disciple. But he was equal in Piety and Wisdom to those who were much more antient. His holy Life made him honourable in all the World; which was to him instead of old Age, and his Prudence instead of grey Hairs. He had in his Youth such a pure and blameless Life, as is not ordinarily granted to others but in old Age, and after long Exercise in Virtue.

Jesus Christ had a particular Affection for him, and loved him more than any of the Apostles; insomuch that when he speaks of himself, he saith, *That he was the Disciple whom Jesus loved*. St. *Austin* believes, That *Jesus Christ* shewed him particular Kindness, that he might give the greater Authority to those great Truths, which he was afterwards to deliver to the World. And St. *John* de-

served this Love, not only because he loved *Christ* above all, but because he was very peaceable and meek, and so extremely like *Christ* himself.

St. *John* thought he gave his Master a sound Proof of his Love to him, in hindering a Person, who was casting out Devils in the Name of *Christ*, to do it, because he was not of the Number of *Christ's* Disciples, and afterwards telling *Jesus* what he had done. But *Jesus*, though he did not reprove him for it, as if he had been guilty of a Fault, knowing that he did it out of true Love and Zeal to him, told him by Way of Instruction, That there was no Cause why he should hinder the Man, tho' he did not constantly follow him as they did, because 'twas a Sign that he had some Degree of Faith in him, as Saviour of the World; that he had a Veneration for his Name, which he used in so solemn a Work: and that indeed he was of their Party, and one of his Disciples, tho' he did not so openly profess it. *Because none, says our Lord, can do a Miracle in my Name, but he must speak honourably of me; and by so doing, in some Measure, act with us and for us.*

St. *John* shewed a particular Respect and Love for *Jesus*, as well as his Brother *James* did, when seeing the Incivility and Unkindness of the *Samaritans* to him, he desired to call for Fire from Heaven, after *Elias's* Example, to consume them, as unworthy to live, who denied Reception to the Son of God. Nor did it proceed from any Thing but a singular Affection to him, that he desired to sit with his Brother on the right and left Hand of *Christ* in his Kingdom; being ambitious of a near Enjoyment of him in his Glory, and accounting it all his Happiness to have the Marks of his Favour, as well in the future as in the present Life. He was also one of them, who a little before *Christ's* Passion, asked him, *When the*
Ruin

Ruin of the Temple should happen? Which our Lord a little before had foretold.

When our Saviour celebrated his last *Passover* with his Disciples, at the End of which he delivered to them the sacred Memorials of his Death and Sufferings for them and all the World; *John* was sent with *Peter* to find out a convenient Place for it, and provide all Things necessary for that solemn Rite. Some of the modern *Greeks* have asserted, That it was at St. *John's* House where this last *Passover* was kept. But there is not the least Umbrage for such a Conjecture to be found in Scripture. However, though the Person be not indeed named, there is sufficient Proof that it was another Person; and 'tis scarcely imaginable that St. *John* should have an House at *Jerusalem*.

At this last *Paschal* Supper, wherein *Christ* left us the Pledges of his Love, he gave *John* a particular Mark of his Favour, in suffering him to lean upon his Bosom; as he usually did, saith St. *Austin*, when he eat with him. St. *John* repeats this Circumstance several Times, and the more antient and solid Fathers make many Remarks upon it. They deduce from it a Proof, or at least a Figure, of that spiritual and ineffable Communication of divine Knowledge which the Word imparted to him; That having been filled with the most sublime Truths and heavenly Mysteries from the Bosom of the Son of God, he might discover them to Men by his Gospel, Revelation, and Epistles. They say, that he related this particular Favour, lest Men should think he attributed to himself what he had received, or was the Author of those divine Mysteries which were revealed to him by the Spirit of God. While St. *John* lay in this Posture upon his Master; he, by the Instigation of St. *Peter*, asked *Jesus*, *Who of them it was that should betray him?* And received Information, by Signs, though not in Words, that it was *Judas*

Iscaiot, the Son of *Simon*. St. *Jerome* says, St. *Peter* durst not ask his Master himself.

After the Supper, *Jesus* went into the Garden of *Gethsemane*, with his Disciples; where he took *Peter*, and *James*, and *John*, to be Witnesses of his Agony, and of that Sorrow he voluntarily endured, to comfort us under our voluntary Griefs. When *Jesus* was by the Treachery of *Judas* betrayed and delivered into the Power of the *Jews*, the Disciples forsook their Master, and for fear fled from him. St. *Chrysostom* says, that *John* never left him: For tho' the Evangelist St. *Matthew* says, *All the Disciples forsook him and fled*, yet such general Expressions in Scripture frequently admit of Exceptions.

Others of the Antients believe, that he was that young Man who followed *Jesus* with a Linnen Cloth cast about his naked Body; by the Looseness of which he disengaged himself from the Officers, when they laid hold of him, leaving it in their Hands, and flying away naked. This Dr. *Cave* supposes to be that Garment which he had cast about him at Supper, (for they had peculiar Vestments for that Purpose;) and being extremely affected with the Treason of *Judas*, and his Lord's inevitable Sufferings, hastily followed him without changing his Dress, it being then Night, and so less Notice to be taken of Habits. However, it is not easy to imagine that he should fly, and yet go along with *Jesus* into the Palace of *Caiaphas*, as the Fathers believe he did; understanding that Disciple that was known to the High-Priest, and who let in *Peter*, to be St. *John*; tho' there be no certain Proof of it.

And it seems farther probable, that *John* accompanied *Christ* in the former Part of his Sufferings, since he attended upon him at his Crucifixion, and, for any Thing we know, was the only Apostle that did so; owning him as well as being

being owned by him, in the midst of Arms and Guards, and in the thickest Crowds of his most inveterate Enemies. Here it was that our Lord declared the singular Assurance he had of this Disciple's Love and Affection, by recommending with his dying Words, his Mother, the Blessed Virgin, to his Care. *When he saw his Mother, and the Disciple standing by whom he loved, he said unto his Mother, Woman, behold thy Son:* Intimating, that he should be instead of a Son to love and honour her, to provide for and take care of her. *Then saith he to his Disciple, Behold thy Mother.* And from that Hour that Disciple took her unto his own Home; treating her with all the dutiful Regard of a pious and affectionate Son: Whence we may conclude, that Joseph her Husband was now dead.

St. John, tho' full of Sorrow and inexpressible Grief for the Death of his Master, yet left not the Cross till he saw how the Corps was disposed of. And, from him it is that we learn, that according to the Law of the Paschal Lamb, *not a Bone of it was broken*: Whereas the two Criminals, who hung on each Side, had their Legs broken, according to the Custom in such Cases. But that another Scripture in *Zachariah* might be fulfilled, one of the Soldiers pierced our Lord's Side with a Spear, and forthwith there gushed out Blood and Water. And he that saw it, that is, St. John, bare Record; which is Proof enough that he was by all the Time.

Upon the Day of Christ's Resurrection, Mary Magdalen and other Women, came early to the Sepulchre; and not finding Christ's Body, which they came purposely to anoint, Mary went immediately, in great haste, to John and Peter, to tell them of it; supposing that his Body had been taken away by some unknown Person, and hidden from them. The two Apostles, hearing this, were much con-

cerned, and ran immediately to the Sepulchre to be fully informed of the Truth of it. John, being not only the younger, but perhaps the more zealous of the two, out-ran Peter, and came first to the Sepulchre; and looking into it, saw the Linen Clothes wherein our Lord's Body had been wrapped up, lying by themselves. When St. Peter came, and they had jointly considered the Affair, they both concluded that his Body was stolen; being ignorant, as yet, that he was to rise again from the Dead; though they were afterwards convinced of it, by Christ's frequent Appearances to them before his Ascension.

Some few Days after this, St. John went a Fishing, with other of the Disciples, on the Sea of Tiberias; and as they were at their Employ, Jesus appeared to them upon the Shore; but in such a Form as that he was unknown to the Disciples at first; till after some Discourse with them about their Fishing, and Instructions from him about casting their Net, by which they got a great Draught, St. John first discovered that it was their Lord, and told St. Peter of it. They then hastened all to the Shore, and dined with him.

When Dinner was ended, St. John followed Christ, as he walked along the Shore, questioning St. Peter about the Sincerity of his Love. Peter turning him about, saw John, and asked Jesus, *What should become of him?* Supposing, that since that Apostle was always his Best-beloved, he would particularly protect and defend him. Jesus gave such an Answer as made the Disciples think that John should not die, but remain in the Body till Christ's Coming to Judgment. And we find that the Fathers, Hilary and Damascene, were of the same Opinion. But St. John himself tells us, that no such Thing was meant by it, but those Words had another Sense. And accordingly, they

they have been interpreted by some to hint at *Christ's* coming virtually, and by his Divine Power, to the Judgment of the *Jews* in the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. This, however, is certain, that they were intended to check *Peter* for his too great Curiosity, and meddling with that which did not concern him. And thus much for the eminent Instances of Duty and Affection which *St. John* express'd to our Lord while personally upon Earth.

Clement Alexandrinus says, that *Christ* at his Ascension, communicated the Knowledge of his Doctrine only to *St. James the Great*, *St. John*, and *St. Peter*, who instructed the rest of the Apostles, and they the seventy Disciples: Also that *St. Peter*, *St. James*, and *St. John*, tho' preferred before the rest of the Disciples by our Saviour himself in many Respects, yet did not challenge any Pre-eminence to themselves, but chose *James the Just* to be Bishop of *Jerusalem*.

Some Time after the Apostles had received the Gifts of the Spirit on the Day of *Pentecost*; *St. Peter* and *St. John* went up together into the Temple to pray, and healed the Beggar who had been lame from his Mother's Womb. This Miracle awakened the Minds of the People with Admiration, and prepared their Souls to believe in the Power by which it was done; but at the same Time it incensed the Rulers so much, that they seized upon the Apostles, and put them into Prison. The next Day, however, they had their Liberties given them, but with a strict Prohibition of not preaching in the Name of *Christ*. But they declared, That they were appointed Witnesses by God of what they had heard and seen, and must obey God rather than Man. Notwithstanding which bold Declaration, they were dismissed with only some additional Threats; and going to their Brethren, related what had befallen them. Not long after this, as the Apostles still continued preaching

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the Gospel, notwithstanding the Menaces of the *Jewish* Rulers, they were again apprehended by them: Who being now very angry at their former Disobedience, consulted to put them all to Death. But *Gamaliel*, a learned Doctor of the Law, by his prudent and sage Advice, prevented the Execution of their bloody Design; so that they only scourged the Apostles and let them go, repeating their former Injunction, not to offend any more by preaching in this Manner.

All the Christians, who were at *Jerusalem*, being dispersed after the Death of *Stephen*, and upon the Account of the Persecution that followed it, except the Apostles; *St. Philip the Deacon* went down to *Samaria*, and by his Preaching converted and baptized many there; as we have related in the Life of *St. Peter*: But because the Baptism they received did not confer the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, *Peter* and *John* were sent down to bestow these Gifts of the Spirit upon them, by the Imposition of Hands: Which having performed, they returned again to *Jerusalem*, preaching in many Villages of the *Samaritans* as they went along.

How long *John* staid at *Jerusalem* after his Return thither, is not known. *St. Paul* going up thither three Years after his Conversion, saw only *Peter* and *James the Less*. *John* was gone; but whither is no where discovered to us, either in Holy Scripture, or any other Writers.

However, when *St. Paul* went thither again in the fourteenth Year after his Conversion, he tells us, that among other Apostles, *John* gave him the Right Hand of Fellowship; that is, own'd him as a true Minister of *Jesus Christ*, and approv'd of his Mission to the Gentiles. This was the Time when the Apostles and Brethren met in Council at *Jerusalem*, to consider how far Christians should be subject to the *Mosaic* Rites and Ceremonies. Here *John* acted as a Pillar of the Church,

4 X

with

with Authority; but seems to have inclined to the Jewish Side, submitting to the Observation of the Law, in Condescension to the Jews Weakness. It appears from an Epistle of *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus*, mentioned in *Eusebius*, that *St. John* strictly observed the Jewish Law in keeping of *Easter*; for *Polycrates* pleads the Authority of his Example for celebrating it on the fourteenth Day of the Moon. It is likewise concluded, that his Example made it so to be celebrated a long Time after in the *Asian* Churches, as if of divine Institution.

After this Council, we have little certain of this Apostle till the Persecution of *Domitian*; for the Account which *Prochorus* gives of him is fabulous. Some, however, assert, That he preached to the Jews in *Parthia* and *India*; because *St. Austin* cites his first Epistle under the Name of an Epistle to the *Parthians*. But this cannot be called a very strong Proof.

There is good Reason to think, that *St. John*, as well as the other Apostles, made a Journey to *Jerusalem* about the Year sixty or sixty-two, to chuse a Bishop for that Church in the Place of *St. James the Less*, who was not long before martyred: For *Eusebius* says, That all the Apostles who were then alive, (and most of them were yet surviving) met at *Jerusalem* for that End, and elected *Simeon*, the Son of *Cleophas*, our Lord's Kinsman, with one Consent.

The same *Eusebius* affirms, that in the Division of Provinces which the Apostles made amongst themselves, for the Exercise of their Ministry, *Asia* fell to *St. John's* Share; and that he resided a long Time at *Ephesus*. Some think that he carried the Blessed Virgin along with him, and that she died here. But *Combes* and others shew, that this is a Mistake, founded upon a wrong Construction of a Passage in a Synodical Epistle of the Council of *Ephesus*. The

Greeks in their Calendar, at the Twenty-sixth of *September*, say, that *St. John* attended upon the Blessed Virgin till her Decease, which is thought by most to be fifteen Years after our Lord's Ascension, tho' some make it much longer; and that then he went into his Province of *Asia*. In this Part of the World he founded many eminent Churches, at *Smyrna*, *Pergamus*, *Thyatira*, *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*, *Laodicea*, and other Places. And considering his long Life and active Spirit, we may well allow the Assertion of some Authors, that he preached in other Parts of the East. His first Epistle, was antiently inscribed to the *Parthians*: And the Missionaries of the Church of *Rome* assure us, that the *Bassora*, a People of *India*, constantly affirm from the Tradition of their Ancestors, that *St. John* planted the Christian Faith in their Country.

After the Death of the Blessed Virgin, *Mary Magdalen* is said to have continually attended upon *St. John*, and to have died at *Ephesus*: For all the other Apostles, except *St. Paul* and *St. Barnabas*, had Women to accompany them in their Journeys, to take Care of their Necessaries; it being ordinary among the Jews to act in this Manner, nor was it at all scandalous. *St. John's* continual Residence at *Ephesus*, caused him to be called sometimes the Bishop, of it. But since the Apostolical Authority was superior to that of a Bishop, he did not tie himself down to the Church of *Ephesus* in particular, but took care of all the *Asian* Churches. His Abode at *Ephesus* did not deprive *Timothy* of his Episcopal Authority, which *St. Paul* had conferred on him before *St. John* came thither: For the Charity and Humility of those two holy Men, prevented all Differences upon the Account of their Jurisdictions. The Bishop of *Asia*, in the Council of *Chalcedon*, acknowledged *Timothy* for the first Bishop of *Ephesus*. And it is evident that the Angel

Angel of the Church of *Ephesus*, reprov-
ed by St. *John* in his *Revelation*, was not
himself; but some other Person who had
been elected Bishop after he was banished
from thence.

St. *Jerome* says, That St. *John* founded
and governed all the Churches of *Asia*:
And *Tertullian* adds, That he placed Bi-
shops in all that Country. Which latter
cannot be literally true, since St. *Paul*
and St. *Peter* founded several Churches
there; yet thus far the Assertion may
hold good, that *John* did really found
most of the *Asian* Churches, and con-
firmed the rest; and perhaps, in the
Course of his long Life, had put Bishops
into all of them; for while the Apostles
lived, they supplied the Churches with
Bishops of their own appointing, by the
Guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Apollonius, an ecclesiastical Writer in
the Beginning of the third Century, tells
us, That St. *John* raised a Man from the
Dead at *Ephesus*, and deposed a Priest
of *Asia* for writing the fabulous Voyages
of St. *Paul* and St. *Thecla*, although he
composed that Work in Honour of St.
Paul. St. *Epiphanius* affirms, That St.
John was carried into *Asia* by the special
Conduct of the Holy Spirit, to oppose
the Heresies of the *Ebionites* and *Cer-
intians*, who taught, That Jesus Christ
was a mere Man, the Son of Joseph.

On this Occasion we shall relate a Pas-
sage out of *Irenaeus*, who says he had it
from *Polycarp* the Disciple of St. *John*,
to shew how much he was for shunning
all Society and Communion with Here-
ticks: The holy Apostle going one Day
with some of his Friends to a Bath at
Ephesus, he enquired of the Servant that
waited there who was within; and under-
standing that *Cerintius* was there, (*Epi-
phanius* says it was *Ebion*, and possibly
they might both be there) he started
back and said to his Company; *Let us,*
my Brethren, make haste and be gone, lest

the Bath wherein there is such a Heretick
as Cerintius, that great Enemy of the
Truth, should fall upon our Heads. By
this his Example teaching us, that we
ought to avoid the Society of such as abuse
and corrupt the Truth.

This is all we know of St. *John*, till
the second Persecution of the Church;
which began, according to the usual Ac-
count, about the Year 90, which was the
fifteenth Year of *Domitian*, and ended
the next Year with the Death of that
Prince. This Persecution was not more
famous for any Thing, than for the Suf-
ferings and Martyrdom of St. *John*. The
Courage by which shews, he conquered
all the Power of his Persecutors, that the
Eternal Word, which he preached to
others, did really abide in him. 'Tis
said, That he was accused to the Em-
peror *Domitian*, not only as a Disturber
of the Government, but a Promoter of
Atheism, the usual Calumny fastened up-
on the primitive Christians, because they
preached against those Idols which the
Gentiles reputed Gods. By *Domitian's*
Command the Proconsul of *Asia* sent him
bound to *Rome*, where the barbarous Ty-
rant caused him to be cast into a Caul-
dron of boiling Oil, or rather Oil set on
Fire, in the Presence of all the Senate.
But Jesus Christ, who favoured him above
all the Apostles, so preserved him in this
Danger, that he came out of it unhurt;
And as if he had only been anointed,
as the antient *Abletae* were, he appeared
more vigorous and active than before.
Thus had he the Honour of Martyrdom,
without suffering the Torments of it, or
being left in the Power of Men, who en-
deavoured to hurt his precious Life.

In this Manner was that fulfilled which
his Lord had foretold, *That he should*
drink of the Cup of his Passion. And hence
it is that the Antients give him the Title
of a Martyr. For tho' Martyrdom had
no Power over him, yet he yielded his

Body to all its Torments, and was willing to die for *Christ*: And as the Children cast by *Nebuchadnezzar* into the fiery Furnace, were Martyrs in their Intentions, tho' the Fire consumed not their Bodies; so was *John* really a Martyr in Will, tho' not in Sufferings; God saving him by his Power, beyond his Hopes or Desires, from his Enemies Malice.

Domitian being thus disappointed, considered not the Miracle: But the merciless Persecutor, nothing mollified by so evident a Token of divine Love, immediately banished the Apostle into *Patmos*, a disconsolate Island in the *Archipelago*, there to be employed in digging in the Mines, (according to *Victorinus*,) which was the usual Labour of Persons banished thither for any Crime. Here it was that he wrote his *Apocalypse*, or Book of *Revelations*, wherein, by frequent Visions and prophetick Representations, he had a Scheme and Prospect of the State of Christianity in all the future Ages and Periods of it: This certainly was not the least Instance of our Lord's special Favour to this Apostle; and it was vouchsafed him at a very seasonable Time, that he who was now cut off, in a great Measure, from the Society of Men, should be entertained with the more immediate Converse of Heaven.

The holy Apostle, while in his Banishment, as an antient Father observes, seeing himself condemned to great Pains and Labour, in an Age not able to endure any Hardships, despaired of Life, and hoped to die: But God dispell'd his gloomy Apprehensions, by revealing to him, *That he must prophesy before many People, and Nations, and Tongues, and Kings*. By which Revelation his Enlargement was foreshewn, which happened soon after; for he had not been two Years in *Patmos* before *Domitian* was slain, and was succeeded in the Empire by *Cocceius Nerva*, a prudent Man, of

quite another Sort of Genius. He rescinded the odious Acts of *Domitian*, and by a publick Edict recalled those from Banishment, whom the Fury of his Predecessor had driven into that State. Hereupon *St. John* returned from *Patmos* to his former Residence at *Ephesus*, where *Timothy* the Bishop of that Place having lately been martyr'd by the People, for persuading them against their idolatrous Feasts and Sports, the Bishops of that Province desired the Apostle to take upon him the Care of that Church. He accepted it, and governed it till the Reign of *Trajan*. Tho' he was now ninety Years old, he went many Journeys into the neighbouring Provinces, to ordain Bishops, and confirm the Churches. One of the last Bishops he made was *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, who had been his Scholar.

One Time as he was visiting a Church not far from *Ephesus*, after he had made a most comfortable Discourse to the Clergy and People, observing a young Man in the Company, of a fair Stature, and very promising Aspect, he presented him to the Person whom he had ordained Bishop of that Church, saying, *In the Presence of Christ, and before this Congregation, I earnestly recommend this young Man to your fatherly Care*. The Bishop took this Trust upon him, and promised to discharge it with all Fidelity.

St. John having repeated his Injunction to him, and conjured him to be careful, returned to *Ephesus*. The young Man was lodged in the Bishop's House, instructed in Religion, and kept to good Rules, and at last baptized and confirmed by him. And now, as if he had been in a State of perfect Security, being consigned to *Christ* by the Seal of Baptism, his Tutor began to slacken the Reins of Discipline, and be less watchful over him. This Negligence was quickly discovered by a Company of idle dissolute Wretches, addicted

addicted to all Manner of Vices, who allured the Youth into their Society. And first they ply'd him with Treats and luxurious Entertainments : Next they engaged him to make one with them in thievish Adventures and Robberies by Night : And so, by Degrees, they led him from one Step of Villainy to another, and inured him to Wickedness, till like a high-mettled Horse, with the Bit between his Teeth, and fearless of Precipices, he cast away all Hopes of Heaven, scorned to be outdone in Sin, thought it great Bravery to defy the Laws, and shew least Dread of the heaviest Punishment. Wherefore forming his Company into a Troop of Robbers, he became their Captain, and exceeded them all in Violence, Murders, and the blackest Crimes.

Some Time afterwards an Occasion happened, which made it necessary for St. John to revisit this Church. When he had finished the Business he came about, he said, addressing himself to the Bishop, *Come, Sir, give up your Charge, which Christ and I entrusted you with in the Face of the Congregation.* At first the Bishop was surprized, as thinking he was going to be charged with Money which he had never received. And while he seemed not to understand what was said, *I demand,* said the Apostle, *an Account of the Soul of my Brother, the young Man whom I committed to your Care.*

The poor old Man could not look him in the Face ; but bursting out into Tears and Lamentations replied, *He is dead.* Pray, said St. John, *what did he die of ?* *He is dead to God,* said the other ; *for he hath taken to very ill Courses, and turn'd Robber. And now instead of frequenting the Church of Christ, he hath his Resorts in the Mountains with Men of the like wicked Principles.* The Apostle hearing this, tore his Hair, and rent his Cloaths, crying out with a lamentable Groan, *Oh,*

what a Guardian have I provided to watch over my Brother's Soul ?

Presently he called for a Horse and a Guide, and rid away from the Church, just as he was, till he came to a Place where the Robbers had set their Watch, who seized him, and made him their Prisoner. He, nothing concerned, nor offering to fly, said, *I must see your Captain ; I came for this Purpose.* The Captain, well armed, was waiting for them at some Distance, expecting they had taken some Prize. But perceiving, upon a nearer Approach, that it was St. John, in great Confusion he made off.

The holy Apostle, forgetting his Age and Weakness, speeded after him, crying, *Child, why do you run from your Father, a defenceless old Man ? Spare me this Pains of following you, good Child ; and don't be afraid. Your Salvation is not irrecoverable. I will make up the Breach betwixt Christ and you. Tho' I were to die for you, as Christ did for us, nay to give my very Soul in Exchange for yours, I could freely do it. Stay, and be convinced that Christ hath sent me.*

At these Words the young Man stood still, with his Eyes fixed upon the Ground. Then throwing away his Arms, he fell a-trembling, and burst out into Tears. And when the aged Apostle came up to him, he embraced him, and implored Forgiveness with such Lamentation and Weeping, that he seemed to be baptized again, and to wash away his Sins with his own Tears.

Then the Apostle with repeated Vows assured him, that he had obtained Pardon for him at Christ's Hands ; and kneeling before him, with wonderful Condescension kiss'd his right Hand, which he had hitherto hid, as now made clean by Repentance, and so brought him back again to the Church. From thenceforth he entered with him into such a Course

Course of fervent Prayers and long Fasting, and raised his dejected Soul with such heavenly Discourses, that he perfectly restored him to the State from whence he was fallen. A great Example of sincere Repentance, and a notable Proof how one that is dead in Sins and Trespasses, may be regenerate and born again to a new State of Holiness and Virtue. This History is related by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in his Treatise concerning the Salvation of a rich Man; and from him quoted by *Eusebius*.

It was here, at *Ephesus* in *Asia*, after his Return from *Patmos*, that *St. John* wrote his Gospel. *Epiphanius* says, He was above ninety Years old at the Time of

writing it. His Modesty, and a timorous Respect to those profound Truths he was obliged to treat of, in Case he wrote, made him something backward to undertake the Task: But the Importunity of the Churches of *Asia*, who severally sent their Deputies with their Petitions, and the secret Instinct of the Holy Spirit, forced him to venture upon it. *St. John*, by the Divine Permission, lived to a very old Age, dying in the third Year of *Trajan's* Reign, sixty-eight Years after Christ's Death, in the ninety-eighth or ninety-ninth Year of his Age. He was buried at *Ephesus*, where a Tomb was long remaining to his Honour, but now changed into a *Turkish* Mosque.

The LIFE of St. BARTHOLOMEW.

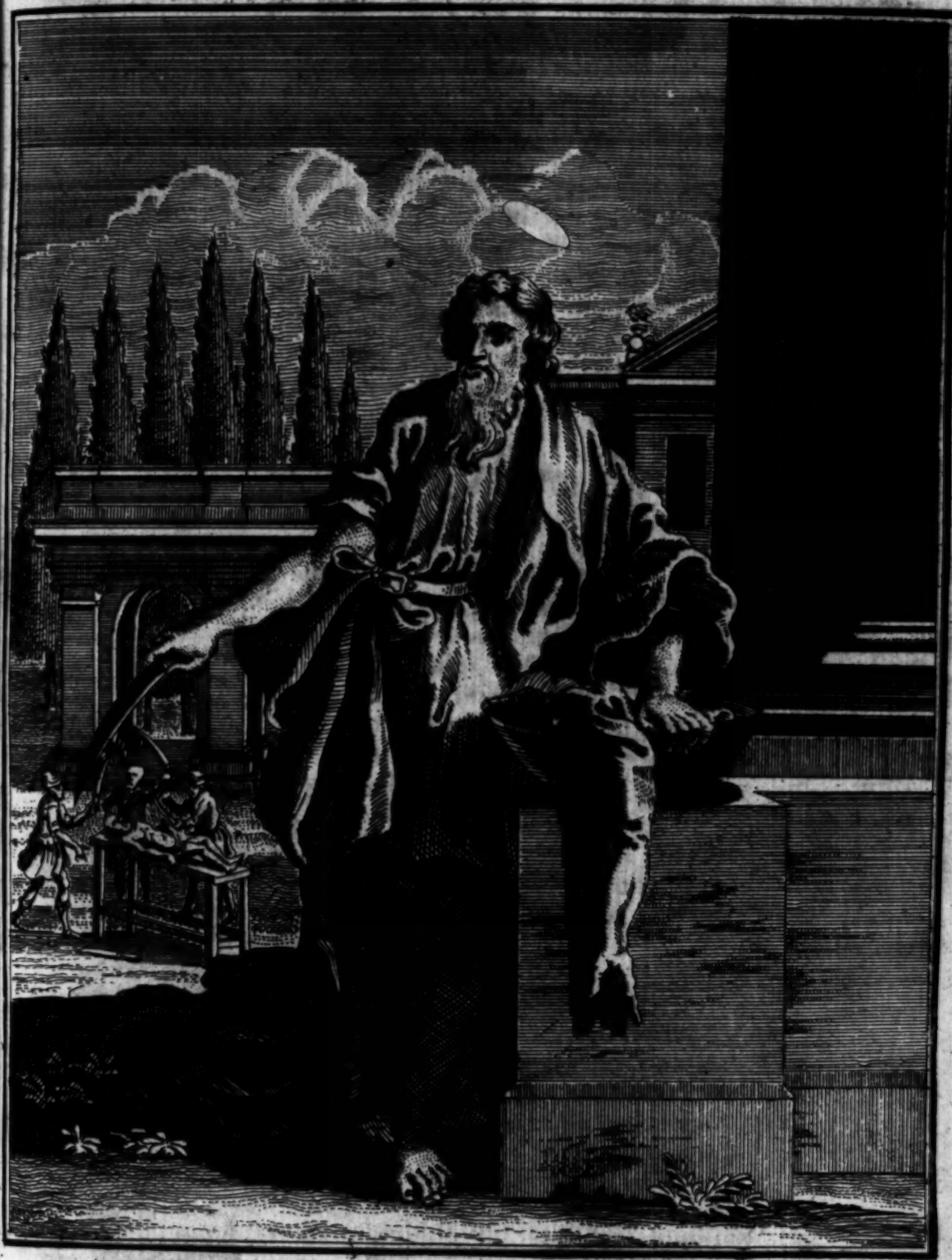
Bartholomew and Nathanael supposed to be the same. Reason of the Name Bartholomew. An Objection of St. Austin answered. St. Bartholomew's Descent. His Travels. Martyrdom. Things falsely attributed to him.

THE Evangelical History of the Election of the Apostles informs us, that *Bartholomew* was one of the twelve. But because he is but just named, without any farther Notice taken of him, many, both antiently and of latter Times, have supposed that he lay concealed under the Name of *Nathanael*, one of the first Disciples that came to *Christ*. Accordingly we may observe, that as *St. John* never mentions *Bartholomew* in the Number of the Apostles; so the other Evangelists never take notice of *Nathanael*, probably as being the same Person under two several Names: And as in *St. John*, *Philip* and *Nathanael* are joyned together, in their coming to *Christ*; so in the rest of the Evangelists *Philip* and *Bartholomew* are constantly put together; for no other

Reason, as the learned *Dr. Cave* conceives, but because they were joyned together to the Discipleship. But that which renders this Matter still more probable is, that *Nathanael* is particularly reckon'd with the other Apostles, to whom our Lord appear'd at the Sea of *Tiberias* after his Resurrection. And it is hard to give a Reason why *Nathanael*, an Israelite indeed, in whom was no Guile, and so early a Disciple, that he was a Witness of the whole Ministry, and Doctrine, and mighty Power of *Christ*, should not have been propos'd, as well as *Barsabas* or *Matthias*, to have filled the vacant Place of *Judas*, if he had not been one of the twelve already.

Nor indeed is it reasonable to suppose that *Bartholomew* was his proper Name, any more than *Barjona* was the proper Name of *Peter*; but given him only to denote his relative Capacity, either as a Son, or as a Scholar. If it refers to his Father, he was the Son of *Tholmai*, a Name not uncommon among the Jews: If to his Sect as a Scholar, he was of the School of *Tholmeans*, so called from their Founder

SAINT BARTHOLOMEW.



*He was flayed alive at Albanople in Armenia
the Great, by the command of a barbarous King.*

SAINT BARTHOLOMEW



He was flayed alive at Abbeville in France.
the feast by the command of a barbarous King.

Founder *Tbolmai*, Scholar to *Heber*, the ancient Master of the *Hebrews*. Now it was usual for Scholars, out of a great Reverence for him who instituted their Order, to adopt his Name, as *Ben-Uzra*, *Ben-Uzziel*, and others. So that as to the Names of *Bartholomew* and *Nathaniel*, nothing hinders but that they might well belong to one and the same Person.

The chief Objection against all this, is what was antiently hinted by *St. Austin*, That it is not probable our Saviour, who proposed to confound the Wisdom of the World by the preaching of illiterate Men, would chuse *Nathaniel*, a Doctor of the Law, to be one of his Apostles. But this is no Reason to him who considers, That the same Argument is as strong against *Philip*, of whose Skill in the Law and the Prophets there is as much Evidence in the History of the Gospel: And it may be still urged with greater Force against *St. Paul*, than whom, besides his Abilities in human Learning, there were few greater Masters in the *Jewish Law*.

As for his Descent and Family, some think he was a *Syrian*, and derive him from no less a Stock than the *Ptolomies* of *Egypt*: led into this Conceit perhaps by some Affinity in the Letters and Sound of the Name. 'Tis plain, however, that he, as well as the rest of the Apostles, was a *Galilean*; and of *Nathanael* we know it is expressly said, that he was of *Cana in Galilee*. We find our Apostle among the other Disciples who were met together after our Lord's Ascension, joining with the Holy Assembly of Christians, in devoutly praising and praying to God. And this is all the Scripture speaks concerning him.

St. Bartholomew is reported by Ecclesiastical Historians to have travelled as far as *India*, preaching the Gospel; Which surely is meant of the hither *India*, or that Part bordering upon *Asia*.

Socrates tells us, 'twas the *India* bordering upon *Ethiopia*; meaning no doubt the *Asian Ethiopia*. *Sophronius* calls it the *Fortunate India*; and says, that here he left behind him *St. Matthew's Gospel*; whereof *Eusebius* gives us this larger Account; That when *Pantenus*, one of the most learned of the primitive Christians, and desirous to follow the Apostle's Steps in painful Travels for the Enlargement of the Christian Church, went as far as *India* for this purpose; he there found a *Hebrew Gospel* of *St. Matthew*, amongst some who still retained the Knowledge of *Christ*; who assured him from the Tradition of their Ancestors, that it had been left them by *St. Bartholomew*, when he preached the Gospel in those Parts.

For a farther Account of our Apostle, 'tis said, that he returned from *India* to the North-West Parts of *Asia*. At *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia* we find him in Company with *St. Philip*, as we shall observe in the Life of that Apostle; at whose Martyrdom he was likewise fastened to a Cross, in order to have suffered at the same Time; but for some special Reason the Magistrates caused him to be taken down again, and dismissed. Hence probably, he went into *Lycaonia*, where *Chrysostom* affirms that he instructed the People in the Christian Religion. His last Remove was to *Albanople* in *Armenia the Great*, (the same no doubt which *Nicephorus* calls *Urbanople*, a City of *Cilicia*) a Place miserably over-run with Idolatry; from which, while he sought to reclaim the People, he was by the Governor of the Place condemned to be crucified. Some add, that he was crucified with his Head downwards: Others affirm, that he was flay'd alive; which might well enough consist with his Crucifixion; this Punishment being in use, not only in *Egypt*, but amongst the *Persians*, next Neighbours to these *Armenians*, from whom they might very easily borrow this

this Piece of barbarous and brutish Cruelty. *Theodorus Litor* assures us, that the Emperor *Anastafius* having built the City *Daras* in *Mesopotamia*, A. D. 508. removed St. *Bartholomew's* Body thither: Which *Gregory* of *Tours* seems to contradict, saying, that the People of *Liparis*, near *Sicily*, translated it from the Place where he suffered into their Isle, and built a stately Church over it. By what means it was removed from hence to *Beneventum* in *Italy*, and afterwards to the Isle of *Tiber* at *Rome*, where another Church was built to the Honour of this Apostle, is hard to account for.

The Hereticks, according to their Cus-

tom, have forged a Gospel under St. *Bartholomew's* Name, which *Gelasius* Bishop of *Rome* justly branded as Apocryphal, altogether unworthy the Name and Patronage of an Apostle. And perhaps of no better Authority is the Sentence which *Dionysius*, the pretended *Areopagite* ascribes to him, *That Theology is both copious, and yet very small; and the Gospel diffuse and large, and yet withal concise and short.* His Feast, according to the antient Martyrologies, is to be kept on the twenty-fourth Day of *August*; but the *Greeks* keep it on the Eleventh of *June*.

The LIFE of St. MATTHEW.

St. Matthew's Name, Family, and Trade. Publicans, what they were. St. Matthew's Conversion against his worldly Interest. Makes a Feast for his Companions. Speaks of himself in a different Stile from the other Evangelists. Travels and Death.

ST. *Matthew*, who is also called *Levi*, both which Names discover him to be of *Jewish* Extraction, was probably a *Galilean*, the Son of *Alpheus* and *Mary*. His Mother was Sister or Kinswoman to the Mother of our Lord. A certain *Arabic* Author says, his Parents were of the Tribe of *Issachar*, and called *Ducu* and *Karutias*: Which is very possible; it being common amongst the *Jews* for the same Person to be called by several Names; and these latter might be express'd in *Arabic* according to their *Jewish* Signification.

His Trade or Way of Life was that of a *Publican*, that is, a Gatherer of the Taxes and Tributes which the *Romans* had laid upon the *Jews*. This was once

an Office of Credit and Reputation, not ordinarily conferred upon any but *Roman* Knights; insomuch that the Emperor *Vespasian's* own Father, *Flavius Sabinus*, was *Publican* of the *Asian* Provinces. But the *Roman* Tax-Gatherers generally farm'd out the Business to some of the Natives, who best understood the Affairs of their own Country: For which Reason these Farmers squeez'd the People immoderately; that they might not only be responsible to their Masters, but likewise make a sufficient Gain to themselves. This Oppression, together with that Servitude which the paying Tribute to a foreign Power implied, render'd this Sort of Men very odious to the *Jews*, who esteem'd it a Defilement so much as to go into their Houses, or to sit or eat in their Company; as we learn from the Gospel: Nay, they held it no Sin to circumvent and overreach them by all imaginable Ways and Means.

One of those Farmers was St. *Matthew*; but his Calling was no Impediment to that effectual Grace, which carries the worst

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worst of Sinners to Heaven. He seems to have been more particularly Collector of the Customs of all Merchandizes that came by the See of *Galilee*, and the Toll that Passengers, who went by Water, were obliged to pay; for which Purpose his Office was kept by the Sea Side. Here it was that *Matthew* sat, when our Lord called him to be a Disciple.

Living at *Capernaum*, the Place of *Christ's* usual Residence, where his Miracles and Sermons were frequent, he might, in some Measure, be prepared to comply with that special Call which he tells us *Christ* gave him, as he retired out of *Capernaum* to walk by the Sea Side. For at this Time he said no more to him, than *Follow me. And he arose, and follow'd him.* Herein he was a remarkable Instance of the Power of divine Grace, and the wonderful Change it can make in the Heart of Man. For he had very powerful Engagements to the World, was in plentiful Circumstances, and in a fair Way to improve them by a gainful Employment, which he held under the *Romans*, and had their Authority to bear him out in those arbitrary Exactions which were commonly practised by such Men. Notwithstanding all this, no sooner did *Christ* call, but without the least Hesitation he flung up all at once; and not only relinquished his Revenues, as *St. Basil* observes, but hazarded the Displeasure of the superior Officers in this Business, for leaving their Service so abruptly. His Conversion was still more surprizing, in that *Christ*, who call'd him, appear'd under all the Circumstances of Meanness and Disgrace; seeming to promise his Followers nothing but Misery and Sufferings in this Life, and to propound no other Rewards but the invisible Encouragement of another World. *Porphyry* and *Julian*, two subtil and acute Adversaries of the Christian Religion, took Occasion hence to charge this Evangelist either

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with Falshood or Folly; either that he gave not a true Account of his Conversion, or that it was very weakly done of him, so hastily to follow any one that called him from his Business. As to his Veracity, he could have no Temptation to record his Case otherwise than as it really was. And for his Understanding, he was undoubtedly a Person of sufficient Insight into the Affairs of Life, and knew what was for his Interest, as well as any Body could tell him; it not being the Way of the World to put soft-headed Persons into an Employment of so much Difficulty and Concern to the Publick, as his was.

That he was very well pleas'd with his Change of Life, and his new Master, appear'd from the great Feast which he made for him in his House upon this Occasion, to which he invited his old Friends and Fellow-Publicans. 'Tis likely he did this, that he might shew his Master how joyfully he bid them adieu; whose Presence he desired at it, that he might moderate the Sobriety and Temperance of it, and be a Witness of his parting Affection: Hoping also, that by his pious Discourses, which he wisely intermixed with their Pleasures, he would win some of his Profession to a more pious Love. *Jesus* accepted the Invitation for the Guest's Sake, and knowing there would be many Sinners sick of Soul Distempers, he went like a charitable Physician into an Hospital to heal them, by bringing them to Repentance. The *Pharisees* and *Scribes*, who abhorred such filthy Company, blamed him for eating with such profligate Creatures, as *Publicans* were. But *Jesus* replied, That tho' the Company was indeed bad, his Design was innocent in coming among them; for he went only to heal their Souls, and to bring them to Repentance: That God himself prefers such Acts of Mercy to Men's Souls far above all the expensive Sacrifices, which

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which they offered unto him, and all the ritual Observations of the Law." And he added further, some Directions about the Sanctity and Seasonableness of Fasting, and with what Tenderneſs and Gentleneſs weak Chriſtians, newly converted to the Faith, ought to be treated by Teachers.

Some obſerve, from the former Relation, that St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*, in relating St. *Matthew's* Conversion, call him *Levi*, his leſs known and leſs uſual Name, as though they were cautious of making him too much taken Notice of, while they mention him as a *Publican*: But he himſelf ſays plainly, *Matthew at the Receipt of Cuſtom*, and, *Matthew the Publican*; that ſo he might magnify the Power of *Chriſt* in reclaiming him from ſuch a Profeſſion, to be one of his Apoſtles; and ſhew that no Man, however entangled in the Temptations of the World, is to be given up for loſt, or reckoned to ſtand out of the Lines of divine Mercy. He is ſometimes named in the ſeventh, and ſometimes in the eighth Place, in the Catalogue of the twelve Apoſtles.

Matthew, after his Conversion, never returned to his Employment again; tho' St. *Peter*, and ſome other of the Apoſtles, who were Fiſhermen by Trade, went a Fiſhing after the Reſurrection: And the Reaſon which St. *Gregory* gives us, is this, that there are ſome Callings innocent in themſelves, and others cannot be exerciſed at all, or very hardly, without Sin. The Office of a *Publican* is certainly lawful in itſelf; for Kings have a neceſſary and undoubted Right to raiſe Taxes and require Tribute, and they muſt have Officers to collect and gather it for them. But ſince thoſe who undertake ſuch Employments, with a Deſign to do nothing but according to the Rules of Conſcience and Juſtice, are expoſed to great Dangers, unleſs they are above the ſtrong and ſubtil Temptation of Intereſt; it is therefore

not ſafe for any Men almoſt, that deſire to preſerve their Innocency, to intermeddle with them: For which Reaſon it was, that in our Saviour's Time none took thoſe Employments, but ſuch as were covetous and insolent Wretches, who deſerved the Name which the *Jews* gave them of *Sinners*, and the Odium they always lay under from that People.

The ſame Year that St. *Matthew* was called, he was choſen by our Lord to be an Apoſtle. Nothing more is mentioned of him in particular, all the Time of *Chriſt's* Miniſtry here upon Earth; tho' doubtleſs he was ſubſervient to his Maſter's Will and Command in all Things, and equalled the reſt of his Brethren in true Piety and Religion; with whom we find him met to praife God, immediately after *Chriſt's* Aſcenſion. After this, the Antients ſuppoſe that he, as well as the reſt, continued at *Jeruſalem* and in *Judea*, about the Space of twelve Years: Tho' others ſay, that after eight Years of his Miniſtry ſpent in his own Country, he betook himſelf to the Care of the *Gentile* World. Little Certainty can be had, what Courſe he took in his Travels. The *Aſiatic Aethiopia* is generally agreed to have been his Province. *Venantius Fortunatus* ſays he ſuffered Martyrdom at *Naddabar*, a City in thoſe Parts; but by what kind of Death, is altogether uncertain. *Nicephorus* writes, that by his Prayers he extinguished the Fire which was kindled to burn him, and afterwards died a natural Death. *Dorotheus* makes him honourably buried at *Hierapolis* in *Parthia*; which, he ſays, was one of the firſt Places to which he preached the Goſpel. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſuppoſes that he died before the ſeventieth Year of *Chriſt*, when *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed by the *Romans*, according to our Lord's Predictions.

Several Books are attributed to him; as, The Hiſtory of the Infancy of *Chriſt*, much made uſe of by the *Valentinians*; his

his *Ethiopic* Liturgy; with some other Works, cited by *Metaphrastes* and others; but these are rejected, as false and forged Writings.

One Book is undoubtedly his, and that is his Gospel; so called because it brings joyful and happy Tidings to Men, especially Sinners, whom it teaches to hope for Pardon of Sin, Deliverance from the Torments of Hell, which they have deserved, Righteousness, Sanctification, Redemption, the Adoption of Children, and eternal Glory; which are certainly good News, all other Things, in Comparison of these, being mere Vanity and Emptiness. He contents himself to describe the temporal and human Generation of *Jesus Christ*, in which the Promises made to *Abraham* and *David* concerning the Birth of the Messiah in their Seed, are plainly fulfilled; which, one would think, should have been particular Inducements to the *Jews* to believe. In the rest of his Gospel he chiefly sets down those Passages of our Saviour's Life which respected Men's Manners, and therefore relates his Sermon on the Mount more largely than any of the Apostles.

He wrote his Gospel the first of any of the Evangelists; which is the Reason it takes Place in the first in the Canon of the New Testament. And indeed, saith *Epiphanius*, it was most reasonable, that he who was first converted from his great and scandalous Sins, should be the Publisher of that Saviour, who came not to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance, of which he had so early an Experience. He composed it chiefly for the Use of the *Jews* who were converted, and who had desired it of him, according to the Commission he had from the Apostles. We are told farther, that he wrote it at the Command of the other Apostles, and at the Time when he was about to leave *Judea*, that the *Jewish* Converts might not want a just, authentic

Account of the Christian Religion in his Absence. He was very well qualified for this Work, having been an Eye and Ear Witness of all that our Saviour did and said, from the Beginning of his Ministry, to his Ascension into Heaven. *Nicephorus* will have this Gospel to be written fifteen Years after our Lord's Ascension; and *Irenaeus* much later: But it must be extant before the Dispersion of the Apostles; seeing *St. Bartholomew*, as we have noted in his Life, took it with him into *India*, and left it there. That he writ it in the *Hebrew*, or rather the *Syriac* Language, is the unanimous Suffrage of the Antients. And amongst the Moderns we find *Dr. Cave* and *Du Pin* of the same Opinion. And indeed it is very probable, that since he intended it for the Use of those who were born and bred in *Jerusalem* and *Judea*, he would give it them in their own Mother-Tongue. It was quickly render'd into *Greek*; and we are told the Version was approv'd by the Apostles themselves, and consequently of the same Authority with the Original. By whom it was translated is not certainly known. *Atanasius*, in his *Synopsis*, attributes it to *St. James the Less*; *Anastasi* to *St. Paul* and *St. Luke*; others to *St. John*. Nor is there any clearer Account what became of the Original *Hebrew*, or whether that Copy of it which *Pantenus* is said to have brought from the *Indies*, was laid up at *Alexandria*, and kept there till *St. Jerome's* Time, who says he saw it, and had the Perusal of it.

As for the *Syriac* Text, which we have at present, it is not the Original Gospel, as some earnestly contend, but a Version from the *Greek*. Several *Hebrew* Copies are pretended to be the Originals; but the most learned Critics suspect them. Some modern Writers have affirmed, that *St. Matthew* wrote in *Greek*; but their Reasons are not sufficient to make us abandon

the Judgment of so many of the Fathers, who affirm he wrote in *Hebrew*. It is probable that he had the Account of the Virgin *Mary's* Ancestors, from the Virgin herself: And *St. Chrysostome* says, That all which the Evangelists relate before the Baptism of *John*, was expressly revealed by the Holy Spirit. Both *St. Matthew*, and the three other Evangelists, are not ashamed to discover their own Faults, and those of their Brethren the Apostles, which they were guilty of in *Christ's* Life-time; not to disgrace one another, but to raise in us an Admiration of God's Grace, which was able to make such feeble and imperfect Men so exact Patterns of Virtue. Some affirm, that *St. Matthew* was the Author of one Article in the Creed, commonly called the Apostles Creed, which was composed at *Jerusalem* by the common Consent of the

Apostles: But it seems ridiculous that every one should make one Article; and the Grounds on which it is asserted are too weak for our Belief to rely on. That which is called *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, and sometimes *The Gospel of the Nazarenes*, quoted by several of the Antients, was either wholly different from this, or at least this much interpolated and corrupted by the *Ebionites*, and other Hereticks.

St. Matthew was a Person much devoted to spiritual Contemplation, and of a very slender and mean Diet; eating nothing of Flesh, but satisfying Nature with Herbs, Roots, Seeds, and Berries, as *Clement Alexandrinus* testifies. His Feast, in the Greek Church, is kept November the Sixteenth; but in the *Latin* on the Twenty-first of September.

The LIFE of St. PHILIP.

St. Philip's Birth-place. He becomes a Disciple of Christ. Brings Nathanael to Christ. Desires Christ to shew him the Father. Other Acts of St. Philip. His Death. Forged Writings attributed to him.

ST. Philip was a Native of *Bethsaida*, a Town situate upon the Bank of the Lake *Gennesareth*. Who was no sooner a Disciple, but he became a Preacher of the Truth: For having a Friend named *Nathanael*, a pious and religious Man, to whom he knew no News would be so welcome as the Discovery of the Messiah, the long expected Happiness of the *Jews*; he ran immediately to find him out, that he might impart the Knowledge which he had by God's special Favour obtained. And when he had done it, he told him, That he had found the Person of whom

Moses and the Prophets did write, the Anointed of God and Saviour of the World; and that this Man was Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Joseph. Nathanael, having imbibed some prejudicial Principles from the *Jewish* Teachers, much doubted whether *Jesus* was the *Christ*, because he had been taught that no good Thing could come out of *Nazareth*.

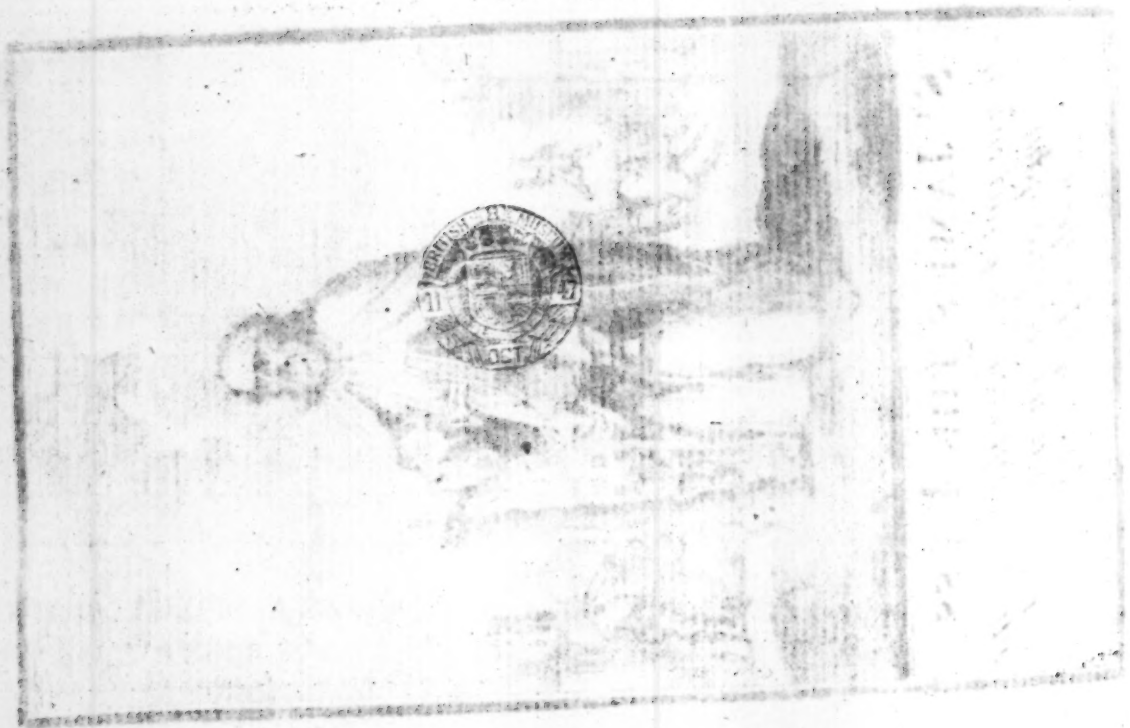
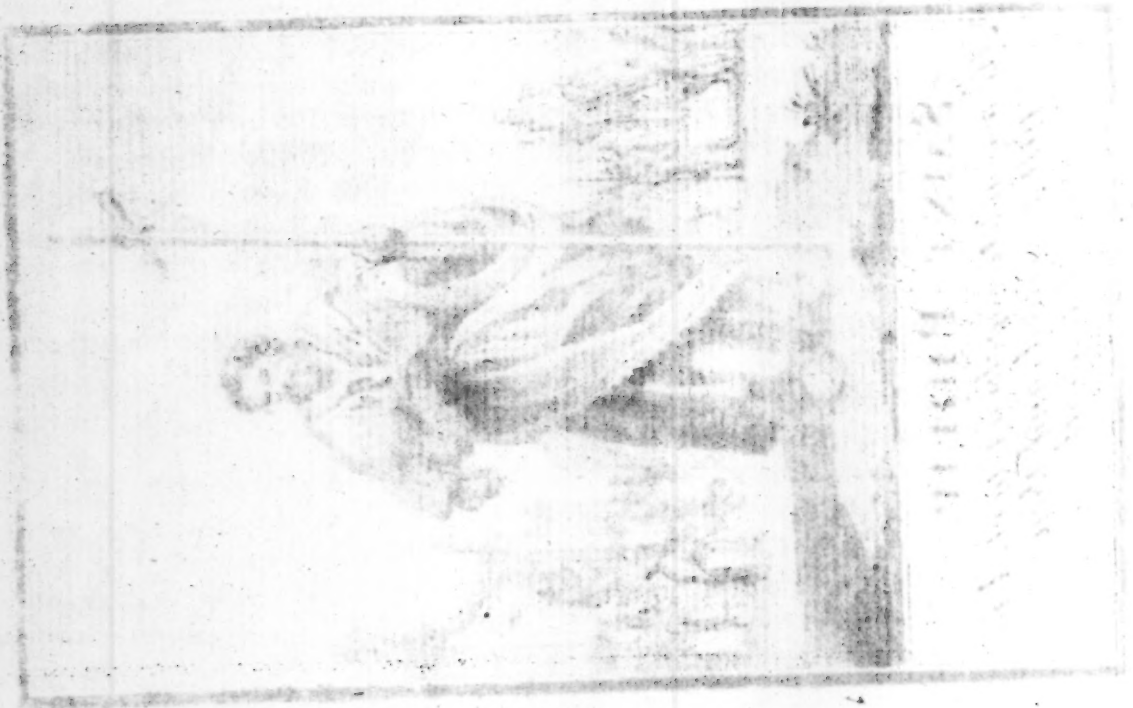
Philip was not discouraged at this incredulous Answer of his Friend, but desired him only to come and see the Person, that by observing his Actions, and hearing his Discourses, he might receive undeniable Convictions of what he had asserted. *Nathanael* could not be against so reasonable a Request, and therefore went to *Jesus*: Who, at his first Approaches, made good *Philip's* Conjecture, and first salutes *Nathanael* by the Name of an *Israelite* indeed, in whom there is



SAINT PHILIP.
*He was at Hierapolis a City of Asia
 first Crucified, and then
 stoned to death.*



ST. JAMES THE LESS.
*He was cast down from the top of the
 Temple, and afterwards killed
 with a Fullers Club.*



no Guile; and then tells him, *That he saw him under the Fig-Tree, before Philip called him.* By this he shewed himself the *All-seeing God*, the true *Knower of Hearts*: And *Nathanael*, surprized at these Sayings, gave up himself immediately to the Faith, and said, *Master, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel.* Thus did *Philip* begin to convert others, before Time could discover his own Conversion.

Ever after this, *St. Philip* became a close Attendant upon *Jesus Christ*: And never left him, according to the Opinion of the Fathers: So that probably he was present at the Marriage of *Cana* in *Galilee*, to which *Jesus* and his Disciples were invited three Days after. He was made an Apostle the next Year, when *Jesus* selected out of the Number of his Disciples twelve Persons, to be Witnesses of his Miracles and Doctrine, and to be employed in greater Services under him.

About a Year after his Advancement to the Apostleship, was that notable Miracle wrought by our Lord, in feeding five thousand Men, besides Women and Children, with five Barley Loaves, and two small Fishes. In order to which our blessed Lord, willing to make Trial of his Apostle's Faith, demanded of him, *Where they should have Food enough for the Entertainment of so great a Multitude?* *Philip* answered, *Two hundred Pennyworth of Bread is not sufficient, that every one may take a little.* Here he betray'd his Infirmary, considering more the Number of the People, the little Money they had amongst them, and the Difficulty to get Provisions upon any Terms in that desert Place, than the Almighty Power of his Lord, whose miraculous Conversion of the Water into Wine he had probably seen, at least had certainly heard of, at the Marriage of *Cana* in *Galilee*; and therefore ought to have concluded, that he could with the same

Ease have made Bread of the Stones or Trees in the barren Wilderness.

To him it is that we find certain *Gentile* Profelytes, who came to *Jerusalem* at the *Passover*, applying themselves for an Opportunity to see *Jesus*, as a Person much celebrated on the Account of his Miracles. *Philip* did not carry their Request to our Lord, before he had first conferr'd with *Andrew* about it. Some think they were *Gentiles* of *Syrophœnicia*, *Decapolis*, and the bordering Countries, which joyning to *Bethsaida*, these People might have some Acquaintance with *Philip*, a Native and long Inhabitant of that Place.

It was to him in particular that our Lord directed his Discourse, when having asserted to his Disciples, *That they both knew the Father, and had seen him*; *Philip* said, *Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us.* It is not easy to determine what Notion he had of the Father; whether he imagin'd him to consist of corporeal and visible Parts, or only to be capable of assuming them, and appearing in them. Our Lord gently reprehends him for his Ignorance, and small Improvement under so many and such clear Instructions as he had given him: And then proceeds to inform him how he had seen the Father in himself: *He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father*: For I am his express Image, and so much one with him, that he dwelleth in me, and I in him: So that I neither speak or act of myself; but the Father who dwelleth in me, speaketh the Words, and doth the Works.

These are all the Notices which the Evangelists have given us of *St. Philip* the Apostle, and perhaps all that can be certainly known of him. In the Distribution which the Apostles made amongst themselves of the several Provinces to preach in, neither *Origen* or *Eusebius* say what Part fell to our Apostle: Though others tell:

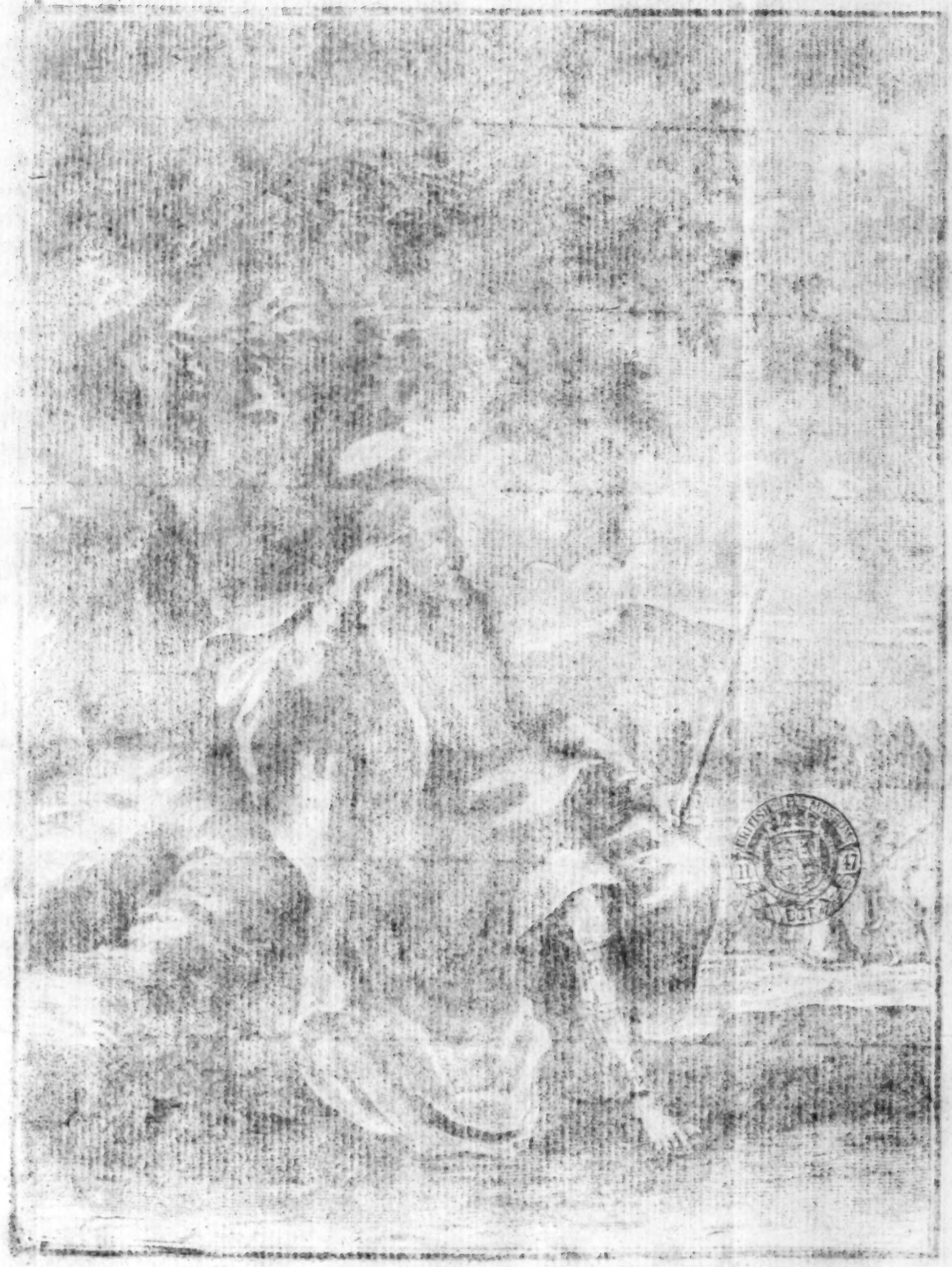
tell us it was the *Upper Asia*; which doubtless is the Reason why he is said by many to have preached and planted Christianity in *Scythia*.

Having for many Years exercised his Apostolical Office of Preaching, baptizing, and settling Christian Churches, and his Power of healing and casting out Devils with great Success, he is reported to have come in the last Years of his Life to *Hierapolis*, a rich and populous City in *Phrygia*, where a Serpent or Dragon of a monstrous Size, was the reigning Idol. *Philip*, grieved to see the People so grossly belott'd and abused, besought God by Prayer, and called upon the Name of *Christ*, till the Monster was struck dead, or at least forced to vanish and quit the Place. After this, by his constant Preaching and Holiness of Life, he put Idolatry out of Countenance, and gain'd many to the Christian Faith. Whereupon the old Serpent, the Devil, assumed his Character of a *Roaring Lion*, and betook himself to his usual Methods, Cruelty and Persecution. The Magistrates of the City seiz'd upon the Apostle, imprison'd him, and caused him to be scourged. This done, he was led to Execution; and being bound, was hang-up by the Neck against a Pillar: Though others say he was crucified; and that his Body was taken down by *St. Bartholomew*, and *Philip's* own Sister *Mariamne*, and decently buried; after which, having confirmed the People in the Faith of *Christ*, they departed thence.

That *St. Philip* was marry'd, is generally affirmed by the Ancients, as *Clement of Alexandria*, and *Polycrates* Bishop of

Ephesus; which last assures us, that he celebrated *Easter* on the fourteenth Day of the Moon, as *St. John* did. He is said to have lived to the Age of eighty-seven Years, and to have died in the Reign of *Domitian* or *Trajan*. *Papias* Bishop of *Hierapolis* mentions him and his Daughters. *Sozomen* says, that his Daughters rais'd a Man from the dead. *St. Hermione*, whom the Greeks commemorate on the Fourth of *September*, is thought to be one of them. *Polycrates* extols her for her Piety, above all the Women of her Time. She was martyr'd in the Reign of the Emperor *Adrian*, and buried at *Ephesus*. Her Tomb is one of the famous Monuments of that City. The Greeks give Names to two other Daughters of *St. Philip*, namely, *Eutychia*, and *Mariamne*; and say, they converted many Virgins to the Faith. The Truth is, the not carefully distinguishing between *Philip* the Deacon, (who lived at *Cæsarea*, and of whose four Virgin Daughters we read in the *Acts*) and our Apostle, hath bred some Confusion among the Ancients in this Matter. The *Acts* and Gospel father'd upon this Apostle, and made use of by the *Gnosticks*, *Epiphanius* assures us, was an infamous Book. *Theodoret* tells us, that *St. John* and *St. Philip* the Apostles appeared to *Theodosius the Great*, almost conquer'd by *Eugenius*, and promised him a Victory, which he obtained miraculously the next Day. The Greeks and Eastern Church keep his Feast on the Fourteenth of *November*: But *Bede's*, and other Martyrologies, order its Celebration on the First of *May*, in Conjunction with *St. James's*.

SAINT THOMAS



By the command of our Father King the most
Honourable the Lords of the Council

SAINT THOMAS.



*By the command of an Indian King he was
thrust through with Lances*

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The LIFE of St. THOMAS.

St. Thomas, why called Didymus. His Country. An Instance of his Zeal. Two Instances of the Slowness of his Apprehension. Confesses Christ on sensible Demonstration. Continues with the Apostles. Sends Thaddæus to Edeffa. Some Account of that Mission. Preaches in Parthia, Media, Persia, &c. Christians of St. Thomas. Their Account of him. A Donation to him. Left no Writings.

THE Reason why St. Thomas was called *Didymus*, is thus accounted for by learned Men; That it was customary with the Jews, when they travelled in foreign Countries, or familiarly conversed with *Greeks* or *Romans*, to assume to themselves a *Greek* or *Latin* Name, of Affinity, and sometimes of the very same Signification, with that which was given them by their Parents. Thus *Thomas*, a *Syriac* Name, signifying a Twin, was explain'd by *Didymus*, of the same Importance in the *Greek*: So *Cephas* was called *Peter*, a Rock; *Tabitha* was in *Greek* named *Dorcas*, a Doe. *Eusebius* tells us moreover, that *Judas*, who was also called *Thomas*, sent *Thaddæus* to *Agbarus King* of *Edeffa*. But *Valesius* upon the Place observes, that *Thomas* is no where else called *Judas*; and that perhaps *Eusebius*, by Mistake, gave him the Surname which belonged to *Thaddæus*, who is so called by *St. Jerome*, and in the *Greek Calendar*.

That he was a Jew is certain, and in all Probability a *Galilean*. *Simeon Metaphrastes* says, he was born of very mean Parents, and brought up to the Trade of Fishing. When and by what Means he came to follow *Christ*, we have no par-

ticular Account in Holy Scripture. He is noted to have been something slow in his Understanding, but not so in his Love to his Master, of which he once gave an eminent Proof. For when the rest of the Apostles dissuaded our Lord, now on the other Side of *Jordan*, at the Place where *John* at first baptized, from returning into *Judea*, on the Occasion of *Lazarus* his Death, lest the Jews should stone him, as they lately attempted to do; *Thomas*, seeing he could not be diverted from his Resolution, said to his Fellows, *Let us go also, that we may die with him*, *John* 11. 16. testifying hereby his Readiness to adhere to his Master in the most dangerous Circumstances. This shews he was forward enough in his Zeal and Affection: But that he was something tardy in apprehending, and scrupulous in believing Things, we learn from two Occurrences recorded in the Evangelical History.

First, When our Lord at his last Supper acquainted his Disciples that he was about to leave them; but told them for their Comfort, that he was going to prepare Mansions for them in his Father's House, meaning the Kingdom of Heaven; which done, he would come again, and receive them to himself; and that he needed not use many Words to them, who already knew both the Place, and the Way to it; *Thomas*, whose Thoughts probably were upon a temporal Kingdom and earthly Palace, answered, *Lord, we know not whither thou goest, and how can we know the Way?* *Christ* presently rectifies his Misapprehension, by letting him know, that his Words had a spiritual and divine Meaning: *Jesus said unto him, I am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life*; that is, I am the Author of that

that Way that leadeth unto Life; the Teacher of that Truth which directs to it; and the Giver of that Life which is to be obtained by walking in this Way, and according to this Truth. Thus much he told them they knew, or at least might have known perfectly well, because both by his Doctrine and Example, he had always been instructing them in these Things.

Secondly, After our Lord had suffered, and was risen again from the Dead, and had appeared to his Disciples with such clear Demonstrations of himself, as fully convinced them of the Truth of his Resurrection; *Thomas* not being with them at such Appearances, utterly refused to believe this Article upon their Report, declaring that he should suspend his Faith, till he had the most sensible Proofs that it was his crucified Master, by seeing and feeling the Wounds which were made in him at his Crucifixion. This was a strange Piece of Infidelity, not to believe that which *Moses* and the Prophets had expressly foretold, which *Christ* himself had inculcated in his Discourses about his Passion, and which the rest of the Apostles attested as Eye-Witnesses. But our merciful Lord, with infinite Condescension to this Apostle's Weakness, presented himself again when *Thomas* and his Fellows were met together; and after the usual Salutation of *Peace be unto you*, turn'd to *Thomas*, as if he had come on Purpose at that Time to convince him of his Resurrection; bidding him *reach out his Hand, and put it into his Side, and his Finger into the Prints of the Nails*, that he might effectually cure his Infidelity. He did so; and in a surprizing Sense of his Conviction, burst out into this Confession, *My Lord, and my God*. Owing him now to have proved himself Omnipotent in overcoming Death and the Grave, and Omniscient in knowing the Doubts and Scruples of his Heart. Our Lord replied

no more, but that it was well he had believed his own Senses: That it was, however, a more noble and commendable Act of Faith to acquiesce in rational Evidence, and to admit such Testimonies as are sufficient to satisfy a wise and sober Man of the Truth of Things, tho' he did not see them with his own Eyes." For indeed *Faith*, as *St. Paul* defines it, is the *Evidence of Things not seen*; and to be assured of any Thing by the Testimony of our Senses, is not properly Faith, but Sense. Yet with Respect to ourselves, we may say with *St. Gregory of Tours*, *By this Doubting of Thomas we are more confirm'd, than by the Faith of the other Apostles*; having hereby a Proof, beyond all Cavil or Contradiction, that the very same Body of our Lord, in which he suffered, was raised to Life again.

St. Thomas being thus again brought into an Union of Faith with his Brother Apostles, lived with them in a constant Fellowship, both civil and religious. And when *Peter*, to relieve the present Necessities of himself and Family, thought fit to return to his old Trade of Fishing after *Christ's* Resurrection, and some other of his Disciples and Apostles of *Christ* went with him; *Thomas* also bore them Company, and toiled with them in their Calling. From whence we may probably argue, that he was a Fisherman before his Conversion and Election to the Apostleship; because we do not find that *Matthew*, who had followed another Trade, went with them, but only those who most of them were known to be Fishermen before. After *Christ's* Ascension into Heaven, when the Apostles and Disciples, who waited at *Jerusalem* for the Effusion of the Spirit, were met together to praise and pray unto God; *Thomas* was at this religious Assembly, joining with the whole Congregation of the Faithful, in the several Parts of Christian Worship.

The first Act which Ecclesiastical History hath recorded of St. Thomas his Apostolic Office, is, his sending *Thaddæus*, one of the seventy Disciples, and supposed to be his Brother, to *Edeffa* in *Mejopotamia*, to heal *Agbarus* the King of that Place, of a dangerous Disease, and to preach the Gospel to him and his People. This Business is very particularly related by *Eusebius*, who assured he had the Account of it out of the public Records of *Edeffa*, with two Letters, which he there inserts: The first of these Letters is from King *Agbarus* to Christ, inviting him, upon the great Report he had heard of his divine Virtues and miraculous Cures, to come and heal him; and, if he pleased, to make his City the Place of his Residence; since he had heard of the Jews Outrages and Plots against him. The other contains our Saviour's Answer to *Agbarus*, wherein he highly approves of his Faith; but tells him, that as to his Removal, he must accomplish the Things for which he was sent, in the Place where he then was, and afterwards return to him that sent him: That immediately after his Ascension, he would send one of his Disciples to the King, to heal his Distemper, and give Life to him and all his Family. This Promise of our Lord was made good by St. Thomas; who, by a special Direction of the Holy Ghost, sent *Thaddæus* to *Edeffa* to heal the King, and plant Christianity there.

As to the Authority of these Letters, that of our Saviour is mentioned by St. *Ephrem*, *Augustine*, *Procopius*, *Evagrius*, *J. Damascene*, and *Theodorus Studita*, and looked upon them to be genuine.

But notwithstanding the Opinion of all these, several Persons judge that this Letter is supposititious, and maintain that it ought to be rejected as such: *Because*, say they, *if it were a true Letter, it ought to be received into the Canon, and accounted as a venerable Part of Scripture.* But on

the contrary it is certain, that the Church never acknowledged it as such: Nay, the Council of *Rome*, under *Gelasius*, ranks it among the Apocryphal Writings.

This Difficulty say they on the other Side, though very considerable, yet may be solved by saying; *That the Church, not having received this Letter by the ordinary Way in which it receives the Scripture, namely, a constant and perpetual Tradition from the Apostles, but only by the single Authority of the Archives of Edeffa, never admitted it as Canonical, but accounted it an Apocryphal Writing; not as if it were absolutely false, but as not sufficiently attested to warrant the Church to receive it as Canonical Scripture.* St. *Austin* says, *That if a Letter of Jesus Christ's be produced, we must examine from whence it comes, before we allow it any Authority:* And adds, *That 'tis not to be doubted but that Enoch writ some holy Book or Prophecy, since St. Jude assures us of it; and yet the Jews never had sufficient Reason to put it among the Canonical Scriptures kept in the Temple, because they had not a sufficient Proof that it was his, from Persons who had it from him, and had conveyed it to them by an uninterrupted Succession.*

To proceed with the History of *Thaddæus*, *Eusebius* assures us, That although he was sensible that he was sent to *Edeffa* chiefly for *Agbarus's* Sake, yet he took up his Abode first at a certain Man's House named *Tobias*, where he began to make his Preaching admirable by a great Number of Miracles, which he did in the Name of *Jesus Christ*. *Agbarus* had some Notice of such an extraordinary Person, and presently supposing that he was the Man promised by *Jesus Christ* in his Letter, sent to *Tobias* to bring him to him. *Thaddæus* having this Summons to the Court, went without Delay, and found all the chief Lords of the Country met together in the Palace. At his Entrance into the Chamber where they were assembled,

sembled, the History tells us, that *Agbarus* saw something extraordinary in his Face, and going near to him, fell down at his Feet, and worshipped him; at which all his Attendants were amazed.

He then asked him, Whether it was true that was reported of him, That he was a Disciple of *Jesus*, the Son of God, who had promised to send a Person to cure him? *Thaddæus* answered him, *Yes*: That he was come to reward the Faith which he had in *Jesus*; and that he should obtain what he desired, according to the Sincerity and Truth of his Faith in him. *Agbarus* replied, like a Soldier, That he had so great a Faith in him, that had it not been for the *Romans*, he would have cut in Pieces all the *Jews* who crucified him. *Thaddæus* thereupon said, That *Jesus* had by his Death fulfilled the Will of his Father, and was again returned to him. Then *Agbarus* replying, That he believed both in him and his Father; *Thaddæus* laid his Hands upon him, and healed him immediately. *Agbarus* admired his Power, which was so efficacious to heal him: He was filled with great Joy; and so much the more, because one of his Friends, named *Abdus*, who was grievously tortured with the Gout, received also a perfect Cure of his Distemper by the same Hands. After this, *Thaddæus* did many other Miracles in the Name of *Christ*.

Agbarus being thus convinced that *Thaddæus* was a Disciple of *Christ*, desir'd him farther to instruct him particularly in the Doctrines of his Holy Master. *Thaddæus* did not give him a Denial, but desired him to wait till the next Day, and call together all his City, that he might deliver his Message, which equally concerned all Mankind, not only to him, but to as many others as he could at the same Time. *Agbarus* consented to his Request, and before he went away presented him with a great Quantity of Gold; which

the Holy Man refused to accept, giving him this modest Answer, *If we have left all our own Wealth to follow Christ, how shall we receive it of others?*

The next Day the City met, according to the Order of the Prince; and *Thaddæus*, who had before prepared their Minds to receive the Doctrine he taught, by the Miracles he had wrought among them, instructed them, How *Jesus* was born of a Virgin; and being the Son of God incarnate, came down from Heaven to save Sinners: That being furnished with a divine Power, he wrought many Miracles: That he preached the Truth of God necessary to Salvation; and when his Time was come, was delivered into the Hands of the *Jews*, who crucified him and put him to Death: That he remained in the State of Death three Days; in which Time he visited the Recesses of the dead Saints, and damned Souls; and at the End of them rose again from the Dead, and brought many Saints from the Grave with him; with whom he ascended into the Glory of the Father, and there sits on the Right Hand of God, till he shall come again from thence to judge both the Quick and the Dead. These Words were so prevalent with the Hearers, that the whole City embraced the Faith of *Jesus Christ*: And *Eusebius* says they persevered in it to his Time, and gave many illustrious Proofs of their Faith at several Times in that Series of Years. Nevertheless, the Apostle himself, by whom God wrought the Conversion of this City, is scarce known to the Church, because he is commonly taken for the Apostle *Judas*, who was also named *Thaddæus*. For this Reason the *Latins* give no particular Honour to the Name *Thaddæus*; but the *Greek Church* kept his Feast August the twenty first, and hold that he died at *Berytus* in *Phenicia*, after he had baptiz'd and converted many People to the Faith in that City.

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The Apostolic Province assigned to St. Thomas, in the Distribution made by the Twelve, was *Parthia*, as *Origen* tells us: After which, *Sophronius* and others say, he preached the Gospel to the *Medes*, *Persians*, *Carmanians*, *Hyrceanians*, *Bactrians*, and the Neighbouring Nations. The Author of the imperfect Comment upon St. *Matthew*, who is thought to have writ in the fifth Age, says, that St. Thomas came amongst the *Magi*, to whom *Pliny* allots a distinct Region in *Persia*, and from whence those Eastern Sages came who brought Presents to *Christ* at his Nativity: That he baptized several of them, and ordain'd them to assist him by preaching in those large and populous Countries. That he pass'd through the *Asian Ethiopia*, and at last came to the *Indies*, is proved by antient Tradition, and several Monuments extant among those People to this Day.

We are told by *Nicephorus*, that our Apostle was at first unwilling to venture himself in those Countries, fearing he should find the Peoples Manners as rude and untractable as their Faces were black and deformed; till encouraged by a Vision, that assured him of the divine Presence to assist him, he travelled a great Way into those Eastern Nations, as far as the Island *Taprobane*, since called *Sumatra*, and the Country of the *Brachmans*; preaching every where with all Gentleness, not flying out into bitter Invectives against their idolatrous Practices, but calmly instructing them in the Principles of Christianity; and that by these mild and patient Methods, he prevail'd with many to renounce their Superstitions, and embrace the Faith of *Christ*.

The *Portuguese* Missionaries, who were sent hither upon the *Europeans* first discovering these Parts, have informed us, that here are Christians there, call'd *Chriians* of St. Thomas, because they acknowledge him for their Apostle and first

Preacher. They had then no Dependence on the Bishop of *Rome*. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administer'd among them in both Kinds: The Bread was seasoned with Salt; and, instead of Wine, which their Country affordeth not, they made use of the Juice of Raisins, soften'd one Night in Water, and then press'd. They baptized not their Infants till they were forty Days old, except in Danger of Death. They used not Extreme Unction. They had no Images in their Churches, but only the Cross. Their Priests were only prohibited second Marriages. Their Numbers, at the *Europeans* first coming amongst them, were computed to be fifteen or sixteen thousand Families.

The Account which the *Portuguese* receiv'd from these Christians concerning St. Thomas, was to this Effect: That he first came to *Sacotora*, an Island in the *Arabian Sea*: Thence to *Cranganor*; where having converted many, he travell'd farther into the *East*; and having successfully preached the Gospel, return'd back into the Kingdom of *Coromandel*. Here at *Maliapur*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, not far from the Influx of the *Ganges* into the Gulph of *Bengal*, he began to erect a Place for divine Worship, till prohibited by the Priests, and *Sagamo* Prince of that Country. But upon the working of several Miracles, the Building went forwards, and King *Sagamo* himself embraced the Christian Faith; whose Example was soon follow'd by a great Number of his Friends and Subjects. The *Brachmans*, or Heathen Priests, perceiving that if this went on, it would in time extirpate their Idolatry, and deprive them of the Advantages they made of it, resolved to stop its farther Progress, by compassing the Death of the Apostle. There was a Tomb not far from the City *Maliapur*, whither St. Thomas used to retire to his private Devotions. Hither the

Brachmans took their Opportunity to pursue him with an armed Force, and while he was intent upon his Prayers, they loaded him with Darts and Stones, and then dispatched him with running a Lance through his Body. His Corps was interr'd by his Converts, in the Church of his own Foundation before-mentioned; where the Eastern Christians affirm that it still remains, tho' others say it was translated to *Edeffa*.

While *Don Alfonso Sousa*, one of the Viceroys of *India*, under *John* the Third King of *Portugal*, resided in those Parts, certain Brass Tables were brought to him, whose antient Inscriptions could scarce be read; till at last, by the Help of a *Jew*, they were found to contain nothing but a Donation made to *St. Thomas*, whereby the King, who then reigned, granted him a Piece of Ground for the Building of his Church. They tell us also of a famous Cross, found in *St. Thomas's* Chapel at *Maliapur*, whereon was an unintelligible Inscription, explain'd at last by a learned *Bramin*, who was compell'd to read it, to this Effect: That *Thomas*, a divine Person, was sent into those Countries by the Son of God, in the Time of King *Sagamo*, to instruct them in the Knowledge of the true God; that he built a Church, and performed admirable Miracles; but at last, while upon his Knees at Prayer, was by a *Brachman* thrust through with a Spear; and that that Cross, stain'd with his Blood, had been left as a Memorial of these Matters. This Interpretation was afterwards confirmed by another grave and learned

Bramin. Upon this Passage, the learned *Dr. Cave* makes the following Reflection. The judicious Reader, says he, will measure his Belief of these Things by the Credit of the Reporters, and the rational Probability of the Things themselves; which, for my Part, as I cannot certainly affirm to be true, so I will not utterly conclude them to be false.

These Relations of the *Portuguese* Missionaries, concerning the Martyrdom and Burial of *St. Thomas* at *Maliapur*, are wholly rejected by *Antony Pagi*; who says, the Relaters were too credulous to the *Nestorian* Christians of *St. Thomas*. This Author thinks it better to adhere to the Account of *Rufinus*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and several other Writers and Martyrologies, that the Apostle suffered Martyrdom among the *Medes* and *Parthians*, who are likewise called *Indians*, and that his Body was translated to *Edeffa*.

St. Chrysostome says, that *St. Thomas*, who at first was the most weak and most incredulous of all the Apostles, became, thro' *Christ's* Condescension to satisfy his Scruples, and the Power of divine Grace, the most active and invincible of them all; travelling over most Parts of the World, and living without Fear in the midst of barbarous Nations. The Church acknowledges nothing to be left by him in Writing, tho' the *Manichees* have forged several Things under his Name, to favour their own Herefy. His Feast, according to the Martyrologies, is to be kept on the Twenty-first of *December*.

The

The LIFE of St. JAMES the LESS.

St. James the Less, who he was, and in what Sense our Lord's Brother. Character of his Mother Mary; and Cleophas, or Alphæus, his Father. St. James constituted Bishop of Jerusalem. But two James's mentioned in the New Testament. St. James presides at the Apostolical Synod held at Jerusalem. Persuades Paul to purify himself. Writes his Epistle. Writings falsely attributed to him. His Martyrdom, Piety, and Character.

ST. James the Less is called in Holy Scripture the Son of *Alphæus* and *Mary*; the Brother of *Jude*, *Joses*, and *Simon*, and of our Lord. But in what Sense he is called our Lord's Brother, is a Matter of much Controversy amongst Historians and Interpreters. Some think he was surnamed the *Less* from the Stature of his Body, to distinguish him from *James* the Son of *Zebedee*, who being a big Man was thence called the *Great*: But more probably these Names were from their different Ages. Many are of Opinion that *Alphæus* was the first Husband of *Mary*, afterwards the Wife of *Cleophas*, and that by him *James* was her Son. Others think *Cleophas* and *Alphæus* to be one and the same Person. Others hold that *Alphæus* is no other than *Joseph*, our Lord's reputed Father; and that he had *James*, *Joses*, and other Children, by a former Wife. Nor is there less Diversity of Opinions concerning his Mother. Some suppose she was Sister to the Blessed Virgin: For indeed her being of the same Name, *Mary*, is no Hindrance; that being but Part of her Name. Others, who do not hold the perpetual Virginity of our Lord's Mother, believe,

that after his miraculous Nativity, she had *James* and other Children by her Husband *Joseph*, because in Holy Scripture they are so expressly called the Brethren of our Lord.

But because many Difficulties would arise, if we should allow them to be so in the strictest Sense; therefore the most judicious Writers observe, that they might be stiled our Lord's Brethren, as being of near Kindred to his Parents, tho' not their own proper Offspring; it being familiar in the Language of the Jews for Cousin-Germans to call Brethren and Sisters. Thus, *we Brethren*, said *Abraham* to *Lot*; whereas *Abraham* was the Son of *Terah*, *Lot* of *Haran*. So *Moses* spake to *Michael* and *Elzaphan* to carry their Brethren from before the Sanctuary; whereas those Brethren were *Nadab* and *Abihu*, the Sons, not of their own Father *Uzziel*, but of *Aaron*, who was their Cousin German. And, to give one Instance more, *Jacob* tells *Rachel*, That he was her Father's Brother; whereas *Laban*, *Rachel*'s Father, was his Uncle, being strictly Brother to his Mother *Rebekah*.

Gregory Nyssen is of Opinion, that our Apostle was somewhat older than our blessed Saviour; of the Tribe of *Judah*; an Inhabitant, if not a Native, of *Caper-naum*; dedicated to God by his Mother, like *Sampson*, before he was born, and thereby obliged to observe the Rules prescribed to the *Nazarites*. If this latter be true, it is not likely that he was a *Publican*, as some pretend; that scandalous Profession being inconsistent with the Strictness and Severity, which he had taken upon him to practise. He was a Person of such unusual Integrity, and Sanctity

Sanctity of Life, that he was thence denominated *James the Just*.

His Parents, as well as himself, were early and exemplary Christians. We find his Mother reckoned among those who hospitably entertained our Lord in *Galilee*. And she deserted him not at his Tryal, as his Disciples did; but follow'd him weeping. She stood by the Cross with his Mother, during the Time of his Crucifixion: But after he had recommended the Blessed Virgin to the Care of the beloved Disciple, she retired and stood afar off, while he breathed out his last Breath. And when his sacred Body was taken down, she observed the Tomb where it was laid, that she might cause it to be embalm'd after the best Fashion of the *Jewish* Funerals; for which Purpose, she immediately provided Spices and precious Ointments, and as soon as the intervening Sabbath was over, she with others returned to the Sepulchre to do this last Office; where she had the Happiness to receive the first joyful News of his Resurrection, from the Mouth of an Angel, appearing like a Man in glorious Apparel. And as she was returning with a glad Heart to tell this to the Apostles, she was favoured with an Appearance of *Christ* himself, and had the Honour to be among the first that cast themselves at his Feet, after his Triumph over Death and the Grave. Her Memory is preserved in the *Latin Church* on the twenty fifth of *May*, and in the *Greek*, on the Eighth of *April*.

His Father *Alpheus*, or *Cleophas*, was likewise a Disciple of *Jesus Christ*; and looked upon him while he liv'd, as the Redeemer of *Israel*; but began to doubt of it, and faint in his Hopes, when he found that he was apprehended, condemned, and crucified; not knowing that he was to accomplish the Redemption of his People by that Means. He was going to *Emmaus*, a little Village

not many Miles distant from *Jerusalem*, in the Company of another Disciple, on that very Day that the Lord rose from the Dead; who came up with them incognito, as they were discoursing together, and sadly remembering his Sufferings. He inquired, as if he had been a Stranger, what that great Event was, which had happened of late, and made them so pensive. Upon their informing him of the whole Matter, he set himself to demonstrate to them from *Moses* and the Prophets, that the Messiah was thus to suffer, and to rise again from the Dead: And that he was thus risen, he soon convinced them, by discovering himself to them, and letting them see plainly who he was. Thus our Apostle's Parents were the first of their respective Sexes, whom our Lord vouchsafed to certify of the Truth of his Resurrection. *Cleophas* is also honoured with a Name in the Calendar. In the *Latin Church* his Day is *September* the twenty fifth, but among the *Greeks*, the thirteenth of *October*.

And that our Saviour appeared in a very special Manner to St. *James* the Son of *Mary* and *Alpheus*, is affirmed by St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 15. 7. St. *Jerome* quotes a Passage out of the *Hebrew Gospel* of the *Nazarenes*, importing, that our Apostle had bound himself with an Oath, not to eat or drink from the Time of his Master's last Supper, till he saw him restor'd again from the Dead; and that our Lord to release him of his Vow, appeared to him on the Day of his Resurrection, and commanding a Table to be spread, took Bread, and blessed it, and gave it to *James*, saying, *Eat thy Bread, my Brother, for the Son of Man is risen from among them that sleep*. But a learned Writer well observes, that this is a fabulous Story, as being inconsistent with the Gospel, which plainly intimates, how little the Disciples imagined that *Christ* should rise again, and what

what Pains he was at to convince them of this, even when it was really fulfilled.

St. James was constituted Bishop of *Jerusalem*, according to some, by the immediate Appointment of *Christ* himself before his Ascension. Others hold, that he was elected to this Charge, by the Apostles, who unanimously gave him the Preference before all others, to be the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the Mother of all Churches, on Account of his near Relation to our Lord: For which Reason also, *Simeon* was chosen his immediate Successor. Hence James is stiled by the Antients, *the first Bishop, the Archbishop, Prince, and Bishop of Bishops; the Chief-tain of Jerusalem, the Leader of the Priests*. And this agrees with the Ecclesiastical Tradition mentioned by *Eusebius*, *That the Brethren and Kinsmen of our Lord, while they lived, were preferred before other Apostles and Bishops*. This Election by the Apostles, is said by some to be only a Declaration of his former Election and Consecration by *Christ* himself; which they suppose to be the sole Reason why *Peter, James the Great, or John*, were not preferred to him, they seeming to have distinguished themselves more than he in the Life-time of their Master.

Some have fancied that *James the Just*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was a distinct Person from our Apostle; and there is a Story of three that were called *James*; namely, *James the Great, James the Less, and James Bishop of Jerusalem*. But this, says Dr. *Cave*, is a great Mistake, and built upon a sandy Bottom. For besides that the Scripture mentions no more than two of this Name, and both Apostles; nothing can be plainer, than that St. James, whom St. Paul calls the Brother of our Lord, was the same that presided among the Apostles, and determined the Dispute in the Synod at *Jerusalem*. Nor do either *Clemens Alexandrinus*, or *Euse-*

bins, mention any more than two; *James*, beheaded by *Herod*, and *James the Just*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, whom they expressly affirm to be the same with him whom St. Paul calls the Brother of our Lord. Once indeed *Eusebius* makes our Apostle one of the Seventy; though elsewhere, quoting a Place out of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, he numbers him with the chiefest of the Apostles, and expressly distinguishes him from the seventy Disciples. The contrary Opinion hath no better Support than *Clement's Recognitions*, a Book of no Weight in disputable Cases, to turn the Scale.

In this high Station, which was not then look'd upon only as a Piece of Honour and Profit, but of infinite Pains and Hazard, St. James acquitted himself so well, notwithstanding the Disturbances of false Brethren, and open Persecutors, that he was much revered by all the rest of the Apostles and Christians. To him St. Paul made his Address after his Conversion, when he went up to *Jerusalem*, to escape the Treachery of the *Jews of Damascus*; and he glories in it, that he obtained of *James the Right Hand of Fellowship*, Gal. 2. 9. To him St. Peter sends an Express of his miraculous Deliverance out of Prison, as to the Person of greatest Regard among the Christians of that City. *Go shew these Things to James, and to the Brethren*, Acts 12. 17. To him they referred themselves as to an Oracle, and one of the main Supports of the Christian Cause, in that memorable Synod which was held at *Jerusalem*, to consider how far the *Gentile Converts* should observe the *Mosaic Rites and Usages*: After *Peter, Paul, and Barnabas*, had opened and stated the Case, James stood up, and authoritatively determined, that the Churches of the *Gentiles* were not to be loaded with the Bondage of the *Jewish Yoke*: only that they should be careful to keep themselves inoffensive in these four momentous Points. First, *To abstain from Meats*

Meats offered to Idols, because otherwise they might seem to partake in the Idolatry. Secondly, *From Fornication*, which the *Gentiles* accounted little or no Crime. Thirdly, *From Things strangled*, which were exceeding odious to the *Jews*. And, Fourthly, *From Blood*; which was supposed to have been forbidden, to deter Men from Cruelty and Bloodshed. And with these Injunctions he says, *I decide the Controversy*; and his Sentence was readily allowed of by the Council, as given by the Direction of the Holy Spirit. St. *Cyril* says, that *Paul* and *Barnabas*, in this Affair, were sent more immediately to St. *James*, as one who was always resident at *Jerusalem*; the other Apostles being sometimes there, and sometimes elsewhere, as their Ministry required. If so, it will seem probable, that *James* summoned the Council about their Business. This Synod was held in the Year of our Lord 49, according to Bishop *Pearson*, in the ninth Year of the Emperor *Claudius*, and about five Years after the Martyrdom of the elder *James*, the Son of *Zebedee*. Some place it two Years later.

Upon this Occasion St. *Paul* gave an Account of the Doctrine he had preached among the *Gentiles*, to *James*, *Cephas*, and *John*, the Heads of the Church, who were all of great Reputation for Piety and Knowledge. And altho' St. *Peter* is usually mentioned first among the Apostles, yet here St. *Paul* sets St. *James* before him, to shew us that Priority was no proper Privilege to any one of them, but that St. *James* was as great a Pillar in the House of God as *Peter*. These three Apostles all approved of St. *Paul's* Doctrine, and Manner of instructing the *Gentiles*; and agreed that *Paul* and *Barnabas* should go on in preaching to the Heathens, while they themselves did the same to the *Jews*; acknowledging and owning each other for Fellow-Apo-

stles, and Disciples of the same Lord.

The *Jews*, after they had embraced the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, still retaining a very great Zeal for the Law of *Moses*; for which Reason, St. *James* tolerated the Usage of the *Jewish* Ceremonies in that Church, and submitted himself to them. This gave a Foundation for that which happened at *Antioch* after the Council before-mentioned; for when some *Jewish* Converts came down thither, being sent by St. *James*, about the Church Affairs, *Peter* separated himself from the *Gentiles*, with whom he had freely conversed before, for fear of offending the *Jews*: Which being likely to prove of ill Consequence, St. *Paul* openly and boldly re-proved him, for his sinful Compliance, tending to confirm the *Jews*, and offend the *Gentiles*.

More Acts of our Apostle occur not in sacred Writ; except it be this, that he, with his Presbyters, persuaded St. *Paul*, at his Arrival in *Jerusalem*, with the Alms and Oblations of foreign Churches, to go into the Temple, and purify himself with some others, and submit to certain legal Observances, in order to take off an Imputation, which some of his Adversaries had fastened upon him, to the Hindrance of his Ministry, that he taught the *Jews* of the Dispersion to contemn the *Mosaic* Ordinances. St. *James* used not any Episcopal Jurisdiction in this Affair, but modestly propounded what was most convenient for him in that Place, where, tho' many of the *Jews* believed, yet they were zealous of the Law, and would not endure any that should teach the Abrogation of it. The *Jewish* Christians continued their Zeal for the Law, and the Mixture of Christianity with their antient Ceremonies, till the Time of the Emperor *Adrian*, who denied them the Liberty of going to *Jerusalem*.

Ecclesiastical Writers farther inform us, That about the Year 60 he wrote that

that Epistle which bears his Name, and is the first of the seven General Ones in the sacred Canon. It is inscribed, *to the twelve Tribes that are scattered abroad.* The Occasion of it seems to have been, 1st, To correct the pernicious Errors both in Doctrine and Manners, which were grown very prevalent amongst the Jews. 2dly, To comfort and establish the sincere Believers under the Pressures which then lay upon them, or which they might shortly expect, either from Infidels or false Brethren. To which we may add St. Austin's Remark, *That it was levell'd against a pernicious Heresy then growing up in the Church, That a bare speculative Faith was sufficient for the Attainment of Salvation, without the Cost and Trouble of good Works;* and another impious Conceit, which some were so hardy as to broach, *That God was the Author of Sin.* The whole is writ in an unaffected and masculine Style, full of solid and useful Matter, and well becomes the Pen of an Apostle and Bishop. It is quoted by Clemens Romanus four several Times, by Ignatius in his genuine Epistle to the Ephesians, and by Origen in his thirteenth Homily upon Genesis. Which we particularly mention, because Eusebius and St. Jerome acquaint us, that some Persons questioned the Authority of it: Yet the former says, *even then it was generally own'd, and publickly read in most Christian Churches;* and the latter, *that in process of Time it obtained Authority.* Estius observes, *That they who before doubted of it, in the fourth Century embraced the Opinion of those who received it; and that from thence-forward no Church nor Ecclesiastical Writer is found, who ever doubted of it; but on the contrary, all the Catalogues of the Books of Holy Scripture, published by general or provincial Councils, Roman Bishops, or other Orthodox Writers, number it amongst the Canonical Scriptures.*

St. Jerome positively asserts, that he No. XCIII.

wrote nothing besides this Epistle. But Origen speaks of a Writing of St. James's, which was commonly, in his Time, join'd with the Gospel of St. Peter. Postellus brought out of the East a *Proto-Evangelium*, or preparatory Gospel, giving an Account of the Pedigree and Birth of the Virgin Mary, and of many other Things not altogether unconsonant with the Truth of genuine Scriptures. This Work he will needs farther upon St. James; but both Style and Matter sufficiently betray the Fiction. 'Tis strange that such great Criticks as Leo Allaius, and the Cardinals Baronius and Bona, should ascribe to St. James a Liturgy of a very mean Stamp, tho' they do not wholly adopt it for his, but own it to be interpolated. It is thought however, that many of the particular Passages, and the Order of administering the Sacraments, prescribed in this Liturgy, are pretty antient. Athanasius attributes to him the Greek Version of St. Matthew's Gospel.

We are next to speak of the Martyrdom of St. James the Less, which happened while Albixus was on his Way from Rome, to take upon him the Government of Judea, being the twelfth Governor after the Banishment of Archelaus, and the sixth from the Death of Herod Agrippa. In the Interval between the Departure of Festus and the Coming of Albinus, the Jews, disappointed of their Designs against Paul, who had lately appeal'd to Caesar, turned all their Fury up, St. James, and resolved to dispatch him before the new Governor could arrive. To this End, Ananus the Younger, then High-Priest, a merciless Sadducee, summon'd a Council, before which St. James, amongst others, was convened. His Judges, prepar'd before-hand to condemn him, could willingly have dispens'd with a tedious Process, only that they might seem righteous to the People, the

Scribes and Pharisees managed an infidious Charge against him. They began with deploring the miserable State of the Multitude, that they were fatally besotted with an Opinion, that Jesus was the Messiah. They entreated James, in Regard of his great Vogue with the Populace for Sincerity, Virtue, and Judgment, that he would endeavour to set them right by his Discourses, which, out of their great Veneration for him, they would immediately follow. Go up, said they, upon the Battlements of the Temple, that you may be the more easily seen and heard of the People. For it was the Feast of the Passover, on which Occasion, not only the Tribes of the Jews, but likewise many Gentile Profelytes, were assembled at the Temple for divine Worship.

To the Top of which when they had caus'd St. James to go up, the Scribes and Pharisees began to demand of him, Tell us, Justus, and the People who are Worshipers of Jesus that was crucified, what you think of this Way of Religion? For we are all ready to be determined by you in this Matter. The Apostle answered with a loud Voice, As to what you enquire concerning Jesus the Son of Man, he now sits at the Right Hand of God, and shall come again in the Clouds of Heaven. The People below hearing this, gave Glory to Christ, and shouted forth Hosannas to the Son of David.

But the Scribes and Pharisees said one to another; We have done wrong in giving him this Opportunity to magnify Jesus: We have nothing left now, but to go up immediately, and throw him down headlong, that others, being terrified, may profess this Faith no longer. Whereupon setting up a vehement Outcry, that Justus himself was in a damnable Error, they went and threw him headlong from the Summit of the Temple.

However, he was not killed outright

by the Fall, but rose upon his Knees, and pray'd, saying; O Lord and heavenly Father, I beseech thee pardon them, for they know not what they do. The Jews, when they saw this, call'd out to one another to stone him: Which as they were doing, one of the Priests, of the Family of the Rechabites, well spoken of by Jeremiah, earnestly besought them to spare a just and good Man, who was praying for them. While he was thus interposing for him, one of them, who was a Fuller, and had his Club in his Hand which they beat their Cloth with in the Water, struck the Apostle on the Head, and put an End to his Life.

Such was the Martyrdom of James the Less Bishop of Jerusalem, a Man of that divine Temper and exact Goodness, that as Aristides among the Athenians, so he chiefly of all his Countrymen had the Honour of being surnamed the Just: Of that abstracted Piety, that he almost wholly neglected his Body, for the Sake of spiritual Things. He always lived in the State of Celibacy. He neither did eat Flesh, nor drink Wine, or any strong Liquor. He wore nothing of Woollen, but clothed himself only in a Linnen Garment. He neither anointed nor bathed, nor trimmed his Head, as the Custom is in those Eastern Countries. He had a Privilege (which the Antients say was peculiar to him, probably because more frequently used by him than any other) to enter into the Sanctuary, whither none but the Priests might come. He was frequently in the Temple by himself, interceding with God for the Sins of the People; and prostrated himself so often, that the Skin of his Knees grew as thick and hard as a Camel's Hide. This Account of St. James's Life and Death is given by Eusebius.

The more conscientious and religious Part of the Citizens were highly displeas'd with Ananus for this horrid Execution, and

and sent secretly to *Agrippa*, who had advanced him to the Dignity of High-Priest, beseeching him that he might not be suffered to attempt any such Thing for the future. And some of them, who went out to meet *Albinus*, and conduct him to his Government, informed him, that *Ananus* had exceeded his Power in assembling the Council, which he ought not to have done without his Licence. Whereupon *Albinus* sent him a Letter full of Resentment, and *Agrippa* removed him from the Priesthood, after he had enjoyed that Office three Months.

In short, *James* was the Delight of all good Men; in so much Favour and Esteem with the People, that they used to flock about him, and strive who should touch, though it were but the Hem of his Garment. They called him *Oblias*, or *Ozliam*; that is, *the Defence and Fortress of the People*; meaning, that his Prayers and Interest in the Court of Heaven, conduced much to the Safety of their Nation: And they imputed much of their following Disasters to the barbarous Execution which had been done upon him. His Episcopal Chair was preserved with a sort of Veneration for some Hun-

dreds of Years, even to *Eusebius's* Time. *Eiphanius* says, he died in the ninety-sixth Year of his Age, and the twenty-fourth after *Christ's* Ascension. *St. Jerome* says, that he was thirty Years Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and finished his Course in the seventh of *Nero's* Empire, which was A. D. 60. the same Year that *St. Paul* went to *Rome* upon his appeal to *Cesar*. *Hege-sippus* in *Eusebius* reports, that he was buried near the Temple, in the Place of his Martyrdom, and that a Monument was erected for him, which remained a long Time after. But *Dr. Cave*, with good Reason, questions the Truth of this; because the *Jews* did not usually bury within their City, much less so near the Temple; and least of all, one whom they had executed; as so grievous an Offender against their Law. He therefore prefers the Opinion of *Gregory of Tours*, that he was buried upon *Mount Olivet*, in a Tomb which he had there provided for himself. His Feast is kept in the *Latin* Church on the First of *May*, in Conjunction with *St. Philip's*; but the *Greeks* celebrate it on the Twenty-third of *October*.

The LIFE of St. SIMON.

St. Simon's Name. Why called the Canaanite and the Zealot. What the Zealots were. *St. Simon* zealous for the Honour of his Lord. How distinguished from *Symeon Bishop of Jerusalem*. His Province in preaching the Gospel. His Martyrdom. Confounded with other *Simons*.

ST. *Simon* is but just mentioned in the List of the twelve Apostles, and is distinguished from *Simon Peter* by two Surnames; those of the *Canaanite*, and

the Zealot. From the first of these, some have concluded him to be born at *Cana* of *Galilee*, and that it was at his Marriage that our Lord turned the Water into Wine. *Dr. Mill*, in his *Greek Testament*, hath observ'd, that his Name in several Copies is variously writ, *Canaanus*, *Chananeus*, and *Cannaus*. The learned *Cave* says, it hath no Relation to *Simon's* Birth-place, but descends from a *Hebrew* Root, which denotes Zeal. Accordingly, *St. Luke* styles him *Simon Ze-*

lots, and so his two Surnames signify but one Thing.

When and upon what Occasion he was called *Zealot*, is not fully agreed on. *Nicephorus* dates it only from the Time of his Apostleship; wherein, says he, he express'd an ardent Zeal and Affection for his Master; was an exact Observer of all the Rules of his Religion, and always oppos'd with a pious Warmth and Concern, such as swerv'd from it. But then it might have been expected, that if it had been given him on this Occasion, it should have been taken Notice of in the Gospel, as well as those of *Peter* and *Boanerges*, or at least by some Author much more antient than *Nicephorus*. Others therefore, with more Probability, conclude, that before his Coming to *Christ*, he was one of that particular Sect or Party among the *Jews*, called *Zealots*, from a singular Zeal they profess'd for the Honour of God, and the Purity of Religion. This they did after the Example of *Phineas*, who, by an immediate Impulse, and without staying for the usual Formalities of Law, executed two very provoking Offenders, *Zimri* and *Cosbi*: Which Action of his was approv'd of God, and counted to him for Righteousness through all Generations.

In Imitation of *Phineas*, *Mattathias*, the first of the *Maccabean* Family, made himself Head of a Party of Men, who took upon them to execute Judgment in extraordinary Cases; and that not only by the Connivance, but with the Leave, of the Magistrates and People; till in Process of Time, under Pretence of these Enthusiasms, they run out into all Manner of Licentiousness and wild Extravagancies; and when they had turned all Things into Hurry and Confusion, themselves in the mean Time fished in these troubled Waters. *Josephus* gives a large Account of them, and every where bewails the Mischiefs they did to their Na-

tion. Of which 'twas none of the least, that after *Judea* became tributary to the *Romans*, they were continually instigating the People to cast off their Yoke, and assert their native Liberty. Many of their Prime Nobility they assassinated, as Betrayers of their Country to a foreign Power; openly glorying, that themselves were the Benefactors and Saviours of it. They abrogated the Succession of antient Families, and thrust obscure and base-bred Persons into the Priest's Office, that so they might oblige the most infamous Villains to their Party. In short, they stuck at nothing, however horrid or impious: They broke into the Temple, and profaned it; they murdered the Priests, join'd with the *Idumeans*, filled the Streets of *Jerusalem* with Tumults, Rapine, and Blood-shed, while it was besieged by the *Romans*, and indeed were the main Cause of the *Jews* ill Success in that fatal War. This is a true Account of the Sect of the *Zealots*, of which our Apostle is supposed to have been. We may reasonably presume, that as they were not so far degenerated in our Saviour's Time, so even then he was not the very worst of them. However, he ought not to suffer any more in our Esteem, for having been a *Zealot*, than *St. Matthew* doth for his Trade of a *Publican*, or *St. Paul*, who was once a *Pharisee*, and a violent Persecutor of the Church of *Christ*.

But whatever *St. Simon* was before, we have no Reason to doubt, but that after his Conversion, he was very zealous for the Honour of his Master, and looked upon all *Christ's* Enemies as really his own, how near soever they were to him in any natural Relation. And as he was very exact in all the practical Duties of the Christian Religion, so he shew'd a very serious and pious Indignation towards those who profess'd Religion and the Faith of *Christ* with their Mouths, but dishonour'd their sacred Profession by their

their irregular and vicious Lives, as many of the first Christians really did. *Theodoret* tells us, That he was of the Tribe of *Zebulon* or *Naphtali*: And by this he distinguishes him from *Symeon* the Brother of our Lord, who was of the Tribe of *Judah*, and afterwards Bishops of *Jerusalem*. But there are stronger Reasons to prove this Difference than this Conjecture, which seems to have no Ground but mere Invention, to evade a Difficulty which *Eusebius's* Authority would much better have solved, who never calls *Simon* Bishop of *Jerusalem* an Apostle, but says, that the Apostles Age ended with the Death of *St. John*, whom *Simon*, or *Symeon*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, out-lived.

St. Simon continued in Worship and Communion with the other Apostles and Disciples of Christ at *Jerusalem*; and at the Feast of *Pentecost* received the same miraculous Gifts of the Holy Spirit: So that he was equally qualified with the rest of his Brethren for the Ministry of the Gospel. And we cannot doubt but that he exercised his Gifts with Zeal and Fidelity: But in what Part of the World, is not very certain. Some say he went into *Egypt*, *Cyrene*, and *Africa*, and all over *Mauritania*, preaching the Gospel to those remote and barbarous Countries. And if we may believe our own Authors, he came into these Western Parts, as far as our Island of *Great Britain*; where, having converted great Multitudes, with manifold Hardships and Persecutions, he at last suffered Martyrdom by Crucifix-

on, as 'tis recorded in the *Greek Menologies*. But *Bede*, *Uuardus*, and *Ado*, place his Martyrdom in *Persia*, at a City called *Suanir*, where they say the idolatrous Priests put him to Death; and for this they alledge the Authority of *Eusebius's* Martyrology, translated by *St. Jerome*; which, though it be not without many Faults, nor entirely either *Eusebius's* or *St. Jerome's*, hath yet the Advantage of Antiquity above any now extant. As to the City *Suanir* in *Persia*, it is not known to our Geographers. Possibly it might be the Country of the *Suani* or *Surani*, a People mentioned by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, in *Colchis*, or a little higher in *Sarmatia*; which may agree with a Passage in the spurious History of *St. Andrew*, That in the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* there is a Tomb in a Grot, with an Inscription, That *Simon the Zealot, or Canaanite, was interred there*. But this is but uncertain Tradition.

Besides those who have confounded our Apostle with *Symeon* the Son of *Cleophas*, Successor of *St. James* in the Bishoprick of *Jerusalem*; some have fancied that he was the same with that *Simon* who is said to be one of Christ's Brethren. Others will have all three to be but one Man. Such great Confusion hath the Similitude or Identity of Names produc'd in the Records of the first Times, which are but short and few. His Feast is kept by the *Latins* with *St. Jude's*, *October* the twenty-eighth, but the *Greeks* celebrate it on the Tenth of *June*.

The LIFE of St. JUDE.

St. Jude's three Names. His 'Lineage. A Question of his recorded in Scripture. His Province in the Ministry. His Death. Distinguished from Thaddæus, the Apostle of Edessa. Character and Defence of his Epistle. A Story of his two Grand-Children. Other Particulars concerning St. Jude. A Remark concerning our Lord's Kindred.

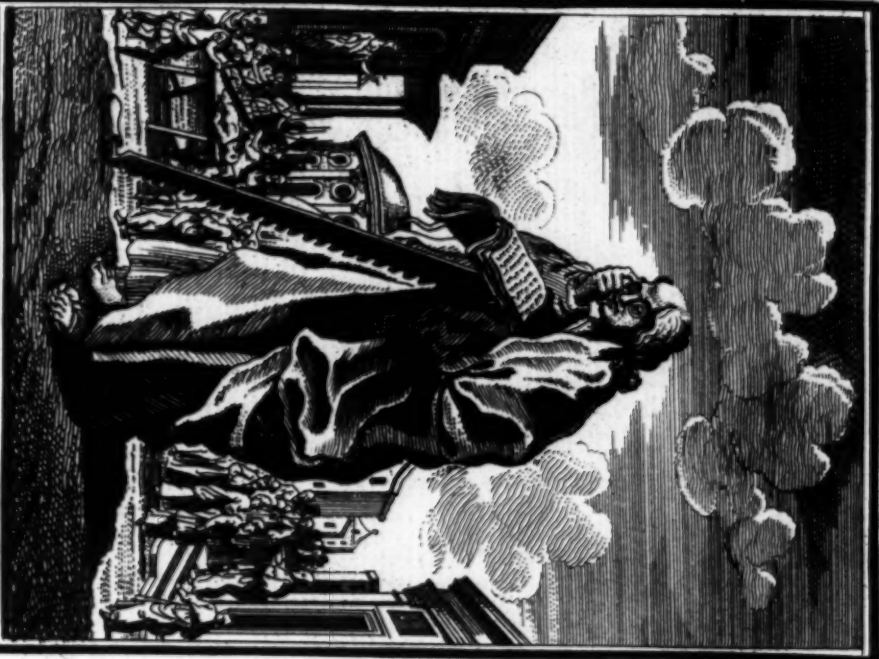
BY three several Names is this Apostle mentioned in the Holy Scripture; *Jude* or *Judas*, *Thaddæus*, and *Lebbeus*. The first he had in common with other *Jews*, and in honour of one of the twelve Patriarchs; the other two might be added to the former, partly to distinguish him from *Judas* the Traitor, who had rendered that Name odious to Christians, and partly as a Commendation of his Wisdom and Zeal: For *Lebbeus*, according to St. *Jerome*, signifies a Man of Wit and Understanding; and *Thaddæus* imports divine Fervour; whence some of the Fathers call him, as well as the last-mentioned Apostle, *Zelotes*.

He was Brother to *James the Less*, afterwards Bishop of *Jerusalem*, being the Son of *Cleophas* and *Mary*; and consequently he bore the same Relation to our Lord as St. *James* did; for which we already accounted in the Life of St. *James*. It is not known when or by what Means he became a Disciple of *Christ*, nothing being said of him till we find him in the Catalogue of the twelve Apostles; nor afterwards till *Christ's* last Supper, when discoursing to them about his Departure, and comforting them with a Promise, that he would return to them again, meaning after his Resurrection; and that *the World should see him no more,*

but they should see him: This Apostle asks him, *Lord how is it, that thou wilt manifest thyself to us, and not unto the World?* It seems by this Question, as if St. *Jude* expected a secular Kingdom of the Messiah, with the Solemnity and Grandeur of which he could not reconcile *Christ's* private Manifestation of himself to his Disciples only: But the Answer satisfies him, that the World was unqualified for the glorious Appearing of the Messiah, as having rejected both him and his Doctrine; that therefore for the future, his intimate Converse, and special Acts of Grace, should be restrain'd only to those who made worthy Returns, by Acts of mutual Love to him, and Regard to his Laws.

After the Passion and Resurrection of *Christ*, St. *Simon* remained at *Jerusalem* with the rest of the Apostles, till the Holy Ghost was poured out upon them at the Feast of *Pentecost*.

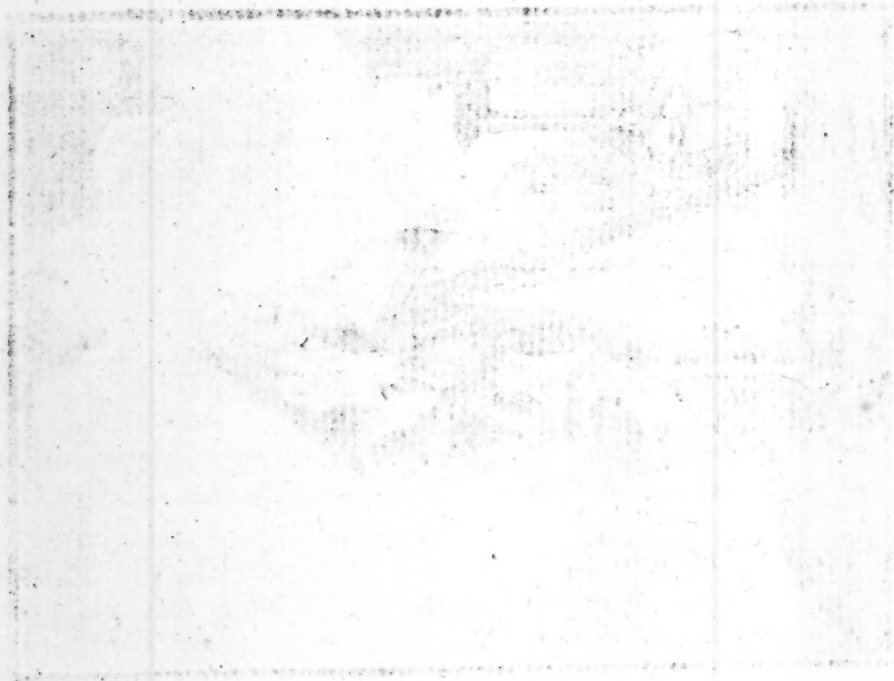
Paulinus tells us, that the Province which fell to his Share in the Apostolic Division, was *Libya*; but he doth not tell us whether it was the *Cyrenian Libya*, which is thought to have received the Gospel from St. *Mark*, or the more Southern Part of *Africa*; and we find no other Account of his Preaching in those Countries. St. *Paul* taking notice that the Brethren of our Lord carried their Wives with them, to provide them with Necessaries in the Course of their Ministry; some gather from hence, that they preached mostly in and near their native Country. However, the *Armenians* challenge St. *Jude* for the first Planter of Christianity amongst them, and will not allow his Remains to be allodged in St. *Peter's* at *Rome*, as is pretended, but say that



SAINT SIMON.
*He Preached in Egypt, Africa and
 Britain, and at length was
 Crucified.*



SAINT JUDE.
*He was, for his free and open re-
 proving the superstitious Rites of
 the Magi, cruelly put to Death.*



that he died and was buried in their Country. The *Greek Menologies* intimate, that he was shot to Death by Arrows; but mention not the Place where. But by the general Consent of the Writers of the *Latin Church*, he was martyr'd with St. *Simon* in *Perſia*, and accordingly is commemorated on the ſame Anniverſary with him.

We have taken Notice before, in the Life of St. *Thomas*, how he ſent *Thaddæus* to *Edeſſa*, to heal King *Agbarus* of a long Fit of Illneſs, and inſtruct him and his People in the Doctrine of Chriſt. This *Thaddæus* St. *Jerome* expreſly declares to be our St. *Jude*; which the Moderns will not readily admit of, upon his ſingle Authority; eſpecially ſince *Eusebius* makes him no more than one of the ſeventy Diſciples; which he would ſcarcely have done, had he been one of the Twelve. He doth likewise indeed call him an Apoſtle; but that may imply no more, than that he was a Companion and Aſſiſtant to the Apoſtles, as we know the Seventy eminently were. Nor is any Thing more common in antient eccleſiaſtical Writers, than for the firſt Planters and Propagators of the Chriſtian Religion in any Country, to be honoured with the Name and Title of Apoſtles.

We have an Epistle bearing the Name of St. *Jude*, placed the laſt of thoſe ſeven, which are called *Catholic*, in the ſacred Canon. It hath no particular Inſcription as the other fix, but is thought primarily to have been intended for the Chriſtian *Jews*, in their ſeveral Diſperſions, as St. *Peter's* Epistles were. In it he tells them, "That he firſt deſigned to write to them in general of the common Salvation, and eſtabliſh and confirm them in it: But ſeeing the Doctrine of Chriſt attacked on every Side by Hereticks, he thought it more neceſſary to ſpend his Pains in Exhortation to them, to ſtand manfully in Defence of the Faith

once delivered to the Saints, and oppoſe the False Teachers, who laboured ſo much to corrupt it. The Hereticks meant in this Epistle were the *Nicolaitans*, *Gnoſtics*, the Followers of *Simon Magus*, and others of the like Stamp, whoſe Manners were as corrupt as their Doctrine; becauſe they truſted to a Faith without Works; as ſufficient for their Salvation. So that St. *Jude's* Subject is much the ſame with that of St. *Peter's* ſecond Epistle, whoſe Senſe he for the moſt part follows, and often uſes the very ſame Expreſſions: Only as the Infection had ſpread itſelf farther, and had gotten more Ground, he ſeemingly oppoſes thoſe Hereticks with more Zeal and Sharpneſs than St. *Peter* had done. But becauſe true Chriſtian Charity, tho' it be zealous, yet is without Bitterneſs and Hatred, he exhorts the Chriſtians to uſe gentle Methods with thoſe deluded People, and to pluck them as Brands out of the Fire; meaning by Fire their impious Principles and Practices, which, if continued in, would certainly conſume them. He ſeems expreſly to cite St. *Peter's* ſecond Epistle, and to intimate plainly, that moſt of the Apoſtles were dead. So that it ſeems as if he had not written his Epistle till after *Nero's* Reign, and the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

Several Perſons have antiently doubted of the Authority of this Epistle: Let us hear what the learned Dr. *Lightfoot* ſays to this Matter. "As the ſecond Epistle of St. *Peter*, ſays he, and this of St. *Jude*, are very near a-kin in Style, Matter, and Subject; ſo it is fairly conjecturable, that they were not far removed in Time; ſpeaking both of wicked ones, and Wickedneſs, at the ſame Height and Ripeneſs. It may be *Jude* ſtands up in the Charge of his Brother *James*, among the Circumciſion of *Judea*, and directs his Epistle to all thoſe who were ſanctified and preſerved in thoſe apoſtatizing Times,

as

as his Brother had done to *all the twelve Tribes* in general.

In citing the Story of *Michael the Arch-Angel contending with the Devil about the Body of Moses*, he doth but the same that *St. Paul* doth in naming *Jannes* and *Jambres*; namely, alledge a Story which was current, and own'd among that Nation, though there was no such Thing in Scripture; and so he argueth with them from their own Authors and Concessions: For among the *Talmudists* there seems to be something like the Relicks of such a Matter, the Story of *Michael* and the *Angel of Death* disputing or discoursing about fetching away the Soul of *Moses*.

His alledging the Prophecy of *Enoch*, is an arguing of the very like Nature, as reciting and referring to some known and common Tradition that they had amongst them. To this Purpose the Book *Sepher Jesher*, an *Hebrew* Writer, speaketh of *Enoch* after such a Tenor: And in both these he useth their own Testimonies against themselves; as if he should have said at large, *These Men speak evil of Dignities*; whereas they have, and own a Story for current, that even *Michael* the Archangel did not speak evil of the Devil, when he was striving with him about the Body of *Moses*. And whereas they shew and own a Prophecy of *Enoch*, of God's coming to Judgment, these are the very Men to whom this Matter is to be applied." Thus for have we the Words of this judicious and eminent Divine, concerning the Epistle of *St. Jude*; Words which give a sufficient Answer to the only Objection made against the Authority of it, That it cites Apocryphal Writings. In a Word, *Eusebius* tells us, That in his Time most Churches read it publicly: And 'tis evident, that before the End of the fourth Age it was acknowledged for Canonical Scripture by general Consent, in the Councils of *Laodicea* and *Carthage*, and by the most

eminent Fathers, *Athanasius*, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, and others. *St. Austin* says, That it cannot be denied, but that *Enoch* did write something by God's Spirit, since *St. Jude* cites it in his Canonical Epistle: And *Origen* observes, that this Epistle, in a few Lines, contains many Words full of divine Power and Grace.

That *St. Jude* was a married Man, we cannot doubt; since *Hegeffippus*, in *Eusebius* mentions two of his Grand-children, of whom he there gives this Account. The Emperor *Domitian*, in the Persecution which he raised against the Christians about the Year of Christ 91, and continued for some Years, commanded that if any of the Posterity of *David*, and Kindred of *Christ*, were left alive, they should be put to Death, as having a dangerous Title to the Government. Whereupon the two Persons aforesaid were brought before him, and, upon Examination, own'd with great Sincerity, that they were Descendants of the House of *David*, but withal that they were Men of a very narrow Fortune, having an Estate in Land of about thirty-nine Acres, which they managed themselves, for the Support of their Families. The Truth of this was soon evinced by the Hardness of their Hands. Being further questioned touching the Messiah and his Kingdom, they replied, *That tho' he was a King, yet it was in Heaven; not on Earth, where his Kingdom should not appear 'till the End of the World, when he should come in Glory to judge both the Quick and the Dead.* *Domitian* observing the Meanness and Simplicity of the Men, discharged them without farther Trouble, as being below his Fears and Jealousies. And *Tertullian* adds, that he immediately put an End to the Persecution which he had rais'd against the Christians. These Men, says our Author, were afterwards Chiefs in the Government of the Church, and lived till the Reign of *Trajan*. As for *St.*

Jude

SAINT MATTHEW



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SAINT MATTHIAS.



He was stoned and then beheaded, after he had preached the Gospel to a barbarous people at the River Asparius.

Jude, he is thought by some to have outlived the Reign of *Nero*, and the Destruction of *Jerusalem*.

These are the principal Particulars that are recorded in good History concerning *St. Jude*: There are however, several other Things spoken of him, which may not be passed over without some Prejudice to the Reader. Some of the more modern *Greek* and *Latin* Writers, notwithstanding *Eusebius's* Words, are bold to assert, That *St. Jude* preached in *Edessa*, and throughout all *Mesopotamia*, completing the Word of God, which *St. Thaddæus* had begun. They add, That after this,

he preached in *Judea* as before. The *Constitutions* relate, That some of the Apostles, who preached the Gospel, did also labour in Husbandry, to maintain themselves in the Work of the Ministry, that they might not discourage their Converts by their Charge; and that of those who did so, *Judas* was one. Many of the *Greeks* say, That he died at *Berytus*; in which it is plain they confounded this Apostle with *Thaddæus*, the Evangelist of *Edessa*. Some attributed to him a false Gospel, which has been condemned by Pope *Gelasius*.

The LIFE of St. MATTHIAS.

The History of St. Matthias writ by a Monk of Treves. An Account of Matthias's Election to the Apostolate, in the Room of Judas Iscariot. Where he preached and suffered Martyrdom. A Saying of his. Left no Writings.

IT is the Advice of the learned *Francis Combefis*, that we should believe nothing of *St. Matthias*, but what we find in the *Acts of the Apostles*. However, the Curious may be entertained with a History of his Life in *Bollandus*, said to be writ in the twelfth Century, by a Monk of the Abby of *St. Matthias* at *Treves*; wherein it is affirmed, "That our Apostle was a Native of *Bethlehem*, of the Tribe of *Judah*, and of an illustrious Family: That he was well instructed, not only by his Parents, but by an eminent Rabbi, named *Symeon*: That after his Election to the Apostolate, he was appointed to preach the Gospel in some Province of *Palestine*, where he wrought abundance of Miracles, and converted great Multitudes to the Faith of *Christ*: That thirty-three Years, or thereabout, after the Passion of *Christ*, *Ananus*

the younger, High-Priest of the *Jews*, having put *James* the Less, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to Death, caused *Matthias*, at the same Time, to be apprehended in *Galilee*, and brought before him; where, when upon Examination he confessed *Jesus* of *Nazareth* to be the Messiah, the High-Priest condemned him to be stoned, and the Sentence was immediately executed. This is the exactest Account we have of *St. Matthias*, except what the Holy Scripture relates of him; to which we now proceed. After the Apostles had attended our Lord to the Top of Mount *Olivet*, and been Witnesses of his glorious Ascension into Heaven, they returned then to *St. John's* House in Mount *Sion*, which *Nicephorus* says was the usual Place of the first Christian Assemblies. The whole Company at this Time consisted of about one hundred and twenty Persons. In the midst of them *St. Peter* stands up, and gives them a succinct Account of *Judas Iscariot*, who had been lately one of the Apostolick Order, and had been empower'd equally with them to preach and work Miracles in *Christ's* Name. That,

notwithstanding the high Privileges and sacred Character he was invested with, a Spirit of the basest Ingratitude, Avarice, and Perfidiousness, reigned within his Breast, which had often prompted him to grudge his Master every thing, and to embezzle his Goods with which he had entrusted him; and at last prevailed with him, for the vile Lucre of thirty Pieces of Silver, to betray his innocent Lord into the Hands of his implacable Enemies, to whom he join'd himself, and conducted them to the Place where he knew *Jesus* would be at such a Time, and then with a treacherous Kiss pointed him out to them, that they might be sure to lay Hands on the right Person, and prevent his Escape.

But afterwards, when this sordid Traitor saw that his Master was arraign'd, and condemn'd, and just ready to be led to Execution, and that he did not by his divine Power rescue himself from his Persecutors, as sometimes before he had done, a direful Horror and Despair came upon him, which render'd him unable to contain himself, or keep the Reward of his Treason any longer; but to the *Sanbedrim* he repairs, throws the Money at those who had given it him, only confesses to them that he had betrayed innocent Blood, and then went and hanged himself. But the Rope, or that to which it was fastned, breaking, he fell down headlong, and burst asunder, and his Bowels gushed out. His Money wasturned into a standing Monument of his Villany, being laid out in the Purchase of a Burying-Place for Strangers, which in reference to the treasonable Acquisition, was by every Body called, *The Field of Blood*.

St. *Peter* observes, that all this was foretold by the Royal Prophet *David*, who had spoken expressly of this Son of Perdition's Apostasy; and at the same Time declared, that *another should succeed in his Office*. For the Fulfilling of which he

moves for a speedy Election of a new Apostle; and that he should be one of those Disciples who had attended upon *Christ* all the Time of his publick Ministry, from the Day that St. *John* baptized him, to the Time that he was taken up into Heaven; that so he might be a proper and unexceptionable Witness of the holy Life and mighty Works of the Lord *Jesus*, and especially of that great Ratification of all his Doctrine and Miracles, his Resurrection from the Dead.

The whole Assembly readily agreed to St. *Peter's* Proposal, and appointed two Candidates; one called *Joseph*, surnamed *Barsabas*, and *Justus*, supposed to be Brother to *James the Less*; and the other called *Matthias*. The Way of Election was by Lots, a Way frequently used both by *Jews* and *Gentiles*, for the Choice of Officers and Magistrates. The Apostles had recourse to it more especially at this Time, because the Holy Ghost was not yet given, by whose immediate Direction they were chiefly guided afterwards. And that they might not depend upon mere Chance, they put up their Prayers to God, that he who knew the Hearts of all Men, would shew whether of those two he had chosen. The Lots being put into the Urn, the Name of *Matthias* was drawn first; whereupon he was declared to be the twelfth Apostle.

From hence we may certainly conclude, that tho' the Scripture be silent as to the Time when *Matthias* became a Disciple of *Christ*, yet he was one of his earliest Followers and Attendants. That he might be of such long standing, St. *Peter* insists, and with very good Reason, that his Testimony of *Christ* might be grounded upon his own personal Knowledge of every Thing, and so equally valid with that of the other Apostles. *Eusebius* and *Epiphanius* name him for one of the seventy Disciples; and so doth *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who tells us

us withal, that some in his Time took him for *Zaccheus*, the rich *Publican*; but his Conversion was of too late a Date for that constant Attendance on our Lord, which St. *Peter* required in an Apostle.

After the first Fruits of our Apostle's Ministry spent in *Judea*, he is supposed by the *Greeks* to have travell'd Eastward: St. *Jerome* says, his principal Residence was near the Irruption of the River *Asparus*, and the Haven *Hysus* in *Cappadocia*. The People were a very rough, uncivilized Sort of Men; among whom, after painful Labours and Sufferings, and numerous Conversions to the Christian Faith, he was crown'd with Martyrdom, *A. D.* 61, or, as others, 64. *Dorotheus* will have him to die at *Sebastople*, and to be buried there near the Temple of the Sun. An antient Martyrology reports him to have been seized by the *Jews*, and, as a Blasphemer, to have been stoned, and then beheaded. But the *Greek* Officers, supported herein by several antient Breviaries, tell us that he was crucified. His Body, by some, is pretended to be at *Rome*; by others, at *Treves* in *Germany*. *Bollandus* thinks, the Body of *Matthias*, which is at *Rome*, is of that *Matthias* who was Bishop of *Je-*

rusalem, *A. D.* 120, whose History they confounded with our Apostle's. The *Greeks* celebrate his Feast *August* the Ninth; the *Latins*, *February* the Twenty-fourth, except it be Leap Year, and then 'tis *February* the Twenty-fifth.

Some Things have been pretended to have been writ by St. *Matthias*, particularly a Gospel; but nothing of this Kind was ever allowed of by the Church. *Clemens Alexandrinus* relates a Saying of his, of great Use in the Life of a Christian: 'Tis to this Purpose; *That we ought to mortify and subdue the Flesh, and maintain a continual Opposition to it, by granting it nothing, whereby its irregular and sensual Desires may be gratified; but that we should, on the contrary, nourish and fortify our Souls with Faith and divine Knowledge.*

Some have thought, that the same Father cites a Passage out of a Book called, *Traditions of St. Matthias*; but perhaps, upon a careful Inspection of the Place, nothing of a Book will appear to be intended, but only this Sense, that *Matthias* and the Apostles left us one and the same Tradition, as they all received one and the same Doctrine.



The LIFE of St. MARK.

St. Mark the Evangelist different from John-Mark. His Name, and Family. St. Peter's Interpreter, and why. Wrote his Gospel in Greek: Occasion and Character of it. His Travels and Death. Asbes said to be translated to Venice.

THAT St. Mark the Evangelist was a different Person from John-Mark, whom we shall have Occasion to mention in the Life of St. Barnabas, is not at all doubted by learned Men at this Day: Who likewise agree, that notwithstanding his Roman Name, he was born of Jewish Parents, of the Tribe of Levi, and Line of the Priesthood; and that he probably assumed the Name of Mark, at his going to Rome, after the Example of his Countrymen, who usually took Roman Names on such Occasions. Nicephorus will have him to be St. Peter's Sister's Son; and Epiphanius makes him one of those Disciples, who taking Offence at our Lord's Discourse of *eating his Flesh, and drinking his Blood, went back and walked no more with him*; but that his Uncle, St. Peter, recovered him again. But the Account of a much older Man, Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, quite overthrows this; for he positively affirms, that St. Mark never was a Hearer or Follower of our Lord. 'Tis most probable that he was a Disciple and Convert of St. Peter's, who calls him *his Son*, and whom he assisted in the Quality of an *Amanuensis*, or Interpreter; as the aforesaid Papias styles him.

But because some may wonder, how an Apostle inspired with the miraculous Gift of Tongues, as St. Peter undoubtedly was, should want an Interpreter; 'tis answer'd, That the Interpretation of Tongues

was likewise a distinct Gift; and whenever there was a sufficient Interpreter, the Apostle's Sense was convey'd to others by his Means; tho' perhaps this was not supernatural in St. Mark, but only the Effect of his Education. He might be bred to good Skill in the Roman Language.

Some will have him so great a Master of it, that he chose to write his Gospel originally in it: Tho' we are inclined to think, that both Greek and Latin were as commonly joined in the Schools of Grammarians then, as they are in our Days; and we are told, that in his Time, there were very few Romans of any Fashion, who did not understand Greek. Dr. Cave therefore judiciously observes, That it was no less proper for St. Mark to write his Gospel in Greek, for the Use of the Romans, than that St. Paul should in the same Language write his Epistle to the Roman Church. Besides the Jews at Rome understood very little Latin: It seems therefore necessary, that a Work so likely to be of general Use, should be written in the general and genteel Language of those Times.

As to the last Chapter of this Gospel, or Part of it, which is said to be wanting in all antient Greek Copies, and has for that Reason been by some rejected, as disagreeing in some Things with the other Gospels; St. Jerome does so reconcile them together, that he makes them fairly consistent with each other.

The original Greek Copy of St. Mark's Gospel is reported to be in the Possession of the Venetians, and is pretended to be written by the Evangelist at Aquilea, and thence translated to Venice, after many Ages; but the Letters are so worn out that they cannot be read, and the whole Story

SAINT MARK. the Evangelist.



*After he had planted the Gospel in Libya and other Countries
thereabouts, he was dragged through the Streets till his Flesh
was raked off and then expired.*

and their Martyrdom is placed about the
 year 1600, that he outlived St. Peter
 was supposed, that he outlived St. Peter
 which he suffered is not certain. In
 Day of his Martyrdom: But the Year
 of his Martyrdom is not certain as the
 Martyrdom of St. Peter was known as the
 the Church would can do so of
 of the best and fairest Churches that
 Republic and erected to his Memory one
 about the Church and Patron of their
 every one of them have adopted St.
 and we cannot really rely upon. How
 things are stated by Authors whose Cre-
 dited with a religious Veneration: and
 known to be true, where they are pre-
 they were afterwards translated from A-
 where he died to preach; how
 founded by the Christians near
 were gathered up, and de-
 want his Body to Africa; how
 turning Part of his History; how his
 executed under cruel Hands. As to the
 exactly stated and told his Flesh, till he
 from the streets a second Time, and mi-
 early next Morning, and dragged him a-
 ters, the being yet fatigued, they return'd
 Vision. The bloody Rage of the Idol-
 strengthened and comforted by a heavenly
 where in the Night he was much
 the streets, and thrust him into Prison
 feet with Cords, dragged him through
 broke in upon St. Mark, and binding his
 The Egyptians, to vindicate their Idol
 Saints were celebrated at the same time
 happened that the superstitious Rights of
 party of idolatrous People against him. It
 God and Man raised a tumultuous Com-
 in divine Worship, the great Enemy of
 lenemy of Peter, while he was employ'd
 vention in that Church. But at the so-
 and ordain'd Pastors and Go-
 Christ. At this he returned to Alexandria,
 distant converted them to the Faith
 your Ignorance and dolour of the

story appears to be a Forgery. For that
 the Gospel was composed at Rome, and
 in the University of the Christians there, is
 the unanimous Tradition of the Antients,
 such as Papias, Irenaeus, Clement, Ter-
 tullian, and others; as also that it was pe-
 titioned by the Pope, and ratified by his
 Authority. This I cannot maintain; that
 it was written after St. Peter's Death, and
 Dr. Lavey seems to believe that in his
 Life-time, he only furnished the Evange-
 list with Materials, and gave him Direc-
 tions for putting them together as we now
 have them; but that the Work was not
 actually composed till after the Apostle's
 Death. Clement Alexandrian is of Op-
 nion, that he composed it out of those
 Discourses which St. Peter usually deliv-
 ered to his Auditors. It was anciently
 ascribed St. Peter's Gospel; and St. Jerome
 seems to observe that the Style and Manner
 of Expression is like that in his Epistles.
 It representing much in a few Words, it
 may very well be looked upon as a Sup-
 plement to St. Matthew's Gospel; for
 that some Things it is more concise,
 yet in others it is larger and more particu-



Story appears to be a Forgery. For that his Gospel was composed at *Rome*, and at the Entreaty of the Christians there, is the unanimous Tradition of the Antients, such as *Papias*, *Ireneus*, *Clemens*, *Tertullian*, and others; as also that it was perused by St. *Peter*, and ratify'd by his Authority. Only *Ireneus* intimates, that it was written after St. *Peter's* Death; and Dr. *Cave* seems to believe, that in his Life-time, he only furnished the Evangelist with Materials, and gave him Directions for putting them together as we now have them; but that the Work was not actually composed till after the Apostle's Death. *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of Opinion, that he composed it out of those Discourses which St. *Peter* usually delivered to his Auditors. It was antiently stiled St. *Peter's* Gospel; and St. *Chrysostome* observes, that the Style and Manner of Expression is like that in his Epistles, representing much in a few Words. It may very well be looked upon as a Supplement to St. *Matthew's* Gospel; for tho' in some Things it be more concise, yet in others it is larger and more particular.

His great Impartiality in his Relations appears from hence, that he is so far from concealing his Master St. *Peter's* Denial of Christ, that he records some particular Aggravations of it, which none of the other Evangelists have mentioned.

Eusebius tells us, that St. *Mark* preach'd the Gospel in *Egypt*, and planted a Church in *Alexandria*, the Metropolis of it. *Valerius* reports it as the Opinion of *Eutychius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, that he came thither in the ninth Year of the Emperor *Claudius*, which was *Anno Domini* 49, the Year that the great Synod was held in *Jerusalem*. *Metaphrastes* and others say, he proceeded westward to *Marmorica*, *Pentapolis*, and several Parts of *Lybia*; and notwithstanding the barba-

rous Ignorance and Idolatry of the Inhabitants, converted them to the Faith of Christ. After this he returned to *Alexandria*, and ordain'd Pastors and Governors in that Church. But at the Solemnity of *Easter*, while he was employ'd in divine Worship, the great Enemy of God and Man raised a tumultuous Company of idolatrous People against him. It happened that the superstitious Rights of *Serapis* were celebrated at the same time: The *Agyptians*, to vindicate their Idol, broke in upon St. *Mark*, and binding his Feet with Cords, dragged him through the Streets, and thrust him into Prison, where in the Night he was much strengthened and comforted by a heavenly Vision. The bloody Rage of the Idolaters not being yet satiated, they return'd early next Morning, and dragged him about the Streets a second Time, and miserably bruised and tore his Flesh, till he expired in their cruel Hands. As to the remaining Part of his History; how his Enemies burnt his Body to Ashes; how those Ashes were gathered up, and decently entombed by the Christians near the Place where he used to preach; how they were afterwards translated from *Alexandria* to *Venice*, where they are preserved with a religious Veneration; these Things are related by Authors whose Credit we cannot wholly rely upon. However, the *Venetians* have adopted St. *Mark* the tutelar Saint and Patron of their Republic, and erected to his Memory one of the richest and statefiest Churches that the Christian World can boast of.

The twenty fifth of *April* is kept as the Day of his Martyrdom; but the Year wherein he suffered is not certain. *Ireneus* supposes, that he out-lived St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* some considerable Time; — and their Martyrdom is placed about the End of *Nero's* Reign.

The LIFE of St. LUKE.

Who St. Luke was, and whether a Hearer of our Lord. His Birth-place and Profession. Of St. Paul's mentioning of him in his Epistles. That he was St. Paul's Companion. When and where he wrote his Gospel and Acts, with a Character of those Works. His Travels after St. Paul's Arrival at Rome; and his Martyrdom. His Body removed to Constantinople.

ST. Luke hath had the same Fate with St. Mark, to be represented one of those Disciples who deserted our Lord, upon Occasion of some Passages in his Discourse concerning his Flesh and Blood; and that he was afterwards recovered by St. Paul: As also, that he was one of those two Disciples, to whom our Lord presented himself on the Day of his Resurrection, as they were travelling from Jerusalem to Emmaus: Which some are so far from allowing, that they affirm he never saw our Lord, and ground themselves for this upon his own Words in the Beginning of his Gospel. But the learned Dr. Whitby observes, that those Words in St. Luke, which mention his receiving the Facts concerning our Lord from those who were Eye and Ear-witnesses of them, are so far from giving any Ground to this Assertion, that they fairly plead for St. Luke's personal Knowledge of all the Things written in his Gospel, even from first to last.

He was born at Antioch, the Metropolis of Syria, a City of great Traffic and Riches, and eminent for Schools of Learning, which produced the most renowned Masters in all Arts and Sciences. Besides the Learning which he acquired here in his younger Years, he improved himself

by his Travels in several Parts of Greece and Egypt, as we are told; and became particularly well skilled in Physic, which he made his Profession. They that from hence infer the Quality of his Birth and Fortune, forget to consider that this noble Art was in those Times managed by Persons of no better Rank than Servants: Upon which Account Grotius conceives that St. Luke was carried to Rome, and lived a Servant to some Family there in Quality of a Physician: Whence, having obtained his Freedom, he returned into his own Country, and probably continu'd his Profession all his Life; it being so fairly consistent with, and in many Cases subservient to, the Ministry of the Gospel, and the Care of Souls.

Metaphrastes, Nicephorus, Gretser, and others, mightily celebrate him for his Skill in another Art, that of Painting. And Dr. Cave mentions an antient Inscription, found in a Vault near the Church of St. Mary in Via lata at Rome, supposed to have been the Place where St. Paul dwelt, wherein Mention is made of a Picture of the Blessed Virgin, being one of the seven painted by St. Luke.

When he first became a Christian is uncertain. Those who understand him in the Beginning of his Gospel to say, that he had the Facts from the Reports of others who were Eye-Witnesses, make him a Convert of St. Paul's, and that he learned the History of his Gospel from his Conversation, and writ by his Direction, as St. Mark did from the Dictates of St. Peter; and that when St. Paul, in his Epistles, says, according to my Gospel, he means this of St. Luke, which he styles his, in respect of the great Share he had in the Composure of it.

But

SAINT LUKE

the Evangelist.



*He preached the Gospel in Greece, till a party of Infidels making
Head against him, drew him to Execution; and for want of a Cross
they hanged him on an Olive-tree.*

SAINT LUKE

but those on the other side who hold the Evangelical Church what he had

Two Books he wrote in Greek for the Use of the Church; which are the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles; both with so much Exactness and Accuracy, Politeness, and Elegance, with such a lofty, but clear and perspicuous Style, that one may say by it now great a Share he had in the native Genius of Athens, his Birth-place. He was a true Historian, both faithful in his Relations, and elegant in his Writings.

The Price and Time assigned with good Probability, by the learned Mr. Edward for St. Luke's writing his Gospel, is the City of Rome, during St. Paul's first Imprisonment there. The Occasion of it, as he himself intimates in the Preface, was partly to prevent those idle and dangerous Variations which even then began to be introduced upon the Text, and partly to supply what seemed wanting in the two former Evangelists.

Not certain whether he had seen the Gospel which he wrote this, or not, but it is probable that he had seen it, as he mentions it in the Preface, and as it is the same as the one which he mentions in the Preface of the Acts.

St. Luke's Gospel is written in a very elegant and perspicuous Style, and is full of many beautiful and striking Expressions. It is also very well adapted to the Use of the Church, and is a most valuable and useful Book.



could not receive it from St. Paul, as an Evangelical Church, what he had

because all those Matters were transferred before St. Paul was converted to the Christian Faith, who never saw our Lord Jesus Christ, and as he appeared to him after his Resurrection: That therefore, when he says, according to my Gospel, he means no more than that Gospel in general which he preached; the whole Preaching of the Gospel being filled, the Gospel.

They observe further, that it is not probable St. Luke was converted by St. Paul, otherwise he would have mentioned the Way as the Way of the Apostles, or to call their eminent Converts, but he mentions him by the title of Physician. They also observe, that one of the Jews, who were great Enemies of that City, they told him afterwards, upon the Authority of Josephus, that in the Jewish Learning, there was a Book, and the Number of Chapters, for which they were famous, and to which they were attached, and to which they were devoted. They also observe, that St. Luke's Gospel is written in a very elegant and perspicuous Style, and is full of many beautiful and striking Expressions. It is also very well adapted to the Use of the Church, and is a most valuable and useful Book.

that which he wrote in Greek for the Use of the Church; which are the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles; both with so much Exactness and Accuracy, Politeness, and Elegance, with such a lofty, but clear and perspicuous Style, that one may say by it now great a Share he had in the native Genius of Athens, his Birth-place. He was a true Historian, both faithful in his Relations, and elegant in his Writings.

But those on the other Side, who hold that he writ his Gospel upon his own personal Knowledge, observe, that he could not receive it from St. Paul, as an Eye Witness of the Matters contained in it; because all those Matters were transacted before St. Paul was converted to the Christian Faith, who never saw our Lord otherwise than as he appeared to him after his Resurrection: That therefore, when he says, *according to my Gospel*, he means no more than that Gospel in general which he preached; the whole Preaching of the Apostles being stiled, the *Gospel*.

They observe farther, that it is not probable St. Luke was converted by St. Paul, otherwise he would have called him his Son, as the Way was for the Apostles to call their eminent Converts; but he mentions him by the Style of *Luke the beloved Physician*. They make him therefore one of the Jewish Proselytes at Antioch, of which there were great Numbers in that City. They send him afterwards, upon the Authority of *Theophylact*, to Jerusalem, for a more perfect Education in the Jewish Learning. Hence they bring him into the Number of Christ's seventy Disciples, for which they quote *Origen* and *Epiphanius*, who expressly assert it; and so they conclude that he wrote his Gospel upon his own personal Knowledge.

That St. Luke became St. Paul's Companion in Travels, and Fellow-Labourer in the Work of the Ministry, is evident from both their Writings, the Acts of the Apostles, and St. Paul's Epistles. He followed him in all his Dangers, especially after his going into Macedonia; was with him at his several Arraignments at Jerusalem; accompany'd him in his hazardous Voyage to Rome, where, according to most, he still attended on him to serve his Necessities, and supply those ministerial Offices which the Apostle's Confinement would not permit him to undergo, and

especially in carrying Messages to those Churches, where he had planted Christianity.

Two Books he wrote in Greek for the Use of the Church; which are his *Gospel*, and *the Acts of the Apostles*; both with so much Exactness and Accuracy, Politeness, and Elegancy, with such a lofty, but clear and perspicuous Style, that one may see by it how great a Share he had in the native Genius of Antioch, his Birth-place. He was a true Historian, both faithful in his Relations, and elegant in his Writings.

The Place and Time assign'd, with good Probability, by the learned Mr. Echard, for St. Luke's writing his Gospel, are the City of Rome, during St. Paul's two Years Imprisonment there. The Occasion of it, as he himself intimates in the Introduction, was partly to prevent those false and fabulous Narrations which even then began to be obtruded upon the World, and partly to supply what seem'd wanting in the two former Evangelists, tho' it is not certain whether he had seen St. Matthew's Gospel when he wrote this. He mainly insists upon what relates to Christ's priestly Office: For which Reason the Ancients, in accommodating the four symbolical Representations mentioned in *Ezekiel*, to the four Evangelists, assigned the Ox or Calf to St. Luke. Tho' the Whole is writ with much Variety, and in purer Greek than the former Gospels, and therefore deserves the Character which we have before given it; yet is it not wholly free from *Hebraisms* or *Syriacisms*. He dedicates it to one *Theophilus*; who, because he styles him *most excellent*, is thought to have been some Magistrate of Antioch, whom St. Luke had converted and baptized. St. Jerome is of Opinion, that this Gospel was writ in St. Paul's Travel through Achaia and Bæotia, which was about eight Years before the Term assigned above.

His

His History of the Apostolical Acts was written, no doubt, at *Rome* too. In the Dedication of it to the same *Theophilus*, it appears that it was composed after his Gospel: And from the Conclusion we may gather, that he finished it at the End of *St. Paul's* two Years Imprisonment: Though we may well take it for granted, that he committed to Writing the several Facts all along at the Times when they happened, having himself been an Eye-witness of them. In this History he does not only relate the Actions, but also the Sufferings, of some of the chief Apostles, and of *St. Paul* especially; of whose Carriage and most intimate Transactions, he was best able to give a true Account, having been his constant Attendant. But, among other Things, he enlarges particularly upon the great Miracles wrought by the Apostles, as being the grand Confirmation of the Truth of *Christ's* Resurrection.

And now having lost the Light which his own History afforded us of himself, we are much bewilder'd among the Ecclesiastical Historians, to find how he was employed the remaining Part of his Life, or where or in what manner he ended his Days. An *Arabic* Writer of his Life, in *Kirstenius*, says, that presently after *St. Paul's* Enlargement, he was martyr'd at *Rome*: For which he gives this Reason, that if he had lived longer, he would have continued his *Acts of the Apostles* farther.

Metaphrastes makes him leave *Paul* at *Rome*, travel into *Egypt*, and take upon him the Episcopal Charge of the Church of *Tbebais*: But he is not easily credited in this. *Epiphanius* reports him to have preached in *Dalmatia*, *Galatia*, *Italy*, and *Macedonia*. As little Agreement is there either about the Time or Manner of his Death; some affirming him to die in *Egypt*, others in *Greece*, the *Roman* Martyrology in *Bythinia*, *Dorotheus* at *Ephesus*; some make him die a natural, others a violent a violent, Death. Indeed neither *Eusebius* nor *St. Jerome* take any notice of it: But *Nazianzen*, *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*, and several others, expressly assert his Martyrdom; whereof *Nicephorus* gives this particular Account; That coming into *Greece*, he successfully preached, and baptized many into the Christian Faith; till a Party making Head against him, drew him to Execution; and, for want of a Cross, whereon to dispatch him presently, they hanged him on an Olive-Tree, in the eightieth, others say the eighty-fourth, Year of his Age. His Body afterwards, by the Command of *Constantine*, or his Son *Constantius*, was solemnly removed to *Constantinople*, and buried in the great Church built to the Memory of the Apostles. He is said to have lived a single Life. The Church celebrates his Memory on the Eighteenth of *October*.

The

Applicant was the

A black and white photograph of a large, ancient stone structure, possibly a tomb or altar, with a prominent circular base and a tall, rectangular column-like structure to the right. The structure is heavily weathered and surrounded by a low wall.

I feel much obliged to you for the
 paper, and will be glad to see it
 as soon as it is published.

SAINT BARNABAS.



He was Stoned to Death at Salamis, a City in the Island of Cyprus, near which his Body was found, with S.^t Matthew's Gospel written in Hebrew with his own hand, lying on his Breast.

The LIFE of St. BARNABAS.

St. Barnabas an Apostle. Why called Barnabas. His Family, Country, and Education. One of the seventy Disciples. Sells his Patrimony to relieve the Church. Presents Paul to the Apostles. Goes with Paul to Antioch, to confirm the new Converts, and carries the Antiochians Charity to Jerusalem. Solemnly set apart with Paul to preach to the Gentiles. Whence called the fourteenth Apostle. Idolized with Paul at Lystra. Goes with him to the Council at Jerusalem. Separates from him on account of John-Mark. His Separation redounds to the Good of the Church. His farther Travels uncertain. His Martyrdom in Cyprus. His Epistle.

ST. Barnabas, though not of the Number of the Twelve, yet is honour'd by St. Luke and the primitive Writers, with the Title of an Apostle; and indeed the great Share which he hath in the *Acts of the Apostles*, justly be-speaks him a Place among them. He was first called *Joses*, by a softer Termination, familiar with the *Greeks*, for *Joseph*. His Fellow-Disciples added the Name of *Barnabas*, as significant of some excellent Property in him. St. Luke interprets it, *the Son of Consolation*, Acts. 4. 36. which he was very forward to administer to the Afflicted, both by Word and Deed; as his comfortable Discourses, his selling his own Estate, and collecting the Benevolence of others, for the Relief of the poor indigent Christians, do abundantly testify. St. Jerome says, that this Name farther denotes *the Son of a Prophet*: And in this respect too, it is well suited to our Apostle, as being eminent for his prophetick Gifts and Endowments.

He was of the Tribe of *Levi*, of a Family

removed out of *Judea*, and settled in the Isle of *Cyprus*; where they had purchas'd an Estate, as the *Levites* might do out of their own Conuntry. His Parents, we are told, finding their Son of a promising Genius and Disposition, put him to a School at *Jerusalem*, under the Tuition of *Gamaliel*, St. Paul's Master; which, if so, might lay an early Foundation of that Intimacy, which was afterwards between these two Apostles. We are farther told, that being a frequent Spectator of *Christ's* Miracles, particularly of his curing the Paralytic at the Pool of *Bethesda*, he took him for his Master, and brought him to his Sister *Mary's* House; where he was wont to assemble with his Disciples, as the Church continued to do afterwards: And that her Son *Mark* was that young Man who bore the Pitcher of Water, whom our Lord commanded his two Disciples to follow home, and there prepare for them to eat the *Passover*. However, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, and other Antients, positively affirm, that he was one of the seventy Disciples; and, perhaps, the modern *Greeks* may not be in the wrong; who say, he was one of the first and chief of them.

The first mention we have of *Barnabas* in Holy Scripture, is the Record of that great and good Service he did the infant Church of *Christ*, by succouring it with the Sale of his Patrimony in *Cyprus*, the whole Price of which he laid at the Apostles Feet; to be put into a common Stock, and disposed of, as they should think fit, to such as wanted. The rest of the richer Christians all did the same Thing: None of them kept their Plenty to themselves, but turn'd their Houses and Lands into Money, and devoted it

to the common Use of the Church. Only *Barnabas* is recorded by Name, as parting with the most valuable Estate on this Occasion; or being the most forward and ready to begin a common Fund, and set others a laudable Pattern to copy after.

And now *Barnabas* became considerable in the Ministry and Government of the Church. For we find that *St. Paul* coming to *Jerusalem* three Years after his Conversion, and not readily getting Admittance into the Church, because he had been so grievous a Persecutor of it, and might still be suspected of a Design to betray it; he addressed himself to *Barnabas*, as a leading Man among the Christians, and one that had personal Knowledge of him; who presently introduced him to the Apostles *Peter* and *James*, and satisfied them of the Sincerity of his Conversion, and in what a miraculous Way it was brought about. This Recommendation carried that Weight with it, that *Paul* was not only received into the Communion of the Apostles, but taken into *Peter's* House, and abode with him fifteen Days, Gal. 1. 18.

About four or five Years after this, the good News was brought to the Church at *Jerusalem*, that † several of their Body, who had been driven from thence by the Persecution rais'd about *St. Stephen*, had preached at *Antioch* with such Success, that a great Number, both of *Jews* and *Profelytes*, embraced Christianity; and wanted some of the superior Order to confirm them. Hereupon *Barnabas* was deputed to settle this new Plantation. Upon his Arrival, he rejoiced extremely, to see what Progress the Gospel had made among them; and earnestly exhorted

them to continue immoveable in their Profession of *Jesus Christ*. And being himself a good Man, and full of the Holy Ghost, and of Faith, his charitable Deeds accompanying his Discourses, and his pious Life exemplifying his sound Doctrine, People were much influenced by him, and great Additions were made to the Christian Church. But there being too large a Field for one Labourer, he went to fetch *Saul* from *Tarsus*; who came back with him to *Antioch*, and assisted him a whole Year in the Establishment of that Church. Their Labours prosper'd; their Assemblies were well fill'd; and the Disciples, who before this were called among themselves, *Brethren, Believers, Eleti*, and by their Enemies *Nazarenes* and *Galileans*, were now called *Christians* first in *Antioch*.

Upon the Notice which the Prophet *Agabus* gave to the Church at *Antioch*, that there would shortly be a great Famine throughout the World, or throughout the *Roman Empire*, as 'tis commonly understood, and especially in *Judea*; the *Antiochians*, considering the Number and Necessities of their Christian Brethren at *Jerusalem*, and how generously the richer Sort there had exhausted their Estates in the Maintenance of the Poor, determin'd to send them a provisionary Relief against the ensuing Scarcity; which they rais'd by Contributions, according to every Man's Ability, and sent it to the Heads of the Church there, by the Hands of *Barnabas* and *Paul*. This Famine lay heavy upon *Judea*, during the four Years Government of *Cuspius Fadus* and *Tiberius Alexander*, Presidents of that Province under the Emperor *Claudius*, as *Josephus* observes.

† It is probable that *Lucius* of *Cyrene*, *Symeon*, who was called *Niger*, and *Manahen*, were the Ministers by whom this Conversion was wrought; for they were Prophets and Teachers; And these were the Men who about a Year or two after laid Hands upon *Paul* and *Barnabas*, to set them apart for that special Service, which God by his Spirit had separated them to. Acts xiii.

When the Apostles had fulfill'd their charitable Embassy, and staid some Time at Jerusalem to see the good Effect of it, they returned again to Antioch, bringing with them John, whose Surname was Mark, the Son of Mary, Sister to Barnabas; whose House, as we hinted before, was the Sanctuary where the Disciples found both Security for their Persons, and Conveniency for the Solemnities of their Worship. They had not been long returned, before an express Revelation was made to the Church, by the Mouth of one of the Prophets who minister'd there, that Barnabas and Saul should be set apart for an extraordinary Work, whereunto the Holy Ghost had assign'd them. Whereupon they appointed a Day for this solemn Mission; and after much Prayer and Fasting, they laid their Hands upon them, and ordained them to their Office; which was, to travel over certain Countries, and preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. From this joint Commission Barnabas obtain'd the Name of an Apostle, not only among later Writers of the Church, but with St. Paul himself, and St. Luke in his History of the Apostles Acts. Upon this Account it is that St. Jerome calls him, the fourteenth Apostle; that St. Ambrose says, he well deserved to be esteem'd as such; and that the Greek and Latin Church agree to honour him in that Character.

But to proceed: Paul and Barnabas, being thus consecrated the Apostles of the Gentiles, enter'd upon their Province, taking with them John-Mark for their Minister or Deacon, who assisted them in sundry ecclesiastical Offices, particularly in taking care of the Poor. They departed from Antioch to Seleucia, a City of Syria adjoining to the Sea; from whence they set sail to the Isle of Cyprus, the native Country of Barnabas; and arriv'd at Salamis, a Port formerly of great Account. Having undauntedly preached

Christ here in the Jews Synagogue, they proceeded to Paphos, a City in the same Isle; famous for the Temple of Venus, the tutelary Goddess of the Island; concerning which the Inhabitants have a Tradition, that at St. Barnabas's Prayers it fell flat to the Ground; and the Ruins of an ancient Fabrick are still shewn to Travellers, and under it an Arch, where Paul and Barnabas were shut up in Prison. The Conversion of Sergius Paulus the Roman Proconsul at this Place, is related in the Life of St. Paul. From hence they cross'd the Sea to Parga in Pamphylia; where their Deacon John, to the great Grief of his Uncle Barnabas, left them, and returned to Jerusalem; either tired with continual Travels, or discouraged at the unavoidable Hazards and Difficulties, which he saw accompanied the Preachers of Christ, from hardened Jews and idolatrous Gentiles.

The Apostles tarried not long at Parga; but travell'd seventy or eighty Miles Northward, to Antioch in Pisidia; so called to distinguish it from the other Antioch in Syria, mention'd before. Here they preach'd to the Jews in their Synagogue; but meeting with blasphemous Opposition, they told them plainly, that they thought it reasonable to preach the Word of God to them in the first Place; but since they had so unthankfully rejected it, they would now make the same Overtures of Salvation to the Gentiles, according as the Lord had commanded by his Prophets. But the exasperated Jews stirred up some of the principal Citizens to persecute them, and force them away. Whereupon they left this Place, and came to Iconium, the Metropolis of Lycaonia: And continued there a good while, preaching in the Synagogue with great Success; 'till the old Spirit of Jewish Rage and Malice prevail'd against them here also, and obliged them, for the avoiding of Violence and Stoning, to

retire to *Lystra* and *Derbe*, Cities in the same Province: At the former of which Places, working a miraculous Cure upon a Man that had been lame from his Mother's Womb, the Inhabitants adored them, and in good earnest took them for Gods. *Barnabas* they treated as *Jupiter*, their sovereign Deity; either because of his Age, or for the Gravity or Comeliness of his Person; being represented by all Antiquity as a Man of a venerable Aspect, and a majestick Presence. They with all Humility declared themselves to be but Mortals, and the unconstant Populace soon satisfy'd themselves that they were no more: For at the Persuasions of their indefatigable Persecutors, who follow'd them hither also, they made an Assault upon them, and ston'd *Paul* till they left him for dead. But he quickly recovering his Spirits and Strength, through the infinite Mercy of God, they departed to *Derbe*; where when they had converted many to the Faith of *Christ*, they returned back to *Lystra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch* in *Pisidia*; confirming the Souls of the Disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the Faith; and that we must through much Tribulation enter into the Kingdom of God. Hence they revisited the Churches in *Pamphylia*, *Perga*, and *Attalia*; where they took Ship, and sail'd to *Antioch* in *Syria*, the Place whence they had first set out. Presently after their Arrival, they called the Church of this City together, and gave an Account of their Travels, and the good Success which their Preaching had in the *Gentile* World.

They had not rested themselves long, before their Assistance was required to compose a Difference in this Church, occasion'd by some of the *Jewish* Converts, who would needs persuade the *Gentiles* that they were bound to join the *Mosaick* and Christian Laws together, and to be circumcised as well as baptized. The

Part which *Barnabas* bore in this Controversy, was to have dissuaded the *Zea-*lots from pressing such unnecessary Observances: But when all Endeavours proved ineffectual, he was deputed, with *St. Paul* and others, to go up to the Church at *Jerusalem*, and submit the Question to be determin'd by them in a full Assembly. Here probably it was that *Mark* reconciled himself to his Uncle *Barnabas*, and returned with him and *St. Paul* to *Antioch*, after they had succeeded in their Business at *Jerusalem*, and obtain'd a Decree from the Synod there, that the *Gentile* Converts should not have Circumcision and other *Mosaick* Rites imposed upon them.

This Determination very much comforted and quieted the Minds of the *Gentiles*; but it did not prevent the bigotted *Jews* from keeping up a Separation from them; and that with so much obstinacy, that when *St. Peter* some Time after came to *Antioch*, for fear of offending them, he contradicted his former Practice, and late Speech and Vote in the Synod at *Jerusalem*, and refrain'd from all Sort of Communion with the *Gentiles*: And *Barnabas* himself, though a great and good Man, was tempted by the Authority of his Example to commit the same Error. Tho' doubtless, upon *St. Paul's* Reproof, they both took more Courage, and walked according to the true Liberty and Freedom of the Gospel.

Some Days after this last Occurrence, *Paul* made a Proposal to *Barnabas*, that they should repeat their late Travels among the *Gentiles*, and see how the new planted Churches increased in their Numbers, and improved in the Doctrines which they had taught them. *Barnabas* very readily complied with the Motion; but desired that he might take his reconciled Nephew, *John-Mark*, along with them. This *Paul* would by no Means agree to, because in their former Course,

Mark

Mark had not shewn the Constancy of a faithful Minister of *Christ*; but consulting his Ease in a dangerous Juncture, parted from them without Leave at *Pamphylia*, and returned to *Jerusalem*. *Barnabas* still insisted upon taking him, and the other continuing as resolute against it, a sharp Debate arose, which ended in a Rupture: And so these two holy Men, who had for several Years been Companions in the Ministry, and with united Endeavours propagated the Gospel, now took different Provinces: *Barnabas*, with his Kinsman, sail'd to his own Country *Cyprus*; and *Paul*, with *Silas*, went to the Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*.

Though this Separation of the Apostles might seem to reflect on them, as to the Government of their Passions; yet the Providence of God did so over-rule it, as to redound to his Glory, and the greater Benefit of his Church. Their taking several Ways, was the Occasion that the Gospel was preached in more Parts of the World, than otherwise it would have been in the same Compass of Time. And the future Service of *John-Mark* in the Ministry, proved so faithful and laudable, that *St. Paul* was perfectly reconciled to him; insomuch that he recommends him very heartily to the *Colossians*, Col. 4. 10. And afterwards, in his Imprisonment at *Rome*, he sends to *Timothy* to bring *Mark* along with him, giving him the Character of a very useful Person.

From henceforth we have no farther Account of *St. Barnabas* in Holy Scripture, but must have Recourse to Ecclesiastical Historians; who tell us, That he did not continue to his Life's End in *Cyprus*, but preached the Gospel in several other Places. *Dorotheus*, and the Author of the *Recognitions*, make him to have been at *Rome*, and mention Part of a Sermon preached there by him. The Writers of the *Roman* Church affirm, that he

founded a Church at *Milan*, and was himself the first Bishop of it. The *Greeks* tell us, that he went for *Alexandria*, and thence into *Judea*. *Theodoret* thinks that he returned to *St. Paul* again, and was sent by him to *Corinth* along with *Titus*. However, 'tis thought that he ended his Days in his own Country *Cyprus*, by Martyrdom, in the following Manner. Certain *Jews* coming from *Syria* to *Salamis*, where *Barnabas* then was, enraged at the great Success which his Preaching met with, set upon him as he was disputing in the Synagogue; in a Corner whereof they brought him forth, and, after infinite Tortures, stoned him to Death. His Kinsman, *John-Mark*, privately buried his Body in a Cave, not far distant from the City. 'Tis said the Remains of his Body were discovered in the Reign of the Emperor *Zeno*, A. D. 485, with *St. Matthew's* Gospel, written in *Hebrew* by *St. Barnabas's* own Hand, lying upon his Breast.

There is an Epistle extant in *Greek*, which bears this Apostle's Name: The Church hath not receiv'd it into the Canon of Holy Scripture; and *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome* for that Reason call it Apocryphal; but they do not deny that it was written by *St. Barnabas*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Origen* often quote it, as his. And *Menardus*, who first published the *Greek*, with the old *Latin* Version, shews very well that this is the same which the Antients had; because all their Quotations are found in it, unless it be one Passage where *Clemens Alexandrinus* seems to have mistaken the Name of *Barnabas*, for that of *Clemens Romanus*. The Style of it favours of the Apostolick Age; yet it appears to have been composed some Time after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, when *Barnabas* indeed might be still living. The Beginning of it is wanting; and the Inscription, if ever it had any. But the Matter of it evidently shews,

shews, that it was written to such *Jews* as are mention'd in the fifteenth Chapter of *Acts*, who having embraced Christianity, still held that the Observance of the Ceremonial Law was necessary to Salvation. It shews that this Law is abolished by the Gospel, and that the Usages of it are of no Concernment to Christians. The latter Part of it contains excellent Precepts, set forth under the Notion of two *Ways*; the one of *Light*, the other of *Darkness*; the one under the Conduct of the *Angels of God*, the other under the Influence of the *Angels of Satan*. The Way of *Light* is a Summary of what a Christian is to do, that he may attain eternal Happiness; and the Way of

Darkness represents those particular Sins and Vices, which exclude Men from the Kingdom of God. He closes the whole with pressing Christians to live so, that they may be blessed to all Eternity. The Agreement that there is in the Subject, between this Letter and the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, hath made *Tertullian*, and some others, to attribute this last to *Barnabas*; not having seen, perhaps, the Letter itself that bears his Name. The Gospel attributed to this Apostle, and his *Acts*, pretended to be written by his Nephew *John-Mark*, are mere Forgeries. Both the *Latin* and *Greek* Church keep his Feast on the Eleventh of *June*.





OF THE
PROFANE HISTORY
FROM THE
BIRTH of CHRIST,
TO THE
Completion of the Canon of the New Testament.



OUR Blessed Saviour's Birth happen'd in the Reign of *Augustus Caesar* in the very *Zenith* of his Power and Glory; after the Defeat of every *Rival*, in full Possession of the *Roman Empire*, and, upon the Death of *Lepidus*, created *Pontifex Maximus*, or the High-priest of *Rome*. But, toward the Conclusion of his Reign, he met with great Afflictions from his own Family, and especially by his Daughter *Julia*, who, being married to

his Wife's Son, *Tiberius*, by her Nocturnal Revels and Adulteries, had made herself infamous in the whole City. The Emperor, tho' a *Pagan*, had so great a Sense, not only of the *Scandal*, but of the *Immorality* likewise of her Actions, that he was once resolved to have put her to Death; but upon second Consideration, he banished her to a desolate Island, call'd *Pandataria*, where he prohibited her the Use of all sorts of *Delicacies*, and permitted none, without his approv'd Knowledge of their Lives and *Morals*.

to † approach her. Not long after, her Daughter of the same Name, who was married to *L. Paulus*, being convicted of the same Crimes, was banished into an Island in the *Adriatick* Sea, called *Tremera*: And, in the space of a few Years, young *Agrippa*, (his only surviving Grandson by his Daughter *Livia*, whom he had lately adopted for his own) by his extravagant Life, and irreclaimable Vices, became so scandalous to his Family, that he banished him likewise into the Island of *Planasia*; and afterwards, when ever any mention was made of him, or the two *Julia's*, (whom he usually called by no other Name, than his *Three Biles*, or *Impostumes*) he would often, with a profound Sigh, say, *Would to Heaven I had liv'd without a Wife, or died without Children!*

This Depravation in his own Family, it may well be presumed, was one Reason for his making such strict Laws against all *Lewdness* and *Adultery*, and concerning *Marriages* and *Divorces*. Great Numbers, of the *Equites* more especially, had taken a Resolution against Marriage, not out of any Kind of *Virtue*, or *Abstinence* (as he told them) but from a *Looseness* and *Wantonness*, which ought never to be encouraged in any civil Government. And therefore, having highly commended those, that were married, and increased the Rewards of such, as had Children, he imposed severe *Fines* upon single Persons, in case they did not marry in the

Space of a Year; yet, to shew that he would discourage nothing, that had the Appearance of *Virtue*, he gave considerable Rewards to such Women as had vowed *perpetual Virginity*: But, that no publick Promoter of *Looseness* might escape his Censure, he, soon after this, banished his favourite *Ovid*, the celebrated Poet, into *Pontus*, for his amorous *Epistles*, and his *Art of Love*, the Softness of which was thought capable of enervating, and corrupting a larger Empire than that of the *Romans*.

Augustus, as *Pontifex Maximus*, had examined into the Books of the *Sybilline Prophecies*. Those, that were genuine, he repositied in the *Capitol*, but the *spurious* condemned to the Flames: And 'tis generally supposed, that, upon his Perusal of these Prophecies, foretelling the Appearance of a greater Prince, to whom all the World should pay Adoration, he utterly refused the Title of *Lord*, which the People unanimously offered him: And this, by the by, gives some Sanction to the Story mentioned by *Suidas*, viz. that *Augustus*, sending to the *Pythian Oracle*, to enquire *who should succeed him*, was answered by the *Dæmon*, *That an Hebrew Child, Lord of the Gods, had commanded him to return to Hell, and that no farther Answer was to be expected*; whereupon he erected an Altar, in the *Capitol*, *Primogenito Dei*, to the *First-born of God*.

However this be, 'tis generally agreed,

† Some time after this, the People of *Rome*, whether out of Love to the Emperor, or Respect to his Family, earnestly petitioned him to recall his Daughter *Julia*; but he answered them, *That Fire and Water should sooner meet, than they two*. Nay, his Concern and Resentment in this Matter were so great, that when he understood that *Phæbe*, one of his Daughter's Confidants, had hanged herself, he protested openly, *That he had rather been Phæbe's Father, than Julia's*: Yet, after five Years strict Confinement, the People, in a manner, compell'd him to allow of her Removal from the *Island*, into the *Continent*, where she liv'd, till after the Emperor's Death. But her Husband *Tiberius* had not long obtained the Empire, before her annual Pensions were stopped, and she, depriv'd of all Hopes, or Assistance, died in extream Want and Misery: An End not unsuitable to one, who had so vilely debased herself, and so publickly scandaliz'd the noblest Family in the World! *Eachard's Rom. Hist. in the Life of Augustus.*

that,

that, in the same Year, wherein he refused the Title of Lord, he appointed *Tiberius* for his Heir, partly thro' the prevailing Solicitations of his Wife *Livia*, and partly from the Hopes, he had conceived, of his Vertues outweighing his Vices; but, at the same Time, that he did this, he obliged *Tiberius* to adopt *Germanicus*, the Son of his Brother *Drusus*, a Youth of great Vertues, and surprising Excellencies, which soon raised the Envy of *Tiberius*, and, not long after his Accession to the Empire, procured the other's Ruin.

The last Thing, which *Augustus* did, as *Pontifex Maximus*, was the Regulation of the *Roman* Calender, which with us, continues in Use to this Day, tho' in some Countries, the Alteration, which Pope *Gregory XIII.* made in it, is observed. At length, being near *Capua*, where he found himself dangerously ill, he sent for *Tiberius*, and his most intimate Friends and Acquaintance, to whom he recommended many wise and useful Things; and being minded to leave the World with the Triumphs of a *Pagan Philosopher*, he called for a Looking-glass, caused his Hair to be combed, and his wrinkled Cheeks to be smoothed up, and then, as an *Actor* upon the Stage, asked his Friends, *Whether he had played his Part well?* And upon their answering *Yes*, he cried, *Plaudite!* and so expired in the Embraces of his beloved Wife *Livia*, bidding her remember their Marriage, and farewell.

Thus died the great *Augustus*, in the 75th Year of his Age, and 41st of his Reign, to the unexpressible Grief of all his Subjects. He was a Person of the highest Learning and Eloquence, and the most amazing Wisdom and Sagacity, who had conquered greater Difficulties, met with greater Success, completed greater Designs, and established a greater Empire, than any Prince in the Universe; and therefore we may less wonder, that,

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according to the *Pagan* Superstition of these Times, after his Death, we find Temples erected to him, divine Honours decreed him, and a large Sum of Money given by his Wife *Livia* to *Numerius Atticus*, a Senator, for having sworn (as *Proculus* had anciently sworn of *Romulus*) that he saw him ascending into Heaven.

The *Romans*, during the Administration of *Augustus*, had all the Happiness of a free People, and were restrained from nothing, but those Mischiefs, which a corrupted Liberty produces; but, shortly after his Death, they met with great Alterations, and a quite different Treatment from his Successor, *Tiberius*; whose only Wisdom consisted in a mysterious Slyness, and Suspicion, and his Policy, in continued Artifices, and Dissimulation.

In the Beginning of his Reign however, he made a great Show of Modesty and Affability, and perform'd many laudable Actions towards the Reformation of Men's Lives, and Manners. He regulated the Licentiousness of the Theatre; banished the *Astrologers*, and *Magicians* from *Rome*; restrained the Delicacies of Eating-houses, and Taverns; severely punished the Looseness of young People of either Sex; and administered Justice with great Exactness and Diligence; but afterwards, giving a loose to his depraved Temper and Inclinations, he became guilty of all kinds of Enormities, and Oppressions, and proved one of the most subtle and designing Tyrants in Nature; so that *Historians* have observed of him, that he never spake as he thought, nor shewed any Inclination for what he desired; that he looked sullen on his Friends, and cheerful on his Enemies; was fair to those, he designed to punish, and severe to those, he purposed to pardon; for his standing Maxim was, that a Prince's Mind should be known to no Man. In short, that he was a most exquisite State-juggler, a most zealous and barbarous Governor,

Governor, a Debaucher of the Roman Empire, a Corrupter of all that was good, and an Introducer of all that was bad and abominable in it.

At his first Accession to the Empire, he ordered young Agrippa, whom Augustus banished, to be murdered, and then published a Report, *That this was done, in Obedience to the particular Order of the late Emperor, who had given Charge to the Centurion, that guarded him, to dispatch him, upon the first Intelligence of his Death;* and, having, by the Assistance of Piso, and his Wife Platina, poisoned Germanicus, whose Virtues he dreaded, and whose Right to the Succession, as well as Esteem with the People, might possibly (as he thought) give him some Disturbance, he now began to pull off the Mask, and to appear more barefaced in his vicious Actions, tho' not so open in his tyrannical Designs.

It was a common Thing at this Time, for the Governors of Provinces, to make Reports to the Emperor of all remarkable Events, that happen'd in the Places under their Jurisdiction; and therefore Pontius Pilate, being now Governor of Judea, wrote to Tiberius an Account of our blessed Saviour's Passion and Resurrection, (which came to pass in the third Year of his Government) of the Miracles, which were performed by him, and by others in his Name; of the Multitude of his Followers, which daily increased; and of the Opinion, which generally prevailed, *that he was a God*. Whereupon Tiberius made a Report of the whole Matter to the Senate, and proposed to them that Christ might be admitted into the Number of their Gods. But the Senate, not liking the Motion, and alledging an antient Law, which gave them alone the Superintendence in Matters of Religion, not only refused to canonize him, but, by an Edict, commanded, that all Christians should be banished the City; which, when

the Emperor understood, he, by another Edict, threatened Death to any who dared to accuse the Christians, and, in all his Reign, would not permit, at least not promote, any Prosecutions against them, which is so much the more wonderful, considering his natural Inclination to Cruelty.

For, beginning now to act openly, he treated his Subjects as Enemies, because the Vileness of his Conduct had given them sufficient Occasion to be so. Many of the principal and noblest Persons in Rome he condemned, and confiscated their Estates for very light, and frivolous Pretences. Nor could any Man, however virtuous and cautious, account himself safe; because tho' he might possibly escape the false Reports of Spies and Informers, yet he had reason nevertheless to stand in fear of the very Imagination of the Emperor. To retain an innocent Remembrance of Liberty, was interpreted a Purpose to re-establish the Commonwealth. To testify a Concern for the Glory of the Empire, a secret Desire to gain it. To praise Brutus and Cassius, was a capital Crime. To speak well of Augustus, a dangerous Offence. Simplicity of Discourse was thought an Indication of evil Designs; a secret Silence concealed mischievous Intention; Joy, was the Hopes of the Prince's Death; Melancholy, an envying his Prosperity; and Fear, the just Apprehensions of a guilty Conscience. So that, to speak, or to be silent, to be glad or grieved, to be fearful or assured, were all Crimes, and very often incurred the most exquisite Punishments; for he generally executed his Fury with such extreme Severity, that he esteemed it a Favour, and an Act of Mercy, to put Persons to Death in an ordinary Way.

Thus miserable were the Romans under the arbitrary Government of a most outrageous Tyrant, till, by his Gluttony,

Drunkennes, and Lusts, which raged more violently at an Age, when Nature, one would think, should have cured them, finding his Strength impaired, he removed from Place to Place, and at last settled in a Promontory of *Misenum*; where, after several Consultations with his Favourite *Macro*, he named *Caius Caligula*, the only surviving Son of *Germanicus*, together with a young Grandson of his, called *Tiberius*, to be his Successors; and 'tis probably conjectured, that he named the former, in hopes that his Vices would efface the Memory of his own Wickedness, and his known Cruelty extinguish the whole *Roman* Nobility, for which Reason he was frequently heard to say, *that in Caligula he had brought up a Serpent for the People of Rome, and a Phaeton for all the rest of the World.*

During his Illness, his Spirits sensibly declined, but his Dissimulation was as strong as ever, in carrying on the Humour of his former Luxury, and Debaucheries, and in despising all Physick, till his Weakness was discovered by *Charides*, a famous Physician, who, under Pretence of kissing his Hand, felt the Defect in his Pulse; This the crafty Prince immediately perceiving, shortly after dissembled such Faintings, as made all the Company think him dead, and begin to make their Court to the new Emperor; but, as he recovered again, to the great Surprize, and almost Confusion of *Caligula*, and *Macro*, they soon found Means to dispatch him, in the 78th Year of his Age, and the 23d of his Reign, either by Poison, or smothering him in the Bed-Cloaths, to the no small Joy, and Satisfaction of all the Senate, and People of *Rome*.

Caius, who was surnamed *Caligula*, from his Wearing the military Buskin, called *Caliga*, in his Youth, began his Reign, with all the Clemency, and Regularity imaginable. He caused the fa-

mous Models and Institutions of *Augustus*, which had been disused by *Tiberius*, to be revived. He began to reform many Abuses in the State, and severely punished corrupt Governors, of whom he banished *Pontius Pilate* to *Vienne* in *Gaul*, where he afterwards killed himself. He took a strict View of the *Equites*, and put all such to publick Shame, as were guilty of any infamous Crime. He punished with Death the *Spintriae*, those abominable Inventors of unnatural Pollutions, whom his Predecessor greatly encouraged. He remitted several Impositions, invented by *Tiberius*, and was so popular, that he endeavoured to restore the ancient Method of electing Magistrates by the Suffrages of the People.

But, in a short Time, all these promising Qualities vanished; his Care for the Publick was laid aside; and, by giving a full Loose to his furious Passions, he soon became such a Monster, in all Manner of Wickedness, as the World never heard of before. He was so proud, that he impiously assumed divine Honours, and had a Temple dedicated to his own Divinity; so prodigal, that he consumed above fifty Millions of our Money in a few Months Time; so brutish, that he committed Incest with all his three Sisters, and suffered no Lady of Distinction to escape his Lust; and so tyrannical, that he wished *the Roman People had but one Neck, that he might dispatch them all at one Blow.* In short, he was so superlatively wicked, as to occasion this Reflection of *Seneca*, viz. *That Nature seemed to have brought him forth on purpose to shew, what was possible to be produced from the greatest Viciousness, supported by the greatest Authority.*

His assuming the Title of *Optimus Maximus*, with other Epithets of Honour, which the *Romans* gave only to their great God *Jupiter*; and, because he would be reputed a real *Jupiter*, his

Inven-

Inventions to imitate Thunder and Lightning; his instituting a set of Priests to officiate in his Temple, who daily sacrificed Peacocks, Pheasants, and the most rare and delicate Fowls that could be procured; and, what is more, his becoming a Priest himself, and admitting his Wife, and his Horse to be Fellow-priests with him; his falling in love with the Moon, and, as if she had been a fine Lady, inviting her to his Bed to taste of the Pleasures of his Embraces; and his deifying his Sister *Drusilla* after her Death, and making her a Goddess, whom, all his Life long, he had made his Harlot; his barbarous Cruelty, as well as impious Love, to those of his own Family; his using his Grandmother *Antonia* inhumanly, that she poisoned herself; murdering his Co-heir *Tiberius*, merely for using a sweet Powder; and almost all his own Kindred, except his Uncle *Claudius*, whom he preserved only for a Laughing-stock; his condemning Persons of the best

Rank and Quality to dig in the Mines, or to repair the Highways; his casting great Numbers of old infirm Men, and poor decrepid House-keepers, to the wild Beasts, to rid the State of such unprofitable Members; and his causing all publick Granaries to be shut up, that such, as escaped the wild Beasts, might perish by Famine; his ordering large Pillars and Towers to be built in the bottom of the Sea; Mountains to be levelled, Plains and Valleys to be elevated, and a * wonderful Bridge of above three Miles and an half in Length, to be carried from the Point of *Baia*, to the opposite Shore of *Puteoli*; and, above all, his famous Expedition into *Batavia*, or *Holland*, where he enriched his Army with the Spoils of the conquered Ocean, as he called them; i. e. with the Shells of Cockles and Muscles, which he ordered them to gather in their Helmets, and, after having made a pompons Oration to them, wherein he extoll'd their noble

* To shew his Power and Greatness, and that he was able to walk upon the Sea, as well as the Land, he order'd an infinite Number of Ships to be secured in all Parts, and many others to be new built, and all to be brought into the Bays of *Baia*, and *Puteoli*, in *Campania*, about 90 Miles from *Rome*. These Ships being placed in two Rows, in the Form of a Crescent, were fasten'd, and mopr'd together with Anchors, Chains, and Cables, to make them firm and secure; and over these were laid vast Quantities of large Planks and Boards, cover'd over with so much Earth, as made it look like firm Ground, or one of the Streets of *Rome*. For, upon this Bridge, he built Houses and Lodgings, for the Reception of himself, and his Followers, and by Pipes conveyed fresh Water from the Land, to serve the Occasions of his Revels. When this was done, he, and all his Court, with prodigious Throngs of all Sorts of People, repaired thither, where, after some solemn Sacrifices to the Gods, he, proudly adorned with stately Robes of Gold and Pearl, sitting on Horseback, with a Civic Crown, and *Alexander's* Breast-plate, accompanied with the great Officers of his Army, and all the Nobility and Gentry of *Rome*, enter'd at one End of the Bridge, and, with an awful Majesty, rode to the other. After this, lodging all Night upon the Bridge, he caused such an infinite Number of Torches, Lanthorns, and other Lights to be placed in all Parts of the Work, as gave him Occasion to boast, *That he had turn'd the Night into Day, as well as the Sea into Land*. The next Day he rode over the Bridge in his triumphant Chariot, with *Darius*, an Hostage of *Parthia*, and followed by a mighty Train of other Chariots, and all his Soldiers in bright Armour; which when he had done, he ascended a *Rostrum*, and there made a solemn Oration in praise of his own great Attempt, and, (that he might perform something more memorable before he left the Bridge) he ordered great Numbers of the Multitudes to be cast into the Sea, and when they laid hold on Rudders, or any Thing that might save their Lives, commanded them to be thrust off, so that all perished without Remedy: After which he returned Home in a magnificent and triumphant Manner, for having surmounted (as he thought) the very Order and Laws of Nature. *Eachard's Hist. in the Life of Caligula.*

Archievements upon this Occasion, causing a lofty Town to be erected on the Seaside, in Memory of this great Victory; these, and a thousand more vile Extravagancies, and monstrous Cruelties, recorded at large in the Histories of his Life, made him so very odious and contemptible to his Subjects, that many began to conspire against him, but all ineffectually, till *Cassius Chereas*, an Officer of his Guards, resolved upon it; and, having communicated his Design to several Senators, Equites, and others, waited only for a fit Opportunity to put it in Execution.

Belonging to the Palace there was a private Gallery, through which the Emperor usually passed to some Baths, not far distant. Here *Chereas*, with his Associates, met him, and gave him a mortal Stab, crying out, *Tyrant, think upon this*; at which Instant the rest of the Conspirators rushed in, and gave him no less than thirty Wounds, before they had dispatched him.

Thus died *Caius Caligula*, in the 29th Year of his Age, and the fourth of his Reign, by his prodigious Enormities, having justly pulled down the Vengeance of Heaven upon himself and his Family; for (that his whole Race might be extinguished) his Wife *Cæsonia* was, at the same Time, stabbed by a *Centurion*, and his only Daughter, then an Infant in the Cradle, had her Brains dashed out against a Wall; and that, if possible, both his Name and Features might be forgot in future Ages, his Money, by a Decree of the Senate, was melted down.

Upon the Death of *Caligula*, the City was much divided. The Nobility were for restoring the *Roman Liberty*, the Commons for electing a new Emperor, and the Army joined with the Commons; but who to nominate to this Dignity, they were at a Loss, till some of the Soldiers, searching about for Plunder in the Palace, chanced to espy *Caligula's Uncle Claudius*

hid in an Hole, for fear of his Life, whom they brought into the Camp, and instantly proclaimed Emperor. The Senate, hearing of this, sent a Tribune of the People to advise him, *To submit to their Establishment, and not disturb the publick Peace with his Pretensions*; but, at the Instigation of *Herod Agrippa*, King of *Judea*, who was then at *Rome*, he refused to comply, and, in a few Days, by the Clamours of the People, and the Menaces of the Soldiers, the Senate was so wrought upon, that, considering him as nearer allied to the Empire than any other, being both Uncle to *Caligula*, and Brother to *Germanicus*, they agreed to make him Emperor, and shortly after confirmed that Title to him.

Claudius was now in the fiftieth Year of his Age; but, either upon Account of his bodily Distempers, or the natural Stupidity of his Mind, he was, ever, till this Time, adjudged incapable of any publick Office in the State; however, by the good Acts which he did in the Beginning of his Reign, it seemed, as if he had cured the Infirmities of his Body, and in some measure, corrected those of his Understanding too. He disannulled the cruel Edicts made by *Caligula*, and commanded, that all, who were unjustly confined, either in Prison or Banishment, to be set at Liberty. In his Honours and Titles he shewed himself modest and temperate, and, upon severe Penalties, forbade all Persons to sacrifice to him, as they had done to *Caligula*. To his Enemies, and the Opposers of his Election, he shewed himself merciful, and passed a general Act of Indemnity for all past Crimes; only, for a publick Example, and to terrify others from the like Attempt, he ordered *Chereas*, and some other Conspirators (who died all with great Resolution) to be executed. He took more than ordinary Care, that the City of *Rome* should be continually furnished with all Sorts of

Corn and Provisions, by securing the Merchants against the *Pirates* at Sea; and, that it might want no Supply of Water, he made a famous *Conduit*, or *Aqueduct*, called after his own Name, which, both for Stateliness of Workmanship, and the Plenty of Water it conveyed, at forty Miles Distance, through great Mountains, and overstately Arches in Valleys, far surpassed any Work of that kind in all *Italy*.

But it was not long, before this Emperor began to lessen his Care and Concern for the *Publick*, and to give himself up to his gluttonous Disposition, and passive Stupidity; so that his Freedmen and Favourites, together with his *libidinous* Wife *Messalina*, imposing upon him as they thought fit, became the most intolerable Oppressors and Tyrants; inflicting innumerable Deaths, and other Cruelties, selling Governments, and Dignities, and issuing out Pardons, and Penalties, without his Knowledge. The Truth is, he was so cowardly and fearful, that when a Rebel, named *Camillus*, commanded him by Letter to resign his Empire, he was in a Disposition to have done it; so blind and incogitant, that his Empress *Messalina* married herself to another Man, in his Life-time, and almost in his Presence; so stupid, that, when the News of her Execution was brought him, he shewed not the least Token of Joy, Sorrow, or any other human Passion; and so prodigiously forgetful, that he frequently asked, and sent for such Persons, as he had executed the Day before.

After the Death of the infamous *Messalina*, the Emperor married his Niece *Agrippina*, a Woman of a vast Spirit, and unbounded Ambition, who soon prevailed with her Husband, even to the Prejudice of his own Son *Britannicus*, to adopt her Son *Domitius*, under the Name of *Claudius Nero*, and to confer on her the Title of *Augusta*. Upon her Ad-

vancement to this Dignity, it was not long before she procured the Deaths of several Ladies of the highest Rank, who had been her Rival in marrying the Emperor, and became so very zealous for her Son's succeeding in the Empire, that when she was told by some Oracle, or *Augur*, that her Son should be Emperor indeed, but would certainly be the Cause of her Death, her Answer was, *Let him, so he does but reign.*

In a few Years however, the exorbitant Power, which she assumed, gained her the Envy and Hatred of the Emperor's Favourites, and the Disesteem of *Claudius* himself, who, notwithstanding his strange Insensibility, began now to repent of his Marriage with her, and the Adoption of her Son. This *Agrippina* soon discover'd by his unusual Favours to his Son *Britannicus*, and by what accidentally dropt from him, when heated with Wine, viz. *That he had been very unfortunate in his Wives, but that none of them had escaped unpunished.* Whereupon she determined with herself to procure his Death by Poison, but what kind of Poison to make Choice of, was the Question. A strong Poison she thought might make her Villany too apparent, and a slow one might give the Emperor Opportunity of discovering so much of her Practices, as to prevent her Son's Succession; and therefore she resolv'd upon such a Potion, as would distract his Senses, and not too suddenly end his Life. For this she wanted not her Assistants, who infused the Poison into some *Mushrooms*, a Dish, which the Emperor loved beyond measure; but, finding that this only made him sick, she sent for her own Physician, named *Xenophon*, who, under the Pretence of making him vomit (as his Custom was to do after his gluttonous Debauches) thrust a poisonous Feather down his Throat, which, in a short Time, ended his Life, in the 64th Year of his Age, and the 14th of his Reign.

As soon as *Claudius* was dead, *Agrippina*, as one overwhelmed with Extremity of Grief, embraced *Britannicus* in her Arms, calling him *the dear Image of his Father's Face*, and, by many Artifices, detained him, and his two Sisters, *Antonina*, and *Octavia*, in the Chamber, placing a strong Guard at every Door and Passage, till all Things were made ready for her Son's Advancement; and then, the Palace Gates being suddenly set open, *Nero*, accompanied with *Burrhus*, Prefect of the *Prætorian* Guards, went out to the Cohort then in waiting, who, at the Command of *Burrhus*, received him with loud Acclamations (tho' not without some Enquiries after *Britannicus*) and carried him in a Chariot to the rest of the Troops, and they, upon his Promise of a *Donative*, according to the Example of his Predecessors, saluted him Emperor, which was shortly confirmed by the Senate, and acknowledged by the *Provinces*.

Nero, tho' but 17 Years of Age, began his Reign with the general Joy, and Satisfaction of the City; for, promising to govern according to the wise Rules and Institutions of the great *Augustus*, he, at first, both in Words and Actions, shewed himself just, liberal, and merciful. He conferred Favours, and distributed large Sums of Money among the People,

and *Prætorian* Soldiers. He moderated the Impositions and Tributes of the *Provinces*; assigned Pensions to decayed Senators; used all Men with such Humanity and Courtesy; and, in the Execution of Justice, shewed such Clemency and Pity, that it seemed, as if Heaven had sent the *Romans* such a Prince, as they desired; as indeed, for the first five Years of his Government, it was so good in all Respects, that the famous Emperor *Trajan* was afterwards wont to say, that, for that Space of Time, all Governments came short of this: But this, in a great Measure, is to be imputed to the wise Conduct of *Burrhus*, and *Seneca*, who were the young Emperor's Guides and Governours, in equal Authority, and bearing equal Share in their different Faculties; *Burrhus*, in military Discipline, and Gravity of Manners; and *Seneca*, in Precepts of Eloquence, and courteous Demeanour.

As *Nero* increased in Years, so his Vices and Extravagances became more conspicuous: For, having poisoned his Predecessor's Son *Britannicus*, taken *Poppæa Sabina* from the Bed of her Husband *Osbo*, first divorced his Wife *Octavia*, and afterwards put her to Death, murdered his Mother *Agrippina*, and (as some imagine) poisoned his Governor *Burrhus*, he thought himself now free from all Restraint,

* The Occasion of *Nero's* doing this is said to be some furious Menaces, his Mother *Agrippina* made him, which put him in great Fear of a Competitor at least, if not of the Loss of his Empire; and therefore, to free himself from all Jealousies, he order'd a Poison for *Britannicus*; but this proving ineffectual, he had Recourse to a stronger, which was cunningly administer'd to the young Prince in a publick Banquet, and so suddenly spread through his Veins; that, at once, his Speech and his Spirits forsook him. While the Spectators were all amaz'd, *Nero*, leaning unconcernedly upon the Table, assured the Company, That it was usual for him to be seized with such Epileptick Fits, so that they need not doubt his Recovery; whereupon the rest, for different Ends and Purposes, dissembled their Grief, and, after some Silence, the Mirth of the Banquet began again; but *Britannicus*, in the mean time, died, and was privately buried that same Night. *Ezechard's Rom. Hist. in the Life of Nero.*

† After that *Nero* was resolved upon his Mother's Death, he attempted first to prison her; but, by Reason of the Antidotes and Preservatives which she took, Poison prov'd ineffectual. Then he endeavour'd to drown her; but she having the good luck to escape, even when several of her Company

straint, and therefore gave the Reins to his brutal Appetites, and abandoned himself to all Kinds of Extravagancies and Vices, such as were never practised by a Prince, and scarce conceived by any Man. His running about the City by Night, disguised in the Habit of a Slave, with his lewd Companions entering Taverns and infamous Houses, and there committing what Outrages he thought fit; his debasing himself so far, as to become a common Singer, Musician, and Stage-player, frequently acting a Part before the whole City, and procuring great Numbers of Noblemen and Ladies to be present, whenever he acted; his professing the Art of a *Charioteer*, taking a Journey as far as *Peloponessus*, on purpose to run in the *Olympick Games*, and, at his Return to *Rome*, entering the City in Triumph, surrounded with Musicians, and Players, brought from all Parts of the World; these were excusable Follies, in Comparison to the monstrous Extravagances, which he afterwards fell into, when, having attired himself in the Habit of a Woman, and a Bride, he was first wedded to one of his abominable Companions, named *Pythagoras*, and, after that, became an Husband to a Boy, called *Sporus*, whom he first emasculated,

and then, cloathing him with all the Ornaments of an *Empress*, accompanied him in all the most publick Places.

Nor was his Cruelty less exorbitant, than his Lust: For, upon the Discovery of a Conspiracy, with *Caius Piso*, and some other great Men, had formed against him, he put vast Numbers to Death, Noble and Ignoble, Guilty and Innocent, among whom, (besides *Piso*, the Head of the Conspiracy) died *Lucan*, the famous Poet, who hated *Nero*, for his forbidding him to publish his Verses; * *Seneca*, the Philosopher, and Tutor to the Tyrant, who though not convicted of any Treason, was commanded to die; and the polite, but † impure *Petronius*, who had been a great Assistant to *Nero* in his extravagant Pleasures. Nay, so sanguinary was he in his Temper, that, without any Manner of Provocation, he put many eminent Persons to Death, as *Rubellius Plautus*, only for being of the *Julian* Family, and another named *Pallas*, merely for being rich, a Crime, for which many suffered in those Days! and, to compleat all his Wickedness, having set the City of *Rome* on fire, which, with infinite Satisfaction, he beheld, and sung all the while the Destruction of *Troy* in Derision, he, nevertheless, out of Hatred to the Chri-

Company perish'd, he at last caus'd a Report to be spread, That she had conspired to take away his Life, and so sent certain *Tribunes* to murder her; and Authors generally say, that, upon their approaching, and unsheathing their Swords, she shewed them her Belly, crying, *Strike me here, since this Part hath deserv'd it, for having conceiv'd and brought forth such a Monster as Nero*, and immediately expired with the Wounds she received. *Eachard*, *ibid*.

* He being commanded to die, chearfully undertook it, but was obliged to seek Death several Ways: for he had so macerated himself with Abstinence, that he could not bleed, and Poison would have no Operation on him: But, at length, entering a Bath, he was stifled with the Fumes, (discouring even to the last, according to his usual Eloquence) of the most excellent Things, which, being taken from his Mouth, were afterwards published. Such was the Death of the great Philosopher *Seneca*, which some have thought a just Judgment upon him, for living so contrary to his Writings, and for educating his Pupil no better. *Eachard*, *ibid*.

† His Death was the most remarkable in the World, and most resembling the whole Course of his Life. In it he proceeded with all imaginable Unconcern, opening his Veins, and closing them as he thought fit, discoursing with his Friends, not of serious Matters, or the Immortality of the Soul, but of light and pleasant Things, and, all the Time, attending to soft Verses, and delicate Love-songs. *Eachard*, *ibid*.

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stians, accused them of the Fact, and thereupon, proceeding against them as *Incendiaries*, raised the first general Persecution, and put great Numbers of them to the most exquisitely cruel and ignominious Deaths.

These, and many more bloody and tyrannical Proceedings had, by this time, worn out the Patience of the *Romans*, and made all Men press for a *Revolution*. *Vindex*, Commander of the Legions in *Gaul*, was the first, who began the Revolt. He publicly protested against the Government of *Nero*, and proclaimed *Sergius Galba*, who, at that Time, was Governor of Part of *Spain*, Emperor. *Galba*, joining in the Enterprize, and taking the Empire upon him, procured the Revolt, not only of the Armies in *Spain*, but of the Legions in *Germany*, and several other Places, unanimously declaring against the present Emperor. There is something so lively in some part of the Speech, which *Galba* made to his Army upon this Occasion, that is well worthy our Observation.——*It grieves me to say, but it hinders not every Man from seeing, that no Slave, under the severest Master, ever endured a Year of harder Service, than we have so many under Nero. What kind of Exaction has he not used, to supply, with Extortion, what he hath spent with Shame? What kind of Cruelty has he not practised? How has he wallowed in the Blood of his Father, his Brother, his Mother, his Wife, his Master, and all, who are valiant and virtuous, in the Senate, City, or Provinces, without any Distinction of Age, or Sex? All which cry for Vengeance upon such a Prince: A Prince! No, an Incendiary, a Singer, a Fidler, a Player, a Carter, a Cryer; no Prince, nay, no Man, having a Man to his Husband, and a Man to his Wife; but a Monster of Mankind!*

These Proceedings drove *Nero* to the utmost Rage and Despair, and put him

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upon a Design, the blackest, and most barbarous, that ever Man imagined. He resolved to massacre all the Governors of Provinces, and Commanders of Armies, under the Pretence of Conspiracies; to destroy all exil'd Persons, lest they should join with the Revolters; to murder all the *Gauls* in *Rome*, as Favourers of their Country-men; to poison the whole Senate at an Entertainment; to burn the City again, and to turn out wild Beasts among the People, to prevent their extinguishing the Flames. But he found himself unable to effect any such Attempts. All Mankind fell from him, and forsook him; which made him become as servile, as before he was tyrannical. Nay, the Senate, having met together, pronounced him a mortal Enemy to the State, and solemnly condemned him to die *Mors Majorum*, which was to have his Body stripped naked, his Head made fast in a Pillory, and so to be scourged to Death. When *Nero* understood this, he snatched up two Daggers, and, after many inglorious Sighs, and Tears, and some whining Complaints, *what a rare Artist the World in him would lose*, by the Assistance of *Epaphroditus*, his Secretary, he wounded himself so, that he died shortly after, in the 32d Year of his Age, and 14th of his Reign.

The Death of *Nero* occasioned an universal Joy and Satisfaction in *Rome*; and, as *Galba* was esteemed a Person of great Wisdom and Valour, and had been elected by the two Armies in *Gaul* and *Spain*, the People unanimously agreed, and the Senate, in a short time, consented to create him Emperor, though he had no Affinity or Alliance with the Family of the *Cesars*, either by Blood, or Adoption.

Galba was seventy two Years old, when he first undertook the Government, under the Name of the *Lieutenant of the Senate, and People of Rome*; but, when he received

ceived Advice, that *Nero* was dead, and the People had sworn Allegiance to him, he laid aside the Name of *Lieutenant*, and assuming the Title of *Cæsar*, put himself upon his Way to *Rome*. In the mean Time, several Rumours were spread abroad both of his Avarice, and Cruelty; of his severe treating the Cities of *Spain* and *Gaul*, which scrupled, at first, to declare for him; of his oppressing them with excessive Tributes, demolishing their Fortifications, executing their Governors, and even not sparing their Wives and Children, which made the People begin to shew less Satisfaction for his Arrival, than they did for his Election.

At his first coming to *Rome*, his Severity to those Seamen and Mariners, whom *Nero* had listed among his *Legionary* Soldiers, his discharging the *Roman* Cohorts, which had been established by former Emperors, his refusing to pay the Donative, that, in his Absence, was promised to the *Prætorian* Bands, and, shortly after, cashiering several of them, upon a bare Suspicion of Correspondence and Confederacy with *Nymphidius*, Captain of the Guards, these, and several other arbitrary Proceedings, procured him many Enemies, especially among the military People; though his rescinding the odious Acts of *Nero*, recalling those, whom he had unjustly banished, and executing several of the wicked Instruments of his Cruelty were very grateful Actions to the *Romans* in general, had he not spared some of the most notorious Offenders for the sake of Money.

The Love of Money indeed was his governing Passion, and had got so absolute a Possession of him, that he was often observed to sigh and weep, when he saw his Table a little better furnish'd than ordinary; but that which made this Emperor most generally detested, was his suffering himself to be intirely managed

by three Favourites, who, having their Lodgings with him in the Palace, and being perpetually in his Presence, were commonly stiled his three *Pædagogues*. They were Persons of as different Humors and Vices, as possible, and, accordingly, by the Abuse of his Authority, made him appear, in the Inequality of his Conduct, both odious and despicable; so that sometimes he shewed himself severe and rigorous, at other times remiss and negligent, condemning some illustrious Persons unheard, pardoning others without Reason, and permitting every thing, either to be purchased by Money, or granted for Favour, just as he was guided by these Men.

During this Misconduct at *Rome*, Affairs in the Provinces were in a worse Condition. For, since the Army in *Spain* had presumed to chuse an Emperor, without any other Authority, many Mutinies were raised, and Factions sprung up, in most Parts of the Empire, through Envy, Discontent, or a Desire of Alteration; so that the Emperor perceiving, that, besides his unwieldly Old-age, which made him contemptible, he was less respected by many for want of an Heir, was resolved to adopt some Person, of such an Age and Authority, as, in his Life-time, might be able to protect him, and, after his Decease, succeed him in the Empire. Upon his declaring this his Intent, his three Favourites were very busy in recommending Persons to him; but *Osbo*, having gained the chief Favourite *Vanius*, together with the *Urban* and *Prætorian* Cohorts, assured himself of Success. *Galba* however, resolving to consider the publick Good, and disliking *Osbo's* irregular Life, as too much resembling that of his Master *Nero*, rejected him, and made choice of a young Man, called *Piso*, in whom was an happy Concurrence of all the good Qualities, that

that were necessary in a Prince and Emperor.

Otho, finding the Hopes of his Adoption thus blasted, immediately applied himself to the Soldiers, with whom he had a powerful Interest, and by his plausible Speeches, and large Promises, procured them to proclaim him Emperor, in Opposition to *Galba's* Choice; which when *Galba* understood, he was both disheartened, and confounded. Some were of Opinion, that he ought to put himself in Arms, and appear in Publick, that his Presence might stem the Torrent of this dangerous Faction; others, that his greatest Security would be, to fortify himself in the *Capitol*, and there to attend the Result of the Disorder. But while he continued thus wavering and irresolute, a false Report was brought him, that *Otho* was slain, whereupon he rode armed out of his Palace, with his Guards, and many Followers, into the grand *Forum*; and, at the same Time, there entered, at the other Side, a strong Body of Horse from the Camp, sent by *Otho* to dispatch him. Upon their nearer Approach, for a considerable while they stood amazed, and in a dubious Posture, as apprehending the Consequence of their fatal Commission; so that *Galba* had time enough to make his Escape, but by his Irresolution lost his Opportunity: For, while he was considering with himself, whether to return to the Palace, or retire to the *Capitol*, he was suddenly abandoned by the chief of his Followers; insomuch, that, when the Soldiers, sent by *Otho*, came up to him, he stretched out his Neck, and bad them strike it off, if it were for the Good of the Commonwealth, and the Roman People; which, accordingly was done, in the 73d Year of his Age, after a short Reign of seven Months; and, after him, were executed his three Favourites, and his adopted Son, *Piso*.

On the same Day, that *Galba* was murdered in the *Forum*, the Senate, and the People of *Rome*, all acknowledged *Otho* for his Successor, a Person valiant and witty, of an ancient and honourable Family, and a great Favourite to *Nero*, but more for the Conformity of his Humours and Vices, and the Beauty of his Wife *Poppæa*, than any worthy Execution of the many considerable Offices, wherewith he was intrusted. However, when he came to the Government, he ordered all things agreeably to the Honour of the Empire, which, together with his pardoning *Marius Celsus*, who had been advanced by *Galba*, and strenuously opposed his Succession; his punishing of *Tigellinus*, who had been *Nero's* chief Instrument in Impurity; and his generous restoring the Goods and Estates of such, as had been exiled by that Tyrant, gained him the Love and Affection of the People of *Rome*.

Vitellius, at this Time, commanded the Legions in the Lower *Germany*. He was a Person of great Reputation and Authority, by reason of the several Offices and Magistracies, which he had held in *Rome*, and elsewhere, under the three Emperors, *Caligula*, *Claudius* and *Nero*, with each of whom he had been very intimate, but more for his excessive Vices, and some personal Abilities, than any Virtues or Excellences in him. He was in Favour with *Caligula* for his Dexterity in managing a Chariot; with *Claudius*, for his Gaming and Dice; and with *Nero*, for the same Proficiency, and such like Qualities; but notwithstanding this, being a Man of Subtlety and Intrigue, he had, by large Gifts, and specious Promises, procured the Army to create him Emperor, without attending the Will and Pleasure of the Senate, about thirteen Days before *Galba's* Death.

When the News of this came to *Rome*,

it put *Otho* into a great Consternation, and the City into no small Concern, as well knowing, that nothing but the Sword, and the Blood of many thousand *Romans* could determine the Contest. The Fears and Cares of the City were farther augmented, by the great Preparations they saw *Otho* making, and the known Disabilities of the Nobility and Gentry in martial Affairs. The chief of the Senate were grown old and impotent, wanting both the Power and Vigour of Soldiers. The Nobility were slothful, covered with the Rust of a long Peace, and unaccustomed to the Fatigues of a Camp. The *Equites* were dissolv'd in Ease, and Luxury, and ignorant in military Service, which the more they endeavoured to conceal, the more they betrayed their Fears. The wiser Sort began to shew great Concern at the Miseries, and Perturbations of the Commonwealth; but the Inconsiderate were swelled with vain Hopes, and extravagant Opinions; and many Persons, Bankrupts in Peace, in these troublesome Times, began to make the greatest Appearance, as being themselves most in Safety, when the State was in greatest Danger.

While Things were in this Situation at *Rome*, *Otho* received Advice, that *Vitel-*

lius's Forces were upon their March towards *Italy*, under the Conduct of two Commanders, *Valens*, and *Cæcinnæ*; whereupon he departed from *Rome*, with a fair Army, consisting of the *Roman* Nobility, the *Prætorian* Cohorts, the Legions out of the Fleets upon the *Italian* Coasts, and such others, as he could levy in that Time. Upon the Approach of the two Armies, both Parties proceeded with such Haste and Precipitation, that, besides Skirmishes, and other Encounters, three considerable Battles were fought, one at *Placentia*, another at *Cremona*, and a third at a Place called *Gastor*, in all which *Otho*, and the Senate had the Advantage, tho' the Word on both Sides was, *Rome and the Empire!*

Valens and *Cæcinnæ* had hitherto acted separately, but joining now all their Forces together, they came to a general Battle near *Bebricum*, a Village between *Cremona* and *Verona*, and after a sharp Engagement, the *Prætorian* Cohorts giving Way, the *Vitellians* obtained a Victory, which at once decided the Contest. For *Otho*, tho' he had sufficient Encouragement to continue the War, being reduced to a Sort of Desperation, resolved upon an Attempt, contrary to his soft and effeminate Temper, which was * to die himself, in order to spare the Blood of his

* His Speech to his Soldiers, upon this Occasion, is very remarkable,—"I esteem this Day as far more happy and glorious, than that, whereon you made me Emperor, since it has manifested such sensible Tokens of your Love and Affection, and so incontestable proofs of your Duty and Loyalty; therefore I beseech you, not to deny me this Favour, which is to suffer me to die justly, and honourably, for the Safety of so many brave Soldiers, and worthy Citizens as you are. There can be no Occasion for any Legions, and Forces coming to my Assistance, since the Enemy is neither *Hannibal*, nor *Pyrrhus*; therefore to hazard your Virtue and Valour in Dangers wholy needless, is too dear a Purchase of Life, and the greater Hopes you have of Success, the more honourable will be my Death, as being voluntary, and not by any Constraint. Assure yourselves, I had rather die than reign Emperor, since I can never so far advance the *Roman* State, by Wars, and Bloodshed, as by sacrificing myself for the Peace of it; and whereas others have purchased Fame and Glory by their well governing and supporting the Empire, I may reasonably expect a Name for leaving it, rather than permit my Ambition to weaken and destroy it. I therefore desire that you would take this as an undoubted Proof of my Courage and Resolution, that I make no Complaints of hard Fortune, or ill Success, for to blame either Gods or Men, implies a mean, and indirect Desire of Living." *Eachard's Rom. Hist. in the Life of Otho.*

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Countrymen. No Arguments, or Entreaties could move, or divert him from this Resolution, which he carried on, and effected with all imaginable Calmness, and Serenity of Mind. For the Night before he died, having chosen out a sharp Dagger, and laid it under his Pillow, he took a Draught of cold Water, and so went to Bed, and fell into a profound Sleep; but, awaking about Break of Day, and seeing one of his Servants in the Chamber, he commanded him to retire, and then, taking the Dagger, gave himself a mortal Stab on the left Side, and with a single Groan ended his Life, in the 38th Year of his Age, and after a very short, and troublesome Reign of only 12 Weeks, and six Days.

Soon after the Death of *Otho, Vitellius*, being still in *Gaul*, was both by the Army, and Senate acknowledged for Emperor. In his Journey towards *Rome*, arriving at *Bedriacum*, where the last Battle was fought, he was extremely delighted with the Sight of the putrified Bodies, and the Limbs of Men, and Horses, mangled, and scattered abroad; and, when several of his Train complained of the noisome Smells, he impiously replied, That a dead Enemy smelt well, but a dead Citizen better. Nor did he give greater Satisfaction at his Arrival in *Rome*; for, like a Conqueror, he entered the City, mounted upon a noble Steed, and adorned with all his military Habiliments; encouraged his Soldiers to all kinds of Insolence and Outrage, and abandoned himself to the most extravagant Degrees of Luxury, Gluttony, and Cruelty; insomuch, that, in four Months Time, he wasted above seven Millions of our Money; nor would the Revenues of the whole Empire, had he reigned long, been sufficient to maintain his Expences. His using all manner of Fraud and Hypocrisy, to destroy such Persons of Quality, as had formerly

been his Associates, and School-fellows; his going to visit one of them in a Fever, and, upon his desiring to drink, mingling Poison with the Water, delivering it to him with his own Hand; his causing all Persons to be put to death, that came to demand the Payment of his former Debts, and one of them to be slain in his very Presence, that he might feed his Eyes with the Spectacle, as he called it; his ordering two Sons to be executed, with their Father, for no other Crime, than merely presuming to intercede for his Life, and having several of the meaner Sort slaughtered, only for deriding the Colours of some *Charioteers*, whom he pretended to favour; these, and many more sanguinary Acts, mentioned by the *Historians*, who have recorded his Life, are a sufficient Indication, that in his Government he designed to follow the Example of *Nero*, to whose Manes he publicly sacrificed in a general Assembly of the Priests in the *Campus Martius*. All this while he gave himself up to such a strange Carelessness, and Stupidity, that nothing, but his horrid Cruelties, could put him in mind of his exalted State; and, fortifying himself with confused Mirth and Sortishness against all Dangers and Exigences, he almost lost the Remembrance of Things past, and the Thoughts of Things to come.

Having thus, by this abominable Life, made himself odious to the City, and by the daily Insolences and Cruelties of his Soldiers, insupportable to the Country, the Legions in the *East*, (tho' in the Beginning of his Reign they submitted to his Authority) began now to revolt, and, fixing their Eyes upon *Vespasian*, as a Person most worthy of the highest Authority, and most able to put an End to the Miseries of his Country, resolved to create him Emperor against *Vitellius*. *Vespasian*, at this Time, was engaged in a War against the *Jews*, and, with great Bravery

Bravery, and Renown, had reduc'd most of their Country, except *Jerusalem*; but, when his Army proclaim'd him Emperor, and he absolutely refus'd that Dignity, the Soldiers, with their drawn Swords, and many Menaces against his Life, compell'd him to take that Honour upon him; whereupon, all the Armies of the *East* came to his Service and Obedience, and, in a general Council, it was determin'd, that *Titus* should continue the War against the *Jews*, *Mutianus* should enter *Italy* with the greatest Part of the Legions, and *Vespasian* himself should go to *Alexandria*, to make Provision from all Parts, and thence pass over into *Italy*, to joyn *Mutianus*, as Occasion should require it.

In the mean Time *Antonius Primus*, an excellent Soldier, who had been banished by *Nero*, but restored by *Galba*, a Friend to *Vespasian*, and privy to his Design, immediately marched, at the Head of the *Masian* Legions into *Italy*, and before *Mutianus* could arrive, having intirely defeated *Vitellius's* Army, was proceeding directly towards *Rome*. This so startled and confounded *Vitellius*, that he became perfectly ridiculous and despicable, sometimes proposing Terms of Accommodation, and offering to lay down his Authority, and then re-assuming it again, till he occasioned a Faction, and Civil War even in *Rome*, in which the Capitol was besieged, taken, and laid in Ashes, and *Sabinus*, the Governour of the City, was slain. After this, *Antonius* would hearken to no more Treaties, or Accommodations, but continued his March even to the Walls of *Rome*, where a furious Battle, of almost a Day's Continuance, ensued, until *Vitellius's* Army were driven into the City, and through the *Martius Campus*, and all the Streets, pursued with a most terrible Slaughter.

In the midst of these Devastations, the People, who were then celebrating their

Saturnalia, rather than not enjoy the Pleasures of the Festival, converted the common Calamity into Mirth and Jollity; so that, through the whole City, there was both a barbarous and a shameful Spectacle, and a scandalous Mixture of Cruelty and Lewdness; in one Place wounding and slaying; in another Tippling, and Bathing; here Streams of Blood, and Heaps of mangled Bodies; and, hard by, lewd Debauchees, and shameless Prostitutes; in short, all the abominable Licentiousness of a most dissolute and riotous Peace, and all the deplorable Miseries of a most dreadful and cruel Captivity.

Thus was this mighty City, the Head and Empress of the World, taken, and ravaged by her own natural Subjects; and, as it was fatal to many Thousands, so it was no less to *Vitellius* himself, whom the Soldiers dragged out of his Palace, and, without hearkening to any Intreaties, binding his Hands behind him, threw an Halter about his Neck, and, tearing his very Cloaths from his Back, drew him half-naked into the publick Forum, through the main Street, called *Via Sacra*, all the while, as he went along, treating him with the utmost Indignities, and most opprobrious Language; tying his Hair backwards, as it was wont to be done to the most execrable Malefactors; pelting him with Dung and Filth, and holding the Point of a Sword under his Chin, to prevent his concealing his Face; till at length, they brought him to the common Place of Execution for the most notorious Criminals, and, having there, with many Blows, and Wounds, dispatch'd him, in the 56th Year of his Age, and after a short Reign of 8 Months, they thence dragged him with an Hook, and, having thrown him into the *Tiber*, made afterwards, not only his Brother, and only Son, but all, whom ever they met with of his Party, Victims to their Fury.

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After these Murthers and Ravages were abated, the Roman Senate assembled, and, with an unanimous Consent, not only declared *Vespasian* Emperor, but conferred the Title of *Cæsar* upon his two Sons, *Titus*, and *Domitian*; nominated the former to be Consul, with his Father, for the Year ensuing, and the latter to be *Prætor* with Consular Power; rewarded *Mutianus*, *Antonius*, and several others, with great Revenues, and Dignities, for contributing to this happy Revolution; and dispatched Couriers to *Vespasian* at *Alexandria* to tender him their Homage and Obedience, and to desire his speedy Return to *Rome*: But, as the Winter was not so commodious for sailing, he deferred his Voyage to a more convenient Season.

Vespasian (as we said) before he left *Judea*, committed the Management of the War against the *Jews* to his Son *Titus*, as well knowing his extraordinary Valour and Skill for such an Undertaking. Himself had reduced most of the Country, except *Jerusalem*; but *Jerusalem* was the capital City, fortified with three Walls on every Side, except where it was fenced with deep Valleys, having the Castle of *Antonia*, the Temple, the Palace of *Acra*, the Towers on Mount *Sion*, and several other Places almost impregnable; so that great Consultation, and a Preparation of many Materials were required to carry on such a Siege. But, what facilitated its Reduction, were the several Parties and Factions, which had got Possession of different Parts of the City, and were not only murdering and massacring one another, but, in their Rage and Madness, had destroyed the Provisions likewise, which might have served the City for many

Years. *Jerusalem* was involved in these sad Circumstances, when *Titus*, with a powerful Army, and all Kinds of warlike Engines, approached, and sat down within six or seven Furlongs of the City, a little before the Feast of the Passover, by which Means he shut up an infinite Number of People, come from all Parts to that great Solemnity, and so consumed their Provisions in a short Time.

Upon the Sight of so numerous an Army, the several Factions unanimously agreed to oppose it; and, sallying out with great Resolution and Fury, put the *Romans* to Disorder, and obliged them to abandon their Camp, and fly to the Mountains; but the *Jews* were at last repulsed, and driven into the City by the extraordinary Skill and Valour of *Titus*, who, in this, and all other Actions, during this Siege, greatly signalized himself.

When *Titus* had placed his Engines, (which was not done without great Opposition) he battered the outward Wall, and, on the third Day of May, making a Breach, entered, and took Possession of the North Quarter of the City, as far as the Castle of *Antonia*, and the Valley of *Kedron*; which when he had done, he gave the Besieged all possible Assurances of Pardon and Civil Treatment, if they would but submit; but they, judging his Humanity to be the Effect of Cowardice, refused all Terms and Conditions. Five Days after this, *Titus* broke through the second Wall, and tho' the Besieged made several Sallies, and drove him out again, yet, on the fourth Day, he recovered the Place, and possessed himself of the new Lower City; which when he had done, being still desirous to shew them Mercy, he sent *

Josephus:

* How *Josephus* came to be at *Jerusalem*, and in the Camp of *Titus*, while he besieged it, himself tells us in his History of the Jewish Wars, viz. that, after the Reduction of *Jotapata*, which

Josephus to his Countrymen, to exhort them to yield, but, tho' he used all the powerful and pathetick Persuasions imaginable, he was entertained with nothing but Scoffs and Reproaches; so that *Titus* was now resolv'd to proceed with more Severity against a People, who had been perfidious to the highest Degree, and stubborn beyond all Example: And, accordingly, whenever any escap'd out of the City (as the Famine compelled many to make their Escape) they were no sooner taken by *Titus*, than he caused them to be scourged and crucified, and that in such Numbers, that Room was wanting for *Crosses*, and *Crosses* for Persons, tho', by the Cruelty of this Spectacle, he only designed to terrify the City, and hasten its Surrender.

On the 12th of *May*, *Titus* began four Mounts for his Battering-Rams, two near the Castle of *Antonia*, where he was in Hopes of taking the Temple, and two near the Monument of *John*, the High-priest, where he supposed he might break

into the upper City with greatest Facility; but, in two bold Sallies, the Besieged ruined, and destroyed the Mounts, and having burnt several Battering-Rams, and other Engines, pressed forward, and broke into the very Camp of the *Romans*, tho' at length they were valiantly repulsed by *Titus*, who (in a Council of War) now resolved to surround the whole City with a Wall, or Intrenchment, to hinder the Flight of the Besieged, and to prevent all Relief from coming into the City, thereby verifying our blessed Lord's Predictions to a Title: *The Days shall come upon thee, that thy Enemies shall cast a Trench about thee, and compass thee around, and keep thee in on every Side.*

This Work, tho' near five Miles in Compass, was, with incredible Celerity, finished in three Days; but it made no Impression upon the Besieged, tho' the Famine began to rage violently, and such a Mortality ensued, that, from the 14th of *April*, to the 1st of *July*, 115,080

which he gallantly defended, he became a Prisoner to *Vespasian*; but, having foretold his Advancement to the Empire (which accordingly came to pass) he was not only set at Liberty, but received into great Confidence, and attended his Son at the Siege of *Jerusalem*, where he made a long Speech to his Countrymen, by all the Arguments, that he could invent, persuading them to surrender, but all in vain; for, tho' his Discourse drew Tears from his own Eyes (as himself tells us, l. 6. c. 9.) the Factions were not in the least softened by it. After the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, he went with his Conqueror to *Rome*, where *Vespasian* shewed him great Respect, and (as himself tells us in his Life) lodged him in his own House, made him a free Citizen of *Rome*, assigned him a Pension, gave him Lands in *Judea*, and, above all, ordered him a publick Statue. These Favours *Titus*, when he came to the Empire, increased and, in Honour of him, had his *History of the Wars of the Jews*, which was now finished, deposited in the publick Library. This History is a continued Account of the *Jewish* Affairs, from the Taking of *Jerusalem* by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, down to utter Ruin of it by *Titus*, consisting in all of 242 Years, but the most considerable and valuable Part of it is that of the six last Years, where he describes the last *Jewish* Wars, the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the Miseries of his Countrymen, in the most lively and affecting Manner. Besides this, *Josephus* wrote another History, intitled, *The Antiquities of the Jews*, which was finished in the 13th Year of *Domitian*. One half of this History is taken from the Books of the *Old Testament*; but he has ventured to add several *Facts*, that are not to be found in these Writings, and to those, which he has wholly taken from them, he has given such an artificial Turn, as shews, that his Intention was to accommodate the most surprizing Passages in the Holy Scriptures to the Humour and Opinions of the Persons, to whom he wrote. Besides these two Histories, he wrote an Account of his own Life, two Treatises against *Apion*, and one concerning the Martyrdom of the *Maccabees*, which *Erasmus* justly styles a Master-piece of Eloquence. *Eachard's Eccl. Hist.*

Carcasses

Carcasses of the poorer Sort were carried out to be buried at the publick Charge, 600,000 were cast out of the Gates, and when the Number of the dead Bodies increased so, that they had no Place to dispose of them, they gathered them together into the largest Houses adjoining, and there shut them up. All this While, the Famine increased to such a Degree, that a Bushel of Corn was sold for 600 Crowns; that Wives took the Meat out of their Husbands Mouths, Children from their Parents, and Mothers from their Infants; that old Men were driven from their Meat, as Persons of no Use, and young Men tortured to confess where their Provisions lay; that Sinks, and Holes were continually raked to find the old Dung of Oxen for Food; that the very Soldiers (who were the last that would want) began to eat Girdles, Shoes, Sticks, and Hay; and that a Woman of Quality even boiled her own Child, with an Intent to eat it; an Act so detestable, that *Titus*, after he had insisted upon his frequent Offers of Peace and Pardon to the *Jews*, declared publickly, *that he would bury the abominable Crime in the Ruin of their Country, and not suffer the Sun to shine upon that City, where Mothers eat their own Children, and where Fathers, no less culpable, reduced them to that Extremity by their Obstinacy.*

With this Resolution he cut down all the Groves within a considerable Distance of the City, and causing more Mounds to be raised, on the first of July he began to batter the Wall of *Antonia*, and, on the fifth, entered the Castle by Force, and pursued the flying *Jews* even to the Temple; which when he had done, both he and *Josephus* again exhorted them to surrender, but all to no purpose: They obstinately refused all Accommodation, and made it their Boast, *that they had rather endure the worst of Miseries.* *Titus* hearing this, in order to make an easy

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Ascent to the Temple, overturned the Foundation of *Antonia*; and, having seized the *North* and *West Portico's*, or *Cloisters*, of the outward Range of the Temple, he set them on Fire, as the *Jews* did other *Portico's*, to hinder the *Romans* from making their Approaches. On the eighth Day of *August*, *Titus*, perceiving that the Walls of the *Inner Temple* were too strong for the *battering Rams*, and that the Foundation of the Gates could not be undermined, was obliged to set Fire to them, yet still with an Intent, if possible, to save the Temple itself; but it so fell out, that, on the tenth, a certain Soldier, contrary to the Command of the *General*, excited by some *divine Furor*, cast a flaming Fire-brand through the Golden Window into the Chambers and Buildings on the *North Side*, which immediately set them on Fire, and, notwithstanding the utmost Endeavours to the contrary, spread throughout the whole *Fabrick*, and consumed the most glorious and beautiful Structure, that the World ever saw.

When the Temple was now in Flames, the Soldiers seized all that came to hand, and killed all they met, to the degree of a most prodigious Slaughter and Pillage, without any respect either to Age or Sex; but young and old, sacred and profane, Priests and Laicks, they all went together, and Men of all Sorts and Qualities were equally involv'd in the common Calamities of the War; and whether they resisted or submitted, whether they stood it out, or begg'd Quarter, they fared all alike. As the Fire advanced, the crackling of the Flames was heard, accompanied with the dying Groans of People at their last Gasps; The Tumult and Up-roar was so dreadful, that it is not possible to imagine any thing more terrible; what with the raging Outcries of the *Roman* Legions, the Howling of the People when they found themselves at the Mercy

of Fire and Sword, and the dismal Lamentations of distressed Wretches in the Temple, betwixt the Enemy and the Fire. The neighbouring Mountains and Places beyond *Jordan*, echoing the same Complaints and Grievances over again; and the Calamity, in Weight and Substance, yet more than the Noise. The Flashes were so impetuous and violent, that the very Mountain the Temple stood on, look'd as if it had been one body of Fire from the Bottom; and the Blood in proportion, answerable to the Flame; for the Number of the Slain was superior to that of those who did the Execution.

In all these Confusions, those, who were the Chiefs in this Sedition, found Means to retire to the upper and strongest Part of the City, called *Sion*, situated upon a steep Rock, where they threatened to defend themselves to the last, and there tyrannized with more Cruelty, than ever; till *Titus* having raised his Batteries, and made a Breach in the Wall, they lost all their Courage, and, in great Consternation, abandoned the Towers, which were their only Strength, and, in vain, sought to escape by hiding themselves in Vaults, and Privies, from whence both *John* and *Simon*, two principal Ring-leaders of their different Factions, were dragged out, and the former condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, whilst the latter was appointed to grace the General's Triumph.

While *Titus* was now taking a View of

the Ruins of this glorious City, the Works, the Fortifications, and especially the *Turrets*, which the *Jews* had so foolishly abandoned, while *Cæsar*, I say, was entertaining himself in the Contemplation of the Height, Dimensions and Situation of these Towns, the Design, Workmanship, and Curiosity of the Fabrick, with the wonderful Contrivance of the whole, he let fall this Expression: *Well*, says he, *if God had not fought both for us, and with us, we could never have been Masters of these Forts. It was God, in fine that assisted us, and fought for us, by drawing the Jews from these strong Holds: otherwise what Power of Men and Machines could ever have been able to have prevailed against these Fortifications?*

The *Romans*, having now gained the Walls, and, with Shouts of Joy, placed their Colours upon the Towers, broke loose all over the City, and ranged up and down the Streets, killing all that fell in their Way, without Distinction, 'till the Passages and Alleys were choaked up with Carcasses, and Kennels of the City ran Blood, as if it had been to quench the Fire, which now become one general Conflagration. To this fatal End was the famous City of *Jerusalem*, after a Siege of above five Months, reduced, in the second Year of *Vespasian's* Reign, and 38 Years after our Lord's Crucifixion; in which Siege there perished no less than 1,100,000, and no fewer than 97,000 were taken Captives, besides the 237,490

* This *John* was the Son of one *Levi*, born at *Gischala*, and one of the principal Men of the Place. When *Titus* came before it, under a Pretence of surrendering it, he made his Escape, and came, with a Party of Men, to *Jerusalem*, where, joining with the *Zealots*, and being naturally a crafty Man, eloquent in his Speech, and ambitious beyond measure, he soon began to effect a sovereign Power over the rest, and became the Commander of one Faction, as *Simon*, the Son of *Gioras*, did of another. For he, gathering together great Multitudes of Robbers and Murderers, who got into the mountainous Parts, reduced all *Idumæa*, wasted *Judæa*, encamped himself before *Jerusalem*, and was, at length, let in by the Citizens to defend them against *John*, who, at the Head of the *Zealots*, did many cruel and tyrannical Actions. So that *Simon* and his Army were in the City, while *John* and his Adherents were in the Temple, fighting and destroying one another, even while the Enemy was at the Walls. *Echard, Ibid.*

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more, (according to *Josephus*) who fell in the Wars which preceded it. At last, when the Soldiers had neither Rapine nor Bloodshed left for their Rage and Indignation to work upon, *Titus* ordered them to lay the City, and the Temple level with the Ground, or, in the Words of our Saviour's Prediction, *not to leave one Stone upon another*; which Order was so punctually executed, that (except three Towers, which, for their Strength and Beauty, were left as Monuments of the City's Stateliness to Posterity) the whole was laid so flat, that the Place looked as if it had never been inhabited.

Titus having determined to leave the tenth Legion in Garrison in *Jerusalem*, with some Squadrons and Battalions of Horse and Foot, and having discharged all the Parts of a vigilant and careful General, he came now to bethink himself of encouraging and rewarding those who had signalized themselves in his Service. Now to this end, he mounted a Tribunal, with his great Officers about him, at the head of his Camp, and upon a Eminence where he might best be heard; and from thence deliver'd himself to his Army in Terms to this Effect:

It is impossible, says he, my brave fellow-soldiers; to express how kindly I take the generous Faith and Respect you have been pleas'd to pay me all along this War. And then enter'd upon the Topics of their orderly Discipline and Obedience; their invincible Firmness and Resolution upon all Occasions, and in the most pressing of Dangers; the Reputation they acquired in advancing the Honour, and enlarging the Territories of their Country: And finally, in giving all Men to understand, that neither Odds of Numbers, Advantages of Ports, Strength of Places, Power of populous Cities, the precipitate Madnes, or the outrageous Fury of brutal Adversaries, can ever discompose the Roman Conduct and Courage. Not but that now and then, the Jews have had some

favourable Turns of Fortune too, but it is a great Thing, however, says he, to put an happy End to a War that has been so long a Foot; which is as much as they could wish for themselves when they first engag'd in it. And it is a greater yet, says he, to see your Choice, of the Roman Emperors and Generals, not only admitted, but universally and thankfully approved: He could not, he said, but love and admire them all for what they had worthily done; but for those that made themselves exemplary in their Adventures and Hazards, and in doing Honour to their Character and Profession, it should be his Care, he said, to do all manner of right in return: And whoever shew'd an Emulation to out-do his Fellows, should be sure of an Acknowledgment in proportion; for he took much more Delight in preferring and advancing the virtuous, than in punishing Offenders.

Titus, immediately upon this, called for an Account from some of the Officers that had the Commission in charge. They were produced one and one by Name, highly commended, and *Titus* as much concerned for their Goods as for his own. From fair and obliging Words, he proceeded to matter of Liberality and Bounty. He crown'd them with Coronets of Gold, Silver Medals, and advanced every Man in his Quality and Station. He gave them minted Money in Gold and Silver out of the Booty, which Robes and other things of Value. So soon as this Distribution was over to every Man according to his Merit, *Titus*, accompany'd with the Vows, Prayers, and Acclamations of the whole Army, descended from his Tribunal, to offer Sacrifices, and give Thanks for his Victory.

While these Things were transacting at *Jerusalem*, *Vespasian*, who entered upon the Government in the fifty ninth Year of his Age, having been received at *Rome* with all imaginable Testimonies of Joy and Triumph, as the only Person,

whose Virtues and Excellencies could recover the languishing State of the Empire, began immediately to act conformably to the Hopes, which all Men had conceived of him, in administering Justice, and in reforming the Laws and Customs of *Rome*; honourably rewarding those, who had served him, and pardoning his Adversaries with singular Clemency.

Mean Time the Conclusion of the *Jewish* War occasioned great Rejoicings at *Rome*, where all Men's Mouths were filled with the Praises of *Titus*, who had shewn himself so expert a Soldier and Commander; and, accordingly, a Triumph was decreed by the Senate both for him, and his Father, who had so bravely managed the Beginning of the War. When *Titus* returned to *Rome*, he was received with the universal Applauses of the whole City, and, within a few Days after, both the Father and Son entered upon their Triumphs, which was as solemn and magnificent, as *Rome* ever saw; wherein among other rich and glorious Spoils, vast Quantities of Gold taken out of the Temple, and the Body of the *Jewish* Law, (the last, and not the least remarkable of all these Spoils) were exhibited to the View of the People. This was the first Time, that *Rome* ever saw the Father and Son triumph together: And, as *Vespasian* built a new Temple to Peace, wherein he repositied most of the *Jewish* Spoils, so *Titus* had a triumphal Arch of great Beauty and Magnificence erected to his Honour, whereon are inscribed all his noble Exploits against the *Jews*, and which (as a lasting Monument against that impious and perverse Nation) remains almost entire to this very Day.

Upon the Day of the Solemnity, innumerable Multitudes from that populous City came to be Spectators of it; inso-much that when they were all placed, there was hardly Passage for the Em-

peror. The Soldiers, with their Officers at the Head of them, march'd in very good Order, before Day, up to the Gates, to wait the coming of the Princes. At Break of Day, *Vespasian* and *Titus* stood forth and advanced, with Laurel Crowns upon their Heads, and purple Robes, after the manner of their Country, to the *Obavian* Walks, where the Senate, the Nobility, and the Roman Knights, waited for them. There was a Tribunal erected before the Portal of the Temple of *Isis*, with Ivory Seats upon it, which they mounted; and sitting down, were there saluted with the Harangues and Acclamations of the whole Field. They were unarm'd, and, as I said, crown'd with Laurels, and clothed with Purple. As they were going on, and amplifying upon the Emperor's Praises, *Vespasian* made them a Sign of Silence; and then when all things were still and quiet, he stood up, and covering part of his Head with his Garment, pass'd certain ejaculatory Vows and Prayers according to Custom; and *Titus* did the like. *Vespasian* after this, made a short Speech to the Auditory, and so dismiss'd the Soldiers to Dinner, who were in course to be entertain'd at the Emperor's Charge. He went next to the triumphal Gate (together with *Titus*) so called from the triumphal Pomp passing that way; and then taking their Repast, and putting on their triumphal Habits, they sacrificed to their Gods in the Gate, and so led on the Triumph through the middle of the Spectacles, for the better View of the People, and the greater Glory of the Solemnity.

The Magnificence and the Variety of these Shews is not so much as to be imagin'd, and much less express'd, whether for the Nicety of Workmanship, Value or Novelty; for the whole Stock of precious and agreeable Rarities, that the happiest of Nations had been so many Ages gathering, met all together in this

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one Day's Triumph, to the Honour of the transcendent Dignity of the Roman Empire. As for the choicest Works that ever were seen or heard of in Gold, Silver or Ivory, for Price or Excellency, they were here so common and frequent, that they looked more like a natural Confusion of things, than any part of a regulated Pomp. And then for the admirable Variety of Purples, and Babylonian Embroideries, Jewels and precious Stones, some enchased into Golden Crowns, and some set out with other Fancies, they were here so familiar and common, that they seem'd to be no longer a Curiosity. They had the Images of their Gods also that were every way wonderful, both for Size, Art, and Matter; and likewise the Figures of several Sorts of living Creatures, dress'd up suitably to their Kind. They had also a vast Number of People to carry all this, in Cloth of Gold and Purple; and all those that were set apart for the Service of the Pomp, had their distinguishing Ornaments of Splendor and State. Nay, the common Sort of the very Prisoners themselves, were not without somewhat that was graceful in their Habit, to disguise the Misery of their Conditions, and the Marks of Slavery that they wore in their Faces. But nothing was more to be admired than the ordering of their Machines, and how the Bearers were able to support them, being many of them three or four Stories high; and the Cost was answerable to the Artifice, for the Hangings and Furniture were all wrought with Gold, Ivory, and the like. There were also such Representations of War, and the Circumstances that attend it, that nothing was ever more to the Life. Herewas in one Place the Figure of a fruitful Country laid waste; in another whole Armies cut to pieces, some flying, others pursuing, or taken Prisoners; strong Walls batter'd to the Ground, Forts demplished,

Breaches made in fortify'd Cities, Towns taken by Assault, the Streets running Blood, and the Conquer'd begging Quarter; Temples burning, Houses beaten down upon the Heads of their Masters, Rivers lamenting their Misfortunes, that instead of watering and refreshing Fields and Meadows, and supplying Drink to Man and Beast, they find themselves forced to take their Course thro' publick Conflagrations. What was all this now, but a lively Image of the Sufferings of the *Jews*; and so put together by Art and Fancy, that it may pass for an instructive History of the Ruin of that famous City, to those that never knew more of it?

Upon every one of the Pageants was represented the Governour of the Place that was taken, and the manner of taking it. The Shipping came next; and then the Spoils that were dispersed up and down in several Places. But the most considerable pieces were the Golden Table, and the Golden Candlestick, that were taken out of the Temple of *Jerusalem*; the former weighing several Talents, and the other not applied to the Use it was intended for. There was a kind of Pillar that came out of the Foot of it; and out of that Pillar, as from the Stem of a Tree, seven Branches, and every Branch having at the Top the Resemblance of a Lamp; the Number of seven intimating the Veneration the *Jews* have for their seventh Day. After this came the *Jews* Laws, which was the last Trophy of their Conquests that the *Romans* exposed. This was followed by certain Images of Victory wrought out of Ivory and Gold. And last of all, to bring up the Rear, came *Vespasian* himself, with *Titus* in the next Place, and *Domitian* along with them on Horseback, well mounted, and well becoming the Dignity of their Station. So they marched together

together into the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and there finish'd the Triumph.

After this happy Peace, *Vespasian* proceeded to the Regulation of the several Abuses and Corruptions, which, in the late Reigns, and the Civil Confusions, had crept into the State. He restrained the Luxury and Licentiousness of his Officers, and Soldiers, not sparing those, who had been Assistants to him, and Partners with him in his Victories. He reformed the two principal Orders among the *Romans*, the *Senators*, and the *Equites*, degrading all those, he found unworthy of their Dignities, and supplying their Places with the most deserving Persons, he could procure, either in *Italy* or other Provinces. He examined into all Courts of Judicature, and where he found Law-suits multiplied to a prodigious Number, or extended to an unreasonable Length, he appointed proper Persons to determine them, and made many excellent Laws to digest, and reduce such Matters into a far less Compass; and, to reform the Corruption of Usurers, as well as the Looseness of Youth, he ordained, that no Person should recover any Money of young Heirs, if it was lent to be repaid with Interest upon the Decease of their Fathers.

And as he was severe in punishing Vice, so he was no less remarkable for rewarding all Kinds of Merit, though his more particular Bounty was extended to the learned Professors of Arts and Sciences. He settled a constant Salary of an hundred thousand *Sesterces* upon the Teachers of *Rhetorick*, to be paid yearly out of the Exchequer. He entertained *Josephus*, the famous Writer of the *Jewish Wars*, and *Antiquities*, with great Civility, and honoured him with a Statue. *Pliny the Elder*, an eminent natural Historian, *Quintilian*, the renowned Orator, and many other Persons of great Learning, flourished in his Reign, and were highly

esteemed by him; as the greatest Masters of all other Arts and Sciences were invited to *Rome* from all Parts of the World by his generous Allowances. To all which we may add, that his Courtesy and Clemency appear'd constantly, both in publick and private, so that scarce one innocent Person was punished through his whole Reign; and so contrary was his Temper to that of most of his Predecessors, that he could not so much as look upon the Sufferings of a Criminal, without signifying his Compassion by his Sighs and Tears.

But, though he was thus mild and merciful, brave and generous, yet he did not preserve himself from the Scandal of *Avarice* and *Rapaciousness*, which was grounded upon his selling all the Lands in *Judea*, and appropriating the Money to himself; upon his obliging all the *Jews* in the *Roman Empire* to pay yearly two *Drachma's* to the Capitol, as they formerly had done to the Temple at *Jerusalem*; and upon his laying heavy *Tributes* upon several Provinces, and particularly a scandalous Excise upon *Urine*: But for this, and all other his severe Impositions, Authors do much excuse him, upon account of the great Necessities of the State, and the Emptiness of the Exchequer, when he came first to the Government; reminding us withal, that his publick Works or Edifices were highly chargeable, and expensive; his Presents, and Pensions were numerous, and large; his Feasts and Entertainments frequent, and magnificent; and that, though his Revenue, by these Exactions, was augmented, yet he always employed it to noble Purposes, and laid it out with great Wisdom and Liberality.

By this wise Administration of publick Affairs, he encreased the Love and Respect of the whole Senate and People, the nearer he approached to the End of his Days; and, when he had finished his Course,

Course, which was in the 69th Year of his Age, and 10th of his Reign, his Death was greatly lamented, and his Memory gratefully preserved, as being a Prince of great Wisdom, Moderation, and Modesty, next to *Julius Cæsar* in War, and *Augustus* in Peace; and in whom (as *Pliny* expresses it) *Greatness and Majesty had changed nothing, but only to make his Power of doing Good answerable to his Will.*

Upon the Death of the great *Vespasian*, his eldest Son *Titus*, both by the general Consent, and his Father's last Will and Testament, succeeded to the Empire, though not without some Obstructions from his ambitious Brother *Domitian*. *Titus* had served in many Wars with great Honour, and discharged many Civil Offices with no less Wisdom; yet, during his Father's Reign, he had given too many Occasions of Prejudice, and Aspersions, upon account of his Severity, and voluptuous Life, his extravagant Passion for *Bernice*, King *Agrippa's* Sister, and his promoting his Father's Impositions, and Extortions; insomuch that he was generally looked upon as a second *Nero*; and scarce any Man ever arrived at the Empire, with a more sullied Reputation, and a greater Repugnancy of the People. But, in a short Time, these Accusations and Aversions, turned all to his Advantage, and his Virtues gained him a Reputation, under the Burden of an Empire, which he could not attain under the Freedom of a private Person: For, from his first Accession, such was his Skill and Address, as well as good Fortune, in gaining upon the Hearts and Affections of all People, that he was generally stiled, *The Love and Delight of Mankind*. His Notion was, that *no Man ought to depart sorrowful from the Presence of a Prince*, and therefore he never sent any away with an

unpleasing Answer: And so strong a Propensity had he to do good, that, being told one Night by those about him, that he had done nothing for any Person that Day, with a sorrowful Countenance, he replied, *O my Friends, I have lost a Day!* A Sentence, worthy of an Emperor, and fit to be retained in the Memory of all Princes.

His first Step towards gaining the Hearts of his Subjects, and his happy Government of the Empire, was his moderating his Passions, and bridling his strong Inclination, particularly by withdrawing himself from the beautiful *Bernice*, and sending her away, notwithstanding their mutual Loves; and by dismissing several Persons, who had formerly been the chief Instruments of his Pleasures, rightly judging them unbecoming the Dignity and Majesty of his present Office.

After this he proceeded, with a better Grace and Authority, in the great Affairs of the State, and, particularly, in regulating and reforming several Mischiefs, which had not been perfectly removed in his Father's Reign. All Informers, Promoters, and Petty-foggers, the Bane of Society, and the Pests of the City, he took Care to exterminate, by causing some to be sold for Slaves, and others to be transported to uninhabited Islands; and, to put a Stop to the Corruptions and Tediousness of Law-suits, he prohibited, among other Things, that the same should be tried by several Laws, or that the Estate of any dead Person should be claimed, after such a precise Number of Years.

The same Activity in repairing ancient Buildings, and erecting new ones; the same Freedom of Conversation, Magnificence of living, Generosity to Friends, Clemency to Enemies, * Encouragement to Men of Learning, and Courtesy to all,

* Of his great Clemency we have these remarkable Instances, — Two of the *Patrician* Degree, being convicted of Treason, for aspiring to the Empire, he inflicted no Punishment upon them

that his Father had shewn, *Titus* was not forgetful to imitate; so that, if ever a People many be said to be happy under a Prince, the *Romans* were certainly so under him: And yet, in his short Reign, there hapened some Misfortunes, and Calamities, no less astonishing, than deplorable, viz. *A most dreadful Irruption of Mount Vesuvius*, which, being accompanied with violent Earthquakes, ruined many Cities, and even threw its Ashes into distant Countries, and to *Rome*, in such Quantities, that the Sun was darkened for many Days together; in the Year following, a prodigious Fire in *Rome*, which, lasting three Days and Nights incessantly, consum'd the *Capitol*, the *Pantheon*, and several other Temples, the Library of *Augustus*, and many more noble Buildings; and this followed by a dangerous *Pestilence*, supposed to be occasioned by the Ashes of *Mount Vesuvius*, in which there commonly died ten Thousand every Day. In all which Miseries, *Titus* behaved himself, not only with the Care and Regard of a Prince, but also with the Tenderness and Compassion of a Father.

But Heaven had determined, that so good an Emperor should not long bless so corrupt an Age, and a People so flagitious, as the *Romans* were then become; for, after a lingering Illness, he died, in the 41st Year of his Age, and the 3d of his Reign, not without Suspicion of Poison from his Brother *Domitian*; and, as soon as his Death was known, a general

Grief and Sadness appeared in all the City, which, in a short Time, spread itself over every Province, to the utmost Bounds of the Empire, and made him in all Parts be lamented, as tho' the World had been deprived of a perpetual Protector.

The great Respect, which all had for *Titus* and his Father, caused his Brother *Domitian* to succeed him in the Empire without any Opposition, notwithstanding the ill Opinion, which many had justly conceived of him. In the Beginning of his Reign however, he behaved with great Moderation, concealed his vicious Inclination, and did several commendable Things, to gain the Good-will and Affections of the People. So far was he from shewing any Tendency to Cruelty or Bloodshed, that he was determined by a publick Edict, to forbid the sacrificing of Oxen; and so far from any Signs of Avarice, or Parcimony, that he acted very generously upon all Occasions, and made it the chief Topick of his Advice to those that were about him, to avoid Rapine and Sordidness.

In rebuilding several stately and noble Fabricks, which had been destroyed by the Fire in his Brother's Reign; in exhibiting a Sea-Fight on a vast Lake dug for that Purpose, and by great Numbers of Ships, almost amounting to compleat Fleets; in celebrating the great Games and Feasts, called Secular, of all others the most magnificent, as happening but once in an hundred Years; in represent-

them, but only privately admonished them to desist, mildly telling them, *that the Empire was given by Providence, and that it was in vain for them to commit a Villany in Hopes of obtaining it.* The same Night he entertained them at Supper, and, the next Day, at a Spectacle of Gladiators, placed them by himself, and when the Combatants Weapons, according to Custom, were presented to him, he publicly desired their Jugments and Approbation. — In like Manner, though his Brother *Domitian* was continually conspiring, and exciting the Legions against him, yet so far was he from punishing him for it, that he comported himself towards him, as he had always done, giving him the Title of *Associate and Successor*, and, with Tears, privately intreating him, *not to attempt that, by Treason and Fratricide, which, in a short Time, he would obtain freely, and in Course.* Echard's Rom. Hist. in the Life of *Titus*.

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ing all those Shows and Spectacles, that had ever been known in *Rome*, besides many more, that were newly invented; in the many sumptuous Banquets and Entertainments, that he made; the large Donatives, which he distributed; and the valuable Things, which he threw among the common People by way of *Missilia*; in these, and such like Things, as he knew would captivate the Esteem of the Vulgar, he was as expensive, and ambitious as any of his Predecessors; nor was he defective in some other Things, which justly deserve the Commendations of all Men.

He was diligent, for a while, in the Administration of Justice, and would many Times sit himself in an extraordinary Manner, in the Courts of Judicature. He severely punished all such Judges, and Counsellors, as were corrupt and acted for Bribes; and, in this Regard, kept so watchful an Eye upon the City Magistrates, and Governours of Provinces, that there was never known more Equity and Modesty among the great Officers, than in his Reign. He suppressed such Libels, and defamatory Writings, as any ways reflected upon Persons of Quality of either Sex; but then, he expected that Persons of Quality should comport according to their Character, and, for this Reason, turned a Senator out of the House, purely for his immoderate Delight in *Buffoonery*, and *Dancing*, judging

that those Things were below the Dignity of that venerable Order. From such Women of Distinction, as were scandalous in their Lives, he took away the Privilege of Litters, and Inheritance; and struck a *Roman* Knight out of the List of the Judges, for receiving his Wife, after she had been repudiated for Adultery. The Castration of Children he utterly prohibited, and moderated the Prices of Eunuchs; but the Whoredoms of the Vestal Virgins he punished without Mercy. Such, as were convicted but once, suffered Death, as ordinary Malefactors; but others were buried alive, according to the ancient Custom, and their associate Malecriminal scourged to Death. These, and the like memorable Acts of Justice, have been highly applauded by many; but in most of them he used such Pride and Elation, and shewed himself so excessively vain-glorious, as gave almost evident Tokens of his future Enormities.

After the many Conquests, which his great * General *Agricola* obtained for him over the *Britains*, and the Reduction of the *Sarmatians*, *Dacians*, and the *Catti*, a People in *Germany*, for which he vainly assumed the Surname of *Germanicus*, his Pride and Impiety, as well as Cruelty and Brutishness, became insufferable. He not only caused his Statues in the Capitol to be made of pure Gold and Silver, to which the People, in great Crouds, came to sacrifice continually, but

* This *Agricola*, having first conquered *Galgacus*, the great Commander of the *Britains*, went as far as the *Orcades*, and subdued them. He was the first, who discovered *Britain* to be an Island, and, in the fourth Year of *Domitian*, reduced it into an entire and civilized Province: Of all which, he wrote a plain Account to the Emperor, without any amplifying Terms: But, as the Emperor was uneasy to see his own Glory eclipsed by a private Person, his Letters were received with a Shew of great Joy, but, in reality, with no small Concern. In a short Time after this, *Domitian* recalled him from *Britain*, under Pretence of giving him the Lieutenantancy of *Syria*, but, when *Agricola* perceived with what Coldness he was received, to prevent farther Inconveniences, he retired from Court, and, for ever after, gave himself up to an unactive Course of Life, tho' his Death (which happened in a few Years) was not without Suspicion of Poison by *Domitian's* Procurement. *Eachard's Rom. Hist. in the Life of Domitian.*

his Ambition carried him so far, as to assume Divine Honours: For, as he stiled himself the Son of *Pallas* or *Menarva*, so he decreed, that no Man should presume to call him, either in Writing or Discourse, by any other Title, than that of *our Lord, or our God*.

This monstrous Arrogancy brought him into all kinds of Enormities, and was the fatal Fore-runner of many excessive Cruelties, whereby he destroyed great Numbers of all Sorts, without Mercy or Consideration. Many illustrious *Senators*, who had some of them been *Consuls*, under Pretence of practising against the State, he put to Death, some of them in their Banishments, and all without the Privilege of making their Defence. Multitudes of others he ordered to be executed upon every slight and trifling Occasion; *Ælius Lamia*, for his making use of Jest, tho' they were old and innocent; *Salveus Cocceanus*, for celebrating the Nativity of *Otho*, the Emperor; *Salustius Lucullus*, for suffering a new Sort of Lances to be called *Lucullia's*, after his own Name; and *Junius Rusticus*, for publishing a Writing in Commendation of *Petius Tbrasæa*, and *Helvidius Priscus*, two Philosophers; upon which Occasion he banished all the *Philosophers*, and *Matematicians* out of *Rome* and *Italy*; and among these, the celebrated Stoick, *Epidetus*.

The Cruelty of these Proceedings, and some personal Affronts received from *Domitian*, made *Lucius Antonius*, Governor of the *Upper Germany*, raise a dangerous Rebellion in those Parts, and, being Commander of a numerous Army, usurp the Title of Emperor. The Success of this Insurrection remained a long while doubtful, and became daily more formidable to *Domitian*, who had so much lost the Love of his People; till, at length, his General *Normandus* dexterously surprized *Antonius*, just when a sudden Overflowing

of the *Rhine* had stopped the Arrival of his *German Auxiliaries*, and destroyed both him, and his Army. After this Victory and Success, *Domitian's* Cruelty increased; shewing no kind of Mercy to those, who had been of the adverse Party. Nay, that he might thoroughly revenge himself, and discover all their Accomplices, he invented new kind of Tortures; and, in this Particular, exceeded *Nero* himself, that, whereas *Nero* was satisfied in commanding Executions to be done at a Distance, he took Pleasure in beholding his Cruelties exercised before his Eyes, which at length indeed became his only Diversion.

It can scarce be thought, that a Prince, who, in some Respects, surpassed even *Nero* himself in his Vices and Cruelties, should in the least come behind him in his Hatred of the Church of God; and therefore we need less wonder, that, in the 14th Year of his Reign, we find him raising the second general Persecution of the Christians, in which, by his Letters and bloody Edicts, he caused the Death and Banishment of infinite Numbers both in *Rome*, and other Places; in which (among other eminent Christians) *St. John*, after his miraculous Escape out of the Cauldron of flaming Oyl, was banished to the Island *Patmos*; *Antipas* was put to Death at *Pergamus*; *Timothy* at *Ephesus*; and *Dionysius, the Areopagite*, at *Athens*; in which he not only destroyed the Heads of the Church, but proceeded to the Execution of his own Relations, insomuch that he put to Death his Cousin German *Flavius Clemens*, in the very Year that he was Consul; banished the Consul's Wife, *Domitilla*, to *Pandataria*, and a Niece of the same Name to *Pontia*, for no other Crime, but their embracing *Christianity*.

By these cruel and bloody Practices, *Domitian* became odious to the greatest Part of his Subjects, and exceeding terrible

rible to the * Senate and Nobility, inso-
much that some of the Chief of them,
merely for the Preservation of their own
Lives, were forced into Designs against
his. For, when his Wife *Domitia*, in
searching into his *black Table-book*, which
he kept purposely for cruel and bloody
Designs, found her own Name there,
with many of the chief Officers of his
Household; to them she shewed the Book,
thereby to excite them to concert Mea-
sures for his Dispatch. A Conspiracy
was accordingly formed, in which the
Principals were *Parthenius*, his Chamber-
lain, and *Stephanus*, his Steward, who,
for several Days, wore a Dagger wrapt up
in Wool in his left Arm, pretending an
accidental Hurt in that Place. As there-
fore the Emperor was going to his Bath,
Parthenius, pretending that there was in
his Chamber a Person, who had a Matter
to impart to him of too great Importance
to be safely deferred, drew him aside thi-
ther, where *Stephanus*, under Pretence of
discovering a Conspiracy to him, present-
ed him with a List of several Names,
which while the Emperor was reading
with Horror and Astonishment, he struck
the Dagger into his Groin, but before
he could give him a second Wound, the
Emperor closed with him, and, with
great Violence, threw him to the Ground,
where, while they were struggling to-
gether, *Parthenius*, *Maximus*, *Clodianus*,

and other Conspirators, who were of his
own Household, came furiously upon him,
and, in the forty fifth Year of his Age,
and fifteenth of his Reign, with several
Wounds dispatched him.

Upon the Death of *Domitian*, the Ro-
man Senate, after some small Consulta-
tion, made Choice of *Cocceius Nerva*,
to succeed him. He was born in *Crete*,
and was the first Emperor, who was nei-
ther of a *Roman*, nor *Italian* Family,
but was, at this Time, for his many
Virtues, Experience, and Age, a Person
of the greatest Reputation and Esteem
in *Rome*. At his Accession to the Em-
pire, he took Care to rescind the odious
Acts and Decrees of his Predecessor. He
recalled the *Christians*, who, from *Rome*,
and other Cities, where banished in the
late Reign, and permitted them a free
Exercise of their Religion. He shewed
the same Kindness and Humanity to all
others, who had been unjustly treated
by his Predecessor, and restored whatever
of their Goods could be found about the
Imperial Palaces. He released and dis-
charged all the Cities of the Empire from
the severe Taxes, and Impositions, which
Vespasian and *Domitian* had laid upon
them. He made a Distribution among
all the People of *Rome*, much larger,
than any of his Predecessors had done.
He purchased Estates to be divided a-
mong decayed Citizens, and had the Sons

* One Evening, having made a kind and solemn Invitation of the greatest Part of the Senate
to a publick Entertainment, at the Entrance of his Palace, he ordered them to be solemnly re-
ceived, and ceremoniously conducted, and lock'd up in a spacious Hall, hung round with black,
and illuminated by a few melancholly Lamps, which were only sufficient to shew the Horror of
the Place, and to discover several Coffins, upon which were fairly written the Names of the Se-
nators, that were invited. The Senators were filled with strange Fears and Apprehensions, at the
Appearance of this dismal Scene, and the Prospect of Death so solemnly carved out for them;
when, in the Height of their frightful Imaginations, after some time waiting, their Fears were in-
creased by an Entertainment of many naked Persons, with their Bodies all over blackened, who
entered the Hall, with drawn Swords in one Hand, and flaming Torches in the other. The
Guests, at this dreadful Appearance, expected nothing but immediate Death; when suddenly the
naked Persons, after they had danced some Time about them, set open the Doors, and told them,
that the Emperor gave all the Company Leave to withdraw. *Euchard's Rom. Hist. in the Life of Domitian.*

of the poorer Sort brought up at his own Charges: And, above all, he conferred great Favours, and bestowed large Gifts upon his Friends and Relations, upon Men of Learning, and liberal Sciences, whereof he was a great Encourager.

Nor was the Clemency of this Prince any Ways inferior to his Kindness and Liberality. For, at his first Accession to the Government, he solemnly swore, that *no Senator of Rome should, by his Command, be put to Death*; which Oath he so religiously observed, that, when two of that Order had conspired against his Life, he used no kind of Severity against them: but, first sending for them, *to let them see, that he was not ignorant of their traiterous Designs*, he carried them with him to the publick Theatre, placed them each Side of him, and, presenting each with a Sword, told them before all the People, *that they might experience the Goodness of the Weapons upon his Body*; for so confident was he of his own Innocence, that he often said, *That tho' he should quit the Empire, and return to a private Life, he had done nothing, that could cause him to fear any Man*.

But notwithstanding all this, he had not set long upon the Throne, before the Soldiers, who, in the late Reign, had been indulged in all Manner of Licentiousness, began to be mutinous upon the Account of Domitian's Murther, resolving to fall upon, and destroy all those, who had any Concern in this Assassination: So that the Emperor, finding himself insufficient to withstand their Fury, and perceiving that his Age and Infirmities, had impaired his Authority over them, was resolved to adopt some worthy Person for his Successor, who should be able both to support him, while he lived, and govern the Empire, after his Decease. For tho' he had many considerable Friends and Relations of his own, who

hoped for this high Promotion, yet, like a just and generous Prince, he sought only the publick Good, and wisely made choice of *Ulpus Trajanus*, an utter Stranger to his Family, but the greatest and most deserving Person of his Age.

This Determination, he accordingly put in Execution; and, having, with the usual Solemnities, adopted him in the Capitol, and made him *Cesar* in the Senate, he immediately sent Ambassadors to him at *Cologne* (for at that Time he was Governor of the lower Germany) with the Ensigns and Arms of the Empire. This proved so great a Curb to the Licentiousness, and Mutinies of the Soldiers, that, from thence forward, they continued in a perfect Quietness and Obedience. But *Nerva* lived not long to enjoy the Benefit of this happy Choice; for, about three Months after, falling into a violent Passion against a Senator, named *Regulus*, he put himself into such Disorder, that, by Reason of the Feebleness of his Body, and Lowness of his Spirits, he fell into a Fever, which, in the 66th Year of his Age, and the 2d of his Reign, carried him off.

Upon the Death of *Nerva*, *Trajan* was joyfully received, as Emperor, at *Rome*, both by the Senate and People. He was a *Spaniard* by Birth, of illustrious Family, born in a Town called *Italica*, not far from the City of *Seville*; and, being now above two and forty Years of Age, of a strong Body, and vigorous Mind, happily tempered between the Warmth of Youth, and the Experience of Old-age, he was, in all respects, qualified for the greatest Attempts, and the noblest Enterprises. In the Beginning of his Reign, he was blessed with the Happiness of having the greatest Master of his Age, that admirable *Philosopher*, and *Biographer*, *Plutarch*, by whose wise Instructions, added to his own Abilities, he pursued the Administration of his Government,

with that Moderation and Justice, and that Wisdom and Magnanimity, as raised both the Love and Admiration of all Men.

At his first entering into the Senate, he declared publicly, *That no good Man, by his Command, should ever suffer Death or Disgrace*, which he confirmed by a solemn Oath, and inviolably observed it through his whole Reign. His first Step was, to reform the Laws that were defective, and to put in Execution those, that were good; to take Care that Equity and Justice was strictly and faithfully administered in all Cases; to advance the most worthy and virtuous Men to the highest Posts, and to reclaim such, as were otherwise, with Gentleness and Clemency: But, as Mutiny in an Army was a Matter of dangerous Consequence, the *Prætorian* Cohorts, and their Commanders, who had raised the Sedition against *Nerva*, he sent for, and disbanded without any farther Punishment, (as some say) tho' others affirm, that he put several of them to Death.

The *Informers*, *Promoters*, and *Pettifoggers*, who had done great Mischiefs in former Reigns, he utterly exterminated, and put down the *Pantomimes*, *Farce-players*, and *Buffoons*, as effeminate Diversions, and unbecoming the *Roman* Gravity: But he rebuilt the *grand Cirque*, wherein more manly Exercises were performed, much larger, and more beautiful, than it was before, with an Inscription, signifying, *that it was to make it worthy to receive the People of Rome*. The Truth is, his Love to the People of *Rome*, as well as all his other Subjects, was visible in his Relief of the Poor, and Education of their Children; in his behaving to all Men with Courtesy and Affability, without Disguise or Dissimulation; in entertaining Persons of Merit (tho' of no high Degree) with a most open Familiarity; bestowing upon such Honours and Wealth, though he had but a small Ac-

quaintance with them; and, in short, in treating all his Subjects (as himself expresses the Matter) *with the same Usage, as he himself would have desired of his Prince, had he been a private Person*. For these, and many other Instances of his Goodness and paternal Care to his People, he not only obtained the Title of *Pater Patriæ*, but the Senate likewise conferred on him that of *OPTIMUS*, as the best of all Princes, which he esteemed more, than all the Glories of his Victories and Conquests, because it related, not so much to his Courage and Conduct, as to his Morality and Piety.

His mistaken Piety indeed, or Zeal for the Religion established in the Empire, confirmed his Prejudices against Christianity, and made him look upon the Professors of it with a jealous Eye, not only as Subverters to the national Faith, and Enemies to the Gods of the *Romans*, but (as their Adversaries were pleased to represent them) Establishers likewise of such illegal Societies, as were the Nurseries of Faction and Sedition. Under this plausible Pretence, *the third general Persecution of the Church*, in the third Year of this Emperor's Reign, commenced, wherein among an infinite Number of others, *St. Clement*, Bishop of *Rome*, being thrown into the Sea with an Anchor about his Neck; *St. Simeon*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, being first scourged, and then crucified; and *St. Ignatius*, Bishop of *Antioch*, being condemned to be thrown to the wild Beasts, obtained the glorious Crown of Martyrdom. This Persecution for some Time, went on, though with different Degrees of Severity, in several Parts of the Empire, and was so much the more afflicting to the Christians, because they generally suffer'd under the Notion of Malefactors, and Traitors, and under an Emperor, famed throughout the World for his singular Justice and Moderation: But it had not continued long, before

before this Prince, upon his Reception of a Letter from *Pliny*, the Proconsul of *Bitbynia* (wherein he represents the Innocency, and Simplicity of the Christians; that they were an harmless and inoffensive Sort of People, who only worshipped Christ, as God, and bound themselves by Oath to abstain from all Wickedness) abated the Rigour of it, so that the Fire, which had hitherto raged with great Fury, began now to be extinguished, and only crept up and down in private Corners.

In the mean Time, the Christian Religion, notwithstanding all Opposition to the contrary, was spread through the greatest Parts of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, extending from the *British* Islands, to the farthest *Indies*, and fixing not only in Cities, and populous Places, but also in Towns, and Country Villages, as *Pliny*, in the above-cited Letter, testifies. The metropolitan Cities were all under Bishops of the greatest Eminence and Piety. The four great Cities of the *Roman* Empire, *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, usually stiled apostolical Churches, were governed by apostolical Men. *Publius* was at *Athens*; *Polycarp* at *Smyna*; *Onesimus* at *Ephesus*; and *Papias* at *Hierapolis*; with many others of primitive Integrity in different Places.

Such was the State of the Christian Church, about the Conclusion of the first

Century, increasing and flourishing after a marvellous Manner: And though it wanted all human Helps; tho' it had all the Force and Policy of the World bent against it, growing by Opposition and Oppression, and overbearing all the Powers of Earth and Hell, *Luke* 4. 30. *Whereunto then shall we liken the Kingdom of God, and its wonderful Encrease, or with what Comparison shall we compare it?* There is indeed some Resemblance of it in the prodigious Fecundity of Seeds, which, accordingly, our blessed Saviour frequently makes use of to illustrate it; but there is nothing parallel to it, in the History of all Religions, which have obtained among Men, from the Beginning of the World, to this Day. And therefore, as this shews, that the Original of it was from Heaven, and that the Hand of Omnipotence has all along guided and preserved it; so it gives us an humble Confidence, that the same divine Providence will continue to protect and defend it, *Heb.* 12. 22, *until we come unto Mount Sion, and unto the City of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable Company of Angels; to the general Assembly, and Church of the First-born, which are written in Heaven; to God, the Judge of all; to Jesus the Mediator of the New Covenant; and to the Spirits of just Men made perfect.* Amen, Amen.

F I N I S.



